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YCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA;

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UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY OF KNOWLEDGE,

On an Original Plan:

COMPRISING THE TWOFOLD ADVANTAGE OF

SYNONYMICAL AND AN ALPHABETICAL ARRANGEMENT,

WITH APPROPRIATE ENGRAVINGS.

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XI.

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ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA;

OR, THE

UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY OF KNOWLEDGE.

Third Division.

BIOGRAPHY,

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

LUCIUS SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

FROM A. D. 193 TO 211.

Biography.
From
A. D.
193.
to
211.

Size of the
Imperial
Throne
upon which
he sat.

The Imperial
Throne
upon which
he sat, and
purchased
by Didius
Julianus.

THE Sceptre, which was wrested from the dying hands of Pertinax, passed for a short time into those of Didius Julianus; an individual who had no recommendation, besides his great riches, to the power and rank which were thereby conferred upon him. But, as the few occurrences which took place in his reign respected the movements of his successor rather than his own plans for conducting the Government, we have not thought it necessary to devote a separate head to the brief and troubled period during which he occupied the Throne.

The death of Pertinax was indeed followed by events which supplied to the Roman People the most melancholy evidence that their liberty no longer existed, even in name; and gave rise, at the same time, to the painful apprehension that the affairs of their Country were thenceforth to be directed by the caprice and selfishness of an armed Democracy. And these anticipations would undoubtedly have been realized, had not the stern character and unbending firmness of Severus checked the progress of military domination, punished the seditious insolence of the Praetorian Guards, and by strengthening at once the authority of the Sovereign and of the Laws, secured the peace of the Empire, and the due balance of its several parts.

No sooner had the Praetorians completed their rebellion, by the murder of the Emperor, than they resolved to derive from the crime which they had committed all

the advantages that the ambition of one class of citizens, and the timidity of the rest, encouraged them to expect. Having fortified their Camp, and thereby precluded all direct communication, either with the Senate or the People, they instructed one of their number to mount upon the rampart, and proclaim that the vacant Throne was immediately to be exposed to sale, and would be given to him who should make the most liberal offer. The first who presented himself as a purchaser of the bloody spoils of Pertinax, was his father-in-law, Flavius Sulpicianus, a Member of the Senate, and Praefect of the City. But scarcely had he time to specify the donation by which he meant to gratify the cupidity of the Soldiers, when a formidable competitor appeared in the person of Didius Julianus; who, incited by the ambitious vanity of his wife and daughters, determined that the Imperial Purple should not be disposed of at a low or unworthy price. He hastened to the Camp, where Sulpicianus was still urging his bargain with the mercenary Guards; and, finding that the latter had offered such a sum as would have allowed to each Soldier about a hundred and sixty pounds of our money, he instantly declared his readiness to make an addition of fifty pounds more to every individual. He suggested, at the same time, that were his rival exalted to the Empire he might be induced to exercise the very power with which they had clothed him, to avenge the death of his son-in-law: a consideration which, added to the extravagant terms on which he had consented to purchase their suffrages, decided the judgment of the Praetorians in favour of his claim. The gates of the

Lucius
Septimius
Severus.

From
A. D.
193.
to
211.

* Spartian. in *Did. Julian.* c. 1, 2. Dion Cassius, lib. lxxiii. Eusebius, lib. ii.

Biography. Camp were immediately thrown open to the successful candidate; where, with loud acclamations, he was declared Emperor, and received the allegiance of its turbulent inhabitants. At the request of the latter, he appointed as their Commanders, Julius Flavius Genealis and Tullius Crispinus, and promised to forget, or to forgive, the competition which he had sustained at the hands of Sulpicianus.*

Indignation of the People. The transactions now described, are said to have taken place within a few hours after the murder of Pertinax. Sorrow and indignation continued to fill the streets of Rome, when the Praetorians, in order of battle, entered the City to conduct the new Emperor to the Senate-house, and afterwards to the Palace of the Cæsars. The resentment of the People broke out in various acts of violence against the venal Soldiery. They attacked them from the tops of the houses with stones and abusive language; upbraiding them as traitors and enemies of their country; while the latter, eager to preserve the life of Julianus, at least until he should fulfil the conditions upon which he had been raised to the Empire, surrounded him with their shields, and at length placed him in safety in the midst of the trembling and degraded Senate. This obsequious assembly was compelled to express its approbation of every thing which had been done; to confirm the election of the Camp; and even to congratulate the Country on the happy event which had called it together. They conferred upon Didius all the offices and dignities which belonged to the Imperial estate; enrolled his Family in the order of Patricians; and, finally, bestowed upon his wife and daughters the highest titles that were ever used by the female members of a reigning House.†

Character of Julianus, and discrepancy of Historians. Our only authorities for the Life of Julianus are Dion Cassius, Herodian, and Spartian. The first of these Historians was a personal enemy of the Emperor; whose character and motives he uniformly represents in the most unfavourable light. Herodian likewise was a contemporary, and influenced by sentiments not more friendly to the reputation of Didius. The last of the three Annalists, on the contrary, seems to take pleasure in opposing the statements of his two predecessors; and hence he exhibits the conduct of Julianus in colours much more attractive, both before he rose to the fatal eminence to which his ambition aspired, and during the short period that he was allowed to retain possession of it. We are informed by Dion, that when the successor of Pertinax entered the Palace, the first object which struck his eyes was the mutilated body of that Sovereign; which, instead of treating with the decent honours which belonged to the remains of a friend and of a Prince, he passed by with neglect, or spurned with derision. He viewed, with equal contempt, the plain dishes which had been prepared for the Imperial table, and gave orders that an entertainment of great expense and delicacy should forthwith be got ready, as more suitable to his station, his wealth, and his refinement. It is added, that he played at dice while the corpse of his predecessor lay unburied under the same roof; that he issued instructions for the acting of a dramatical piece, in which the celebrated Pantomime, Pylades, might display his wonderful talents; and that,

he had recourse to all the means by which he might escape reflection on the past, and repel the numerous fears and anxieties which could not but connect themselves with every prospect into the future.

But Spartian refuses his belief to this account, as being founded entirely on false report, maliciously circulated by the enemies of Didius; asserting, that the new Prince did not taste food in the Palace until the body of Pertinax had been carefully removed; that he displayed a thoughtful, and even melancholy, frame of mind throughout the whole evening; and that, so far from spending the night in mirth and jollity, he gave way to the most serious reflections on the critical situation in which he found himself placed, and on the steps which it might be necessary for him to adopt. Nor were his fears excited without a sufficient reason. On the Throne of the greatest Empire in the world, he saw himself without a friend, and even without a counsellor. The Praetorians themselves were ashamed of the Prince whom their avarice had induced them to elect; nor was there a citizen who did not regard his elevation with disgust, as an indelible stain on the Roman character. The higher Orders, whose conspicuous station and ample possessions exacted the strictest caution, dissembled their sentiments, and met the affected civility of their new Sovereign with smiles of complacency, and expressions of duty. We composed our looks, says Dion Cassius, and endeavoured to appear joyful, whilst our hearts were torn with grief and rage. But the People at large, who were not influenced by similar motives, gave the freest vent to their passions. When Didius, on the following day, issued forth from the Palace, they loaded him with the coarsest invectives. They invoked upon his head the wrath of the Gods; prayed that the sacrifice which he was about to offer up might be blasted under his hands; and concluded by rejecting the largess by which he hoped to conciliate their esteem, or bribe their acquiescence. Conscious, meanwhile, of their own weakness, and looking upon the Guards who surrounded the Capital rather as enemies than as friends, they implored the aid of the Legions which served in the Provinces, and besought them to deliver the Empire from the burden and disgrace with which it was now oppressed.

In such circumstances, all the arts of Julianus proved fruitless, and he could not long shut his eyes to the fate which awaited him. The indignant appeal of the Roman People first reached the banks of the Danube, where Severus commanded an active and devoted army; and was soon afterwards conveyed to the shores of Syria and of Britain, where Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus exercised, respectively, a similar power. The intelligence that the Throne of the Cæsars had been disposed of by public auction, drove the three armies to a simultaneous revolt; while the Generals, more eager, perhaps, to occupy the place of Pertinax than to punish his murderers, resolved, without delay, to conduct their forces into Italy, where alone they could effectually redress the grievances of their countrymen.*

Julianus, who had not the slightest apprehension respecting the fidelity of the Legions in Britain and

Lucius Septimius Severus.

From A. D. 193. to 211.

Disaffection of the People, and fears of Didius.

They invite the Provincial Legions to give them aid against the Praetorians.

* Spartian. c. 3. Dion Cassius, lib. lxxiii. *Ne Sulpicianus aliquid noceret, quod Imperator eum voluisset.*

† Spartian. in *Vita Juliani*. c. 3. *Uxor, etiam, Mollia Scamilla, et Albi ejus Augustus sunt appellata.*

* Dion Cassius, lib. lxxiii. p. 835, 836. Herodian lib. ii. p. 496. Spartian quotes the following verse, as expressive of the opinions entertained of the three Generals:

Optimus est Fuscus (Niger), bonus Afer, periculosus Albus.

Biography.

From
A. D.
193,
to
211.

Illyricum, confined all his fears to the Syrian Army under the command of Niger. When, indeed, he heard that Severus was about to take the field against him, he proceeded to the Senate in the greatest consternation, and demanded that the Proconsul in Pannonia should be declared a public enemy, and even that every Soldier who after a certain day continued to follow his standard, should be pronounced to have forfeited his life. Meanwhile, at the head of his corrupted and faithless Guards, the feeble Emperor had recourse to such means of defence as suggested themselves to his unpractised mind; marching the several Cohorts, amid the execrations and laughter of the People, from the Camp to the ground where they were wont to exercise, and from that ground back again to the Camp.

As the competition of the three Generals, already named for the Sceptre of the Roman Empire, involved that Country once more in the horrors of Civil war, we shall follow the example which is set before us by Ælius Spartianus, and give a short account of their character, their history, and the grounds of their respective pretensions.

Character of
Pescennius
Niger.

Of Pescennius Niger we may confidently assert, that he was the most popular Commander of his Age. Owing few advantages to birth, the eminence to which he rose was altogether attributable to his personal merit and professional talents. His courage and success in the conduct of several arduous campaigns, recommended him to the favour of Marcus Aurelius, and even of the less penetrating Commodus; both of whom were taught to regard him as one of the ablest officers to whom they could intrust the interests of the public service. He was raised to the Consulship by the unanimous recommendation of the army which had fought under his command; taking precedence of Severus, who, in the same year, was appointed his colleague. He was next elevated to the Government of Syria, where his wise administration procured for him the esteem of the Soldiers, and the love of the natives. His rigid discipline improved the valour and confirmed the obedience of the former; whilst the gentle Asiatics were charmed with the mildness and affability of his manners, and particularly with the countenance which he bestowed upon their pompous superstition, in the ceremonies of which he is reported to have taken an active part.

His resolu-
tion to
reign.

No sooner had Didius purchased the Throne, than the voice of the Roman People invited Niger to assume the Imperial Purple, and to revenge the death of Pertinax. The wishes of the Legions coincided with those of the Citizens; prompting the wavering General to declare his sentiments, and to receive from their hands the insignia of his high office, as Master of the East and of the West. Ascending the tribunal, accordingly, he reminded his troops that the Empire had been shamefully exposed to public sale, and bought by a man who boasted no distinction besides that which arises from the possession of gold: that their countrymen in Italy were calling aloud for vengeance, and had even named the person whom they thought the fittest to remove the disgrace which recent occurrences had affixed to their character: and that as such an undertaking, on their part, could have no honour were they not solicited to engage in it by those whose interests were most at stake, so it would betray an equal want of courage and of patriotism, were they to reject the prayers of the many thousands of Citizens who now implored their assistance. "I have, there-

fore," he continued, "judged it proper to consult you, and to have your opinion as to what is most expedient to be done, on this critical and very important conjuncture. I shall now be determined by your advice; and in pursuing the path which you shall point out, our fortunes will be inseparably linked together. If success shall crown our efforts, the glory and happiness resulting from the restoration of our Country's honour, will be enjoyed by you not less than by me."

This address was received by the Soldiers, as well as by the inhabitants of Antioch, with the loudest acclamations. They proceeded to salute the Proconsul Emperor and Augustus, and to invest him with the Purple and such other badges of supreme authority as suited the circumstances under which the election had taken place. The new Monarch, attended by a numerous train, went immediately to the principal Temples of the City, to return thanks to the Gods; from these he was conducted, with the same paeantry, to his house, which he found adorned with branches of laurel, Civic crowns, and all the other emblems of Imperial dignity which distinguished the habitation of the Cæsars. The hopes which Niger reposed in the co-operation of his Oriental allies were, in like manner, completely realized. All the Provinces of Asia Minor, from the Syrian Gates to the Ægean Sea, approved the choice of the Legions. The Princes, too, who exercised a delegated power beyond the Euphrates, congratulated the Roman General on his elevation, and offered him their homage and their services. Ambassadors arrived at Antioch from the remotest Kings and States, who made haste to acknowledge him as, at once, their master and protector. Pescennius listened to their professions of loyalty, but respectfully declined the assistance of their arms; relying upon the stability of the position which he had already attained, and cherishing the assurance that he would be every where received as the undisputed ruler of the Roman world.*

Herodian suggests, that the mind of Niger was not capable of resisting this sudden tide of fortune. He flattered himself that his accession would be undisturbed by competition, and unstained by Civil blood; and whilst he enjoyed in imagination the vain pomp of triumph, he neglected to secure the means of victory. Instead of entering into a negotiation with the powerful Armies of the West, whose resolution might decide, or, at least, must balance, the mighty contest; instead of advancing, without delay, towards Rome, where his presence was impatiently expected, he trifled away, in the luxury of Antioch, those precious moments which were diligently improved by the active spirit of his rival.† In a word, his security was his ruin, and his confidence of success paved the way to a complete and irretrievable overthrow; but before we describe the more politic conduct of Severus which led to this result, we shall devote a few sentences to the character and situation of Clodius Albinus, the Governor of Britain.

This distinguished Commander derived his pedigree from some of the most illustrious families of the old Republic. At a very early period of life, he manifested a strong inclination for the military profession; and having received an appointment suitable to his rank, he soon merited the esteem of the Emperor Antoninus. He commanded the Legions in Bithynia at the time when

Lucius
Septimius
Severus.
From
A. D.
193,
to
211.His want of
energy
proves his
ruin.History and
character of
Clodius,
Albinus,

* Herodian. lib. ii. p. 501. Dion Cassius, lib. lxxxi. p. 842.

† Spartian. in Pescenn. lib. i. Herodian. lib. ii. p. 518.

Biography. Avidius Crassus revolted against Marcus Aurelius. On this important occasion, his fidelity to his Prince was the means of preventing a great effusion of blood, as well as of confining the spirit of disaffection to the particular Province in which it originated. He likewise distinguished himself in the reign of Commodus, by bringing to a successful issue several battles against the Barbarians on the Rhine and on the Danube. Such services entitled him to the honours and confidence of the command which he held when Didius Julianus usurped the Empire; and his Civil rank, though not so clearly ascertained, appears not to have been inferior to that which he had earned as a Soldier. Still, it is difficult to form a just idea of his true character. Under the Philosophical cloak of austerity and self-denial, which, in his Age, was sometimes assumed to supply the place of virtues which no longer existed, he stands accused of concealing most of the vices that degrade Human nature.* But his accusers, it ought to be remembered, are those venal Biographers whose interest led them to decorate the fortune of Severus, and to trample upon the ashes of an unfortunate rival. Temperance, or, at least, the well-studied appearance of that quality, recommended him to the good opinion of Aurelius; and it does not appear that the Governor of Britain ever served the son of that Emperor, either as the minister of his cruelties, or as the associate of his dissipation.

Confidence placed in him by Commodus.

When employed in Britain, he is said to have received from the latter Prince a confidential communication, acquainting him with the treasonable designs of some discontented Generals, and authorizing him to declare himself the guardian and successor of the Throne, by assuming the title and ensigns of Cæsar. In the Life of this Commander, written by Capitolinus, the letter of Commodus is recorded at full length; though, we must add, that there are circumstances connected with its production which, in the opinion of several competent Critics, have rendered its authenticity extremely questionable. But it is clear, that Albinus declined the dangerous honour, which would have marked him for the jealousy, or involved him in the approaching ruin, of his Imperial Master. He courted power by nobler, or, at least, by more specious arts. On a premature report of the death of the Emperor, he assembled his Troops; and, in an eloquent discourse, deplored the numerous evils of despotism, described the happiness and glory which their ancestors had enjoyed under the Consular Government, and declared his firm resolution to procure once more for the Senate and People their wonted and Constitutional authority. This popular harangue was answered by the loud acclamations of the Army, and received at Rome with a warm sentiment of gratitude and hope. Safe, both in the possession of a Province, which was removed, by its local situation, from any sudden ebullition of caprice on the part of the Sovereign, and, also, in the attachment of a body of men, formidable alike for their discipline and their numbers, Albinus heard unmoved the chidings of Commodus, maintained towards Pertinax a studied reserve, and declared loudly and firmly against the usurpation of the contemptible Julianus. The convulsions which, upon this latter event, shook the whole of Italy, gave a renewed consequence to the patriotic feelings which he

His Revolt from Didius Julianus.

was supposed to cherish, and to the liberal maxims upon which he professed to reinstate the Government. Had he been on the spot, and ready to avail himself of the opening affections of the People, he might have mounted, with equal ease and safety, the Throne from which Didius must have been compelled to descend. But his distance from the seat of power, and the delay inseparable from the transportation of a large Army from Britain to the Italian shores, and, above all, the rapid movements and active vigilance of Severus, rendered his hopes and his advantages altogether illusory.*

Lucius Septimius Severus, whose plans now demanded our attention, was a native of Africa, and was descended from an Equestrian family. Upon coming to Rome in early life, he received the benefit of a liberal education, and was subsequently raised to the dignity of a Senator by the favour of Marcus Aurelius. His youth, it is said, did not escape untainted by the impurities which disgraced the Capital; and on one occasion, it is added, he was tried for a flagrant crime at the tribunal of Didius Julianus, whom he afterwards deposed and murdered. Having held the usual offices which qualified a candidate for the Consular chair, Severus was intrusted with several military appointments of great honour and importance. He served in Africa, in Spain, and in Gaul, and, finally, obtained one of the most desirable commands in the Empire, that, namely, of the Legions employed in Pannonia, to defend the banks of the Danube against the incursions of the barbarous Tribes who dwelt beyond it.

When the news was conveyed to him that Julianus had ascended the Imperial Throne, rendered vacant by the assassination of Pertinax, he resolved to seize the opportunity which was thereby presented for gratifying the ambition which had long lurked in his bosom. The memory of the late Emperor was dear to the Legions of Pannonia, because, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, they had often advanced to victory under the guidance of his standard, and had learned, from his personal conduct, the most valuable parts of their profession as Roman soldiers. Severus lost no time in taking advantage of this reverence and affection for their murdered Prince. He painted in the most lively colours the horrid crime which had been committed upon the body of a distinguished General, as well as upon the Majesty of Rome. He unfolded in his speech the intolerable insolence of the Praetorian Guards, their want of principle, and their effeminate weakness; he promised to his Soldiers a donative exceeding in amount that with which Julianus purchased the Crown, and he concluded by exhorting his willing auditors to assume their arms, and vow a complete revenge.

Less powerful motives than those presented by Severus, would have been found sufficient to animate the Soldiers of Illyricum to engage in an enterprise which promised to gratify at once their anger and their avarice. Their ardour carried them to salute their Chief on the field by the names of Emperor and Augustus, to which he requested them to add the popular appellation of Pertinax, whose assassins they had undertaken to punish. That the warmth of their zeal might not evaporate by delay, he gave immediate orders to prepare for the march; and, calling to mind

Lucius Septimius Severus.
From A. D. 193. to 211.

Biographical account of the Emperor Severus.

His determination to punish the murders of Pertinax, and to succeed him on the Throne.

The rapidity of his march into Italy.

* Spartian. in *Clod. Albin.* Dion Cassius, lib. lxxiii. p. 637. Herodian, lib. ii. p. 513; lib. iii. p. 521.

* Spartian. in *Clod. Albin.* c. 2. Dion Cassius, lib. lxxv. p. 651.

Biography. a saying of Augustus, that a Pannonian Army might in ten days appear in sight of Rome, he resolved by a celerity proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, to revenge Pertinax, depose Julianus, and receive the homage of the Senate and People, before his competitors could be apprized of his success, or even of his designs. During the whole expedition, he scarcely allowed himself any time for food or for sleep; marching constantly on foot, and sharing with the meanness of the soldiers all the fatigues and privations incidental to so rapid a movement. Crossing Pannonia and the Alps with unabated speed, he descended into the plains of Italy before it was known that he had left his camp on the Danube.

The wretched Didius, whom the revolt of Niger had filled with terror, was still more alarmed when he heard of the insurrection in Illyricum. He thought himself prepared to dispute the Empire with the Governor of Syria; but in the sudden and irresistible invasion of the Pannonian legions, he saw his inevitable fate. He perceived at once, says Spartian, what the consequences would be; predicting that neither himself nor Niger should reign long, but that the supreme power must necessarily fall to the lot of Severus; who, in the exercise of it, he added, would deserve more than either of them, the hatred of the higher Orders, and the detestation of every man in the Empire. But still desirous to protract the term of life and of Government, he implored the Senate to interpose its authority in his behalf, to declare the Pannonian General an enemy to his Country; to induce the soldiers to withdraw from his standard; and to supersede him in his command by the appointment of a successor. Besides these public steps, Didius is said to have had recourse to the more unjustifiable means of assassination; and to have employed for this purpose a Centurion named Aquilius, who had already given proofs of his talent by the murder of several Senators.

But the decrees of the Senate and the arts of the assassin were equally disregarded by Severus, who during his march did not once put off his armour, and was, at the same time, constantly surrounded by a chosen band of six hundred devoted soldiers, who never lost sight of his person till they saw him enter in safety the gates of Rome. Julianus, therefore, had no resource, but in the doubtful courage and fidelity of the Prætorians. Fear and shame prevented them from immediately deserting his standard; but they trembled at the name of the Pannonian Legions, commanded by a resolute and experienced General, and rendered hardy by combating with the barbarians on the frozen banks of the Danube. Accustomed to earn their pay by dictating to their masters, rather than by serving them, the corrupted soldiers at Rome could not endure the fatigues of war, to which they had long been dissuaded; for in pursuance of the policy of Augustus, who maintained his active armies on the frontiers, the Guards who surrounded the city had, it is probable, never seen an enemy, and had ceased of course to practise any other tactics, than such as were necessary for the pacific duties of a palace. Dion accordingly informs us, that they were almost entirely ignorant of every military art. The enraged elephants, whose uncouth appearance, it was hoped, would strike terror into the Army of the North, threw their unskilful riders; while the awkward evolutions of the marines, drafted from the fleet of Misenum, were an object of ridicule and contempt

to the populace.* Julianus, meanwhile, distrustful of the skill not less than of the honour of his troops, began to fortify the City, and even to prepare his dwelling-house for the casualties of a siege; and in these occupations his fear and anxiety found a suitable employment, until Severus had passed the vallies of the Appenines, and was already giving a little needful repose to his Legions in the district of Interamnia, about seventy miles from the Capital.

As the last expedient which seemed likely to avert the danger with which he was threatened, Didius instructed the Senate to appoint Severus his colleague in the Empire. But the latter was determined to reign alone, and accordingly, by means of emissaries, whom he had sent from the Army into Rome, he laboured to seduce the Guards from their allegiance to Julianus; promising that, if they would abandon their pusillanimous ruler, and give up the actual murderers of Pertinax to the punishment which they deserved, he would pardon the rest of their number without farther inquiry. The fickle Prætorians, whose show of resistance was an unwilling tribute which they paid to regard for character, and to their fear of the conqueror, gladly complied with the proposed conditions; surrendered the greater part of the assassins; and made known to the Senate, that they no longer bore arms against the Governor of Pannonia. That body, therefore, immediately assembled at the request of the Consuls, declared the Throne vacant; placed Pertinax among the Gods; and unanimously resolved that Severus should be received as the lawful Sovereign of the Roman People. Julianus, at the same time, was condemned to suffer instant death. A Tribune and some soldiers were commanded to execute the sentence; who, finding the irresolute old man in a private chamber of the Palace, severed his head from his body in the midst of unavailing and unmanly lamentations.†

These steps were taken while the new Emperor was yet at a considerable distance from the Capital, and there is no doubt that they proceeded more from the terror of his power, than from any affection for his person. Amid their preparations to celebrate his accession, the Roman People could not conceal their suspicions of his character, and their uneasiness at his approach. There was no Order of the inhabitants who had not some cause to dread his anger. The Senate had lately passed against him an intemperate decree; the multitude had unequivocally manifested their preference of Pescennius Niger; and the Prætorians, notwithstanding his secret assurances, could not divest themselves of apprehension in respect to his ulterior designs. Nor was the conduct of Severus calculated to remove their fears; for although the voice of the Senate had declared in his favour, and their hands had already removed the principal obstacle to the gratification of his wishes, he continued to advance in a hostile attitude, and to adopt the same measures, as if he had been passing through the country of an enemy.

The result, indeed, proved that his precautions were dictated by the intention of effecting a very important object. It was not enough that he had gained the suffrages of the Prætorian Guards; he resolved to deprive them of the power of repeating so nefarious a

Lucius
Septimius
Severus.

From
A. D.
193.
to
211.

Death of
Julianus,
and accession
of
Severus.

Caution
and policy
of
Severus.

He dis-
bands the
Prætorian
Guards.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitome*. Xiphil. p. 307.

† Ibid. p. 309.

Biography.

From
A. D.
193.
to
211.

transaction, as that which placed Didius on the Throne. For this purpose, he issued an order to those haughty and venal troops, that they should hold themselves in readiness to receive him upon his approach to the City, in a large plain near the walls, without their arms, and only arrayed in the habits of ceremony in which they were wont to attend the Emperor. Their compliance on this occasion arose from their just fears, not less than from a sense of duty; but, as the Roman soldiers never wore offensive armour, except when in the field, or about to engage an enemy, the Praetorians could not reasonably question the peculiarity of the instructions under which they now acted. No sooner, however, were they drawn up in front of the Imperial tent, than the Pannonian Legions advanced with levelled spears, and surrounded their whole Body; upon which, Severus mounted the tribunal, and with a menacing look and angry voice, reproached them in the bitterest terms with the murder of Pertinax, with their shameful behaviour in the sale of the Empire, and particularly with their perfidious and cowardly conduct to the individual, whom they had so unworthily raised to the Throne. He reminded them, that no punishment which he could inflict was adequate to the enormity of their offences, and that it was only out of his great clemency, and from an invincible reluctance to shed the blood of Romans, that he was induced to spare their lives. But as a friend to his Country, he subjoined, he could no longer permit them to retain the important trust which they had so often betrayed; he therefore disbanded them with every circumstance of ignominy, deprived them of their splendid dress and ornaments, and banished them for ever from Rome, adding a solemn declaration, that if any one of their number should be found within a hundred miles of the Capital, he would be instantly put to death.*

He enters
Rome as a
conqueror.

The Praetorians made no attempt to oppose the execution of this command. Severus, indeed, to prevent the effects of any sudden impulse of rage or of despair, had sent a detachment of his Illyrians to occupy their camp, and seize their arms, and thereby to secure the full accomplishment of his patriotic intentions. After this act, which savoured not less of justice than of Political wisdom, he made preparations for his formal entry into the City; which was conducted in a manner, combining so much magnificence with military pomp, as to impress the Citizens with mingled awe and respect. The Army passed the gates in order of battle; displaying Colours, which had witnessed their triumphs over the most formidable enemies of Rome; and carrying the standards of the degraded Praetorians in an inverted position, denoting that those masters of the Imperial Throne had ceased to enjoy power. On the following day he convened the Senators, whom he addressed in a mild and plausible speech; setting forth the motives which had induced him to relinquish the tranquillity of a private station, and to charge himself with the weighty cares of the Commonwealth. He drew the outlines of an excellent plan of Government, which he informed them it was his resolution to pursue on all occasions, with the concurrence and support of the National Council. He praised the gentle administration of Marcus Aurelius, which, he assured them, was to be

the model of his own; and in assuming the name of Pertinax, he gave a pledge that he would likewise revive the wise and temperate policy of that Emperor. He expressed the greatest abhorrence of all arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings; and protested that so far from lending an ear to informers, those enemies of social peace and confidence, he would at all times visit their officiousness with the severest punishments. He even bound himself by an oath, not to take away the life of any Senator without the consent of the whole body, and gave orders that his resolution should be inserted among their decrees; branding with eternal infamy the person and descendants of every individual, whether Prince or Subject, who should be found guilty of violating so humane a statute.

His auditors listened with an incredulous silence; the more discerning part of their number being perfectly convinced, that the real character of Severus, which combined cruelty with dissimulation, would soon belie his fair professions. Their fears were soon proved to be too well founded; for no Emperor ever put to death so great a number of Senators, and among others the very Nobleman who, at his desire, moved for the decree which was meant to secure their lives. It was with more unfeigned satisfaction, therefore, that they proceeded to perform the last rites to the memory of Pertinax, whom they had loved, and whose loss they continued to regret. Severus pronounced his Funeral oration with an affecting eloquence, and perhaps with a sincere grief; and, by extolling the virtues which had secured their esteem, he endeavoured to satisfy the Roman People, that in himself they had found a worthy successor to the power and dignity of the Empire. Dion Cassius, who assisted at the ceremony of the Imperial apotheosis, takes pleasure in reciting the minutest details of the Funeral pageant; but Severus, who acted his part in the ritual with becoming gravity, and every suitable demonstration of sorrow, had no sooner discharged a duty, which reasons of State as well as the superstition of his countrymen required at his hands, than he threw aside the Civic robes, and again buckled on his armour.*

Aware that both Niger and Albinus had entertained hopes of succeeding Didius Julianus, and that the former, in particular, had been called to the Throne by the united voice of the Citizens of Rome, he required not to be told that he would soon have to defend in the field of battle against experienced Generals, the sceptre which he had wrested from the dying hands of a feeble old man. As soon, therefore, as he had appointed his two sons-in-law to the Consulship, and formed a Praetorian Guard out of the most faithful and robust of his Illyrian Cohorts, he turned his thoughts to the necessity of meeting Niger before he should advance into the Italian Provinces. But before he set out from the Capital, he resolved to secure the neutrality of Albinus; who, while the Emperor was engaged in his Eastern war, might have crossed over from Britain, occupied the vacant seat of Empire, and opposed his return even from a successful campaign, with the authority of the Senate, and the force of his unbroken Legions. With this view, he wrote to the British Governor a letter filled with expressions of confidence and attachment; en-

Lacius
Septimius
Severus.

From
A. D.
193.
to
211.

Professions
of the new
Emperor.

He tempor-
izes with
Albinus,
and gains
him over to
a fatal neu-
trality.

* Spartian, in *Sever. Imperator*, c. 5-7. Dion Cassius, *ubi supra*. Herodian, lib. ii. Spartian, in *Nig. et Julian*.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom. Xiphidii*, p. 309. Spartian, in *Sever. Imperator*, lib. iii.

Biography.
From
A. D.
193.
to
211.

treating him to take a share in the burden of Government, and to assume the title of Caesar, as the next heir to the Crown. Albinus, who was of an open, credulous disposition, allowed himself to fall a victim to the arts of his rival; and forgetful at once of his patriotic professions, and his jealousy of supreme power, he accepted the precarious rank which was offered to him as the reward of his abstinence. Severus, on his part, omitted nothing which could give to his deceitful favour all the appearance of sincerity. He caused the agreement, between him and the Governor of Britain, to be ratified by a decree of the Senate; coined money with the name and impression of the new Caesar; appointed him his colleague in the Consulship for the ensuing year; ordered statues to be erected to him; and, in a word, granted him all the honours and distinctions which could flatter him into unsuspicion. Till the contest with Pescennius was decided, the crafty Emperor treated the person whom he had doomed to destruction with marks of esteem and regard. Even in the despatch which communicated the news of his victory over Niger, he addressed Albinus as the brother of his soul and of his Empire, and entreated him to preserve the Armies and the Republic faithful to their common interest. But it is added by the same Historian who relates the facts now stated, that the messengers who were intrusted with this letter, were desired to accost the Caesar with respect, to solicit a private audience, and to plunge their daggers into his heart. It was not until Albinus discovered this flagrant instance of perfidy, that he perceived the necessity to which he was reduced of defending himself by arms against the head of the Empire.*

He resolves
to war with
Niger, and
puts on ad-
vantage his
troops.

In undertaking the war with Niger, the Imperial Commander displayed his usual talent and foresight. He sent a strong body of troops from Illyricum to occupy the most important places in Thrace; equipped the fleets at Ravenna and Misenum to convey his Legions into Greece; and even despatched an armament into Africa, in order to keep up a communication between the Capital and those countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, whence it derived a large portion of its provisions. It was his intention to carry hostilities into Asia, before Pescennius could have an opportunity of penetrating his designs, or of assembling such an army as might enable him to dispute their execution.

But Niger was roused from his dream of confidence sooner than his rival had anticipated; and, summoning his forces at the most convenient station, he passed over into Europe, and established his head-quarters at Byzantium. After a fruitless attempt at negotiation, in which it is probable neither party was sincere, the sword was first drawn in the neighbourhood of Perinthus. The action appears not to have been of any farther consequence, than that, as it was begun by the troops of Niger, it afforded a pretext to his wily antagonist, for declaring the Governor of Syria an enemy to his Country. Severus, still convinced that the fate of the Empire must be decided in the Asiatic Provinces, sent his army across the Hellespont. Landing near Cyzicus, they found the enemy prepared to receive them, under the command of Æmilianus the Proconsul. A battle ensued, in which the Generals of Severus

gained an important victory. The Legions of the East were broken and dispersed, and Æmilianus fled first to Cyzicus, and afterwards to another city in the interest of his master, where, at the instigation of the conquerors, he was cruelly put to death.*

This defeat awakened at once the fears and the resentment of Niger. Stimulated by the desire of revenge, he posted into Bithynia, where he had left a powerful reserve; and collecting the scattered remains of the army which had fought under Æmilianus, he resolved to try his fortune once more in the field. The hostile Generals met near Nicæa. Candidus acted as the Lieutenant of Severus, and Niger commanded his own troops in person. The conflict which followed, is described as having been very obstinate and bloody, but victory at length declared for the Emperor. Pescennius, in consequence of his loss, found himself compelled to relinquish Bithynia, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and to seek a defensive position offered by the strong ground in the neighbourhood of Mount Taurus. The advance of the victorious army was for some time successfully checked by the Syrian Legions, who availed themselves of the natural inequalities of the country to erect works, and to guard the defiles which opened into the plains. A violent storm at length accomplished what the spears of the Illyrian warriors could not effect. The troops of Niger were driven from their strongholds, and forced to continue their retreat through the unprotected fields of Cilicia.

This unfortunate Commander meanwhile had raised considerable levies in the Province of Syria; among which were found nearly all the young men at Antioch, who were firmly attached to his person and his cause. Their zeal, however, was not supported by those military qualities which distinguished the veteran Cohorts to whom they were to be opposed; nor rendered effective by that sedulous discipline, which not unfrequently supplies even in young troops the want of experience in actual warfare. Niger chose for his encampment a plain near the city of Issus, not far from the spot whereon Alexander obtained his great victory over the host of Darius. Anulinus and Valerius were now at the head of the Army of Severus; Officers of high reputation in the service of the Empire, and heartily devoted to the interests in which they were engaged. The conflict which ensued was conducted with much skill and resolution on both sides; and although a professional reader might find many questionable particulars in the account which is given of it by Herodian and Dion Cassius, it admits not of any doubt that victory continued long suspended between the rival Chiefs, and that it did not finally declare in favour of Severus, until more than twenty thousand of his adversaries were cut to pieces. The vanquished leader fled from the field of battle to Antioch, where his mild Government had rendered him very popular; but finding that city in great consternation, he determined, as it was thought, to seek an asylum among the Parthians, to whom, as tributaries or allies of the Roman People, he had found various opportunities of showing kindness. Whatever might be his intentions, the activity of the conqueror prevented him from realizing them; for a party of horse-men, who were sent in pursuit, overtook him before he could pass the Euphrates, slew him

Lucius
Septimius
Severus.
From
A. D.
193.
to
211.
Niger's
army again
worsted.

Niger de-
feated and
slain.

* Spartian. *ubi supra*.

* See Dion Cassius, and the Writers of the Augustan History.

Biography.

From
A. D.
193.
to
211.
Reduction
of Byzantium.

on the spot, and cutting off his head, carried it back in triumph to their camp on the Hellespont.*

This signal victory would at once have put an end to the war in the East, had not Byzantium, the only regular fortress at that time on the shores of the narrow sea which divides Europe from Asia, received within its walls the routed adherents of the Syrian Governor. A strong garrison, and a fleet of five hundred ships which anchored in its roads, enabled the city to resist the power of Severus during a blockade of three years. The citizens and soldiers were animated with equal resolution; and as many of the latter despaired of obtaining pardon from the enraged conqueror, they determined to bury themselves in its ruins, rather than fall into his hands. The strength of the place was rendered still more available by the skill of an engineer named Priscus, who employed in its defence all the mechanical powers which were known to the Ancients. But famine at length triumphed over all the resources of art and of courage, and Byzantium, at the end of the third year, was compelled to open her gates to the besiegers. The Magistrates and soldiers were put to the sword, its walls were levelled with the ground, its privileges were withdrawn, and for many years the future Capital of the Empire was known only as an open village, subject to the jurisdiction of Perinthus; and thus, as Dion Cassius remarks, the Roman People sacrificed to the revenge of Severus the only bulwark which then existed to defend their frontiers against the inroads of their Barbarian enemies. I saw it, exclaims that historian, in such a state of ruin and desolation, as would have made any one conclude, that it had been reduced not by Romans but by savages.†

Cruelty of
Severus.

The most ardent among the eulogists of Severus have not ventured to describe him as a generous enemy. The sons of Niger, who with their mother had been detained at Rome as securities for his fidelity, were first driven from the city, and afterwards put to death. The Emperor exercised a similar severity upon all who, whether from necessity or inclination, had taken part with his rival in the Asiatic war; confiscating the estates of individuals, and depriving the free towns of their ancient honours and immunities. Even the common soldiers, dreading his vindictive temper, fled in large bodies into Parthia and the adjoining countries; carrying with them the Arts and discipline of the West, which, as Herodian observes, afterwards proved of great advantage to the Orientals in their wars with the Romans.‡

He advances in
Mesopotamia.

During the siege of Byzantium, the Emperor employed his victorious Legions in Syria and Mesopotamia; punishing such States as had supplied auxiliaries to Niger, and impressing the terror of his arms upon all whose faith he had reason to suspect. His main object in crossing the Euphrates, was to carry relief to Nisibis, which had been invested by certain Tribes of Parthians, who, taking advantage of the Civil war, which distracted the councils of the Empire, attempted to expell their invaders from all Provinces eastward of the great river. But History has not preserved any particulars of this campaign possessed of the slightest importance. We are merely told, that after accomplishing a laborious march through the sandy waters of

Mesopotamia, he relieved Nisibis, ravaged the neighbouring country, and upon placing a garrison in the city just named, retraced his steps towards the West, where he had a more formidable enemy to encounter in the person of Albinus.

This Commander, it should seem, had continued during the war between Niger and Severus, to repose confidence in the professions of the latter, and to consider himself as his colleague and successor on the Throne. Dion Cassius relates, that as soon as the Emperor, by his victories over the Governor of Syria, had secured possession of the Crown, he thought proper to withdraw from Albinus the title of Cæsar, as well as all the hopes and dignities which that title conferred. He adds, at the same time, that the British General, not satisfied with an inferior place in the Government, had assumed the rank of Augustus; a step which alarmed the jealousy of Severus, and completed the misunderstanding which had already made too great a progress to be any longer concealed. But this writer does not appear to have believed with Capitolinus and Herodian, that any attempt was made upon the life of Albinus by hired assassins, or that the rupture which took place had its immediate origin in the detection of a plot so atrocious. The ambition of the reigning Prince, perhaps, and his determination to enjoy an undivided power, may be regarded as sufficient motives for the conduct which he adopted towards the Governor of Britain; but on this occasion, as on almost every other emergency whereon he had time for deliberation, he contrived to place his adversary in the wrong, and even to load him with the imputation of the selfish views upon which his own policy was founded.*

The writers of the Augustan History, though apparently unacquainted themselves with the actual condition of things which preceded the declaration of war between Albinus and Severus, leave on the mind of their reader a distinct impression, that the former was enojied by the subtle policy of his more profound antagonist; and that it was not until a struggle for the ascendancy had become altogether hopeless, that he began to perceive the necessity of having recourse to arms. His interest in the Senate was not inferior to that of the Emperor; and he was respected for his noble birth, and beloved for his mild disposition; but the power which the latter had acquired during his victorious career in the East, gave to his Throne such a degree of stability, as must have rendered every attempt to shake it, in the Capital, not less foolish than desperate.

Severus had not completed his march from Syria, when the defection of Albinus was announced to him. He appears to have been in Mæsia, at a town which Spartianus calls Viminatium, not far from the banks of the Danube; where he immediately conferred the dignity of Cæsar upon his eldest son, Bassianus, whose name he at the same time changed into Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. He likewise assembled his Army, and made them acquainted with the resolution which had been adopted by the Governor of Britain; against whose ingratitude and treachery he inveighed in the most poignant language. To animate their zeal still farther against the enemy of their country, he distributed amongst them a large donative; assuring them that greater rewards awaited them, when they

Lucius
Septimius
Severus.

From
A. D.
193.
to
211.
Rupture
with Albinus.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xiphil. p. 312, 313.

† Spartian. *in Sever.* *Imperator.* c. 8—10.

‡ Herodian. lib. iii.

* Capitol. *in Albin.* c. 12.

Biography.

From
A. D.
193.to
211.Albus re-
solves to
contest for
the Empire.Civil and
oppression
of the
People, on
the renewal
of the Civil
war.The two
Generals
see the
field.A. D.
197.Battle near
Lugdunum,
in which
Albus is
defeated.

should have put an end to their warlike toils, by the easy conquest of the British Legions.

Before Severus could reach Rome, Albinus had already advanced into the southern parts of Gaul, and was meditating the invasion of Italy. To prevent the native Provinces of the Empire from being stained with Civil blood, the former Chief sent forward a detachment of his Army with the utmost speed, to occupy the passes of the Alps, and thereby to check the advance of his adversary. He himself with the main body followed without delay; setting, as usual, an example of every military virtue, and infusing into the breasts of his men a degree of ardour which no difficulty or danger could repress. By this rapid movement, he defeated the design of Albinus, who probably wished to contend for the Empire in the presence of the Roman People, and to afford to his friends in the City an opportunity of expressing their attachment to his cause, in a more efficient manner than by secret wishes and useless prayers.

In the meantime, says Dion Cassius, who was himself a Member of the Senate, the preparations for a new Civil war struck the inhabitants of Rome with the deepest sorrow and alarm. Among so great a number of noble and wealthy individuals, there were many different interests, and as many different sentiments. Of the Senators, some remained inactive, waiting the issue of events, and ready to bestow their allegiance upon the conqueror; others, attached by particular ties to Severus or Albinus, shared the fears and hopes of the two competitors. The common people, whose families were drained of their youth to fill the ranks of the contending Legions, gave way to lamentation and despondency; and although supplied with the usual number of public entertainments, their eyes were blind, and their ears were deaf to every thing which did not connect itself with the great stake which was about to be decided on the plains of Gaul. At the Circensian Games, where Dion was present in his official capacity, instead of cheering the performers or shouting upon the success of their favourite coursers, the multitude filled the air with prayers for the safety of the State, and with wailings for the thousands of precious lives, which were doomed to fall victims to the insatiable spirit of discord and of ambition.*

The war which ensued was not very protracted in its duration, nor diversified by a great number of events. A few skirmishes took place between detached parties of the two main armies, in which the troops of Albinus had generally the advantage. Dion Cassius mentions, in particular, an action in which Lupus, one of the Generals who served under Severus, was defeated with considerable loss. But the fortune of the Commanders was decided in a great battle, fought between Lyons and Trevoux, wherein both of them conducted their Legions in person. The valour and professional skill of the troops on either side were equally distinguished; but the Illyrians, it was thought, enjoyed the benefit of greater talents, and a more varied experience in the person of their leader.

The victory was most obstinately disputed, and remained a long time doubtful. The left wing of Albinus's army, indeed, was soon repulsed and pursued to the camp; but the right wing, at the same moment, not only kept its ground, but inflicted upon its enemies a severe defeat, and nearly wrested the triumph

from the hands of the Emperor. In this extreme danger, Severus hastened to the relief of his men at the head of his stout Prætorians; but, at the first, so far from restoring the current of success, he saw his Guards cut in pieces, and had his own horse killed under him. Undismayed by this disaster, he rallied the fugitives by his authority and example, placed himself in their front, and advanced sword in hand against the British cohorts, determined to check their progress, or to die at their feet. The conflict was thus resumed with the utmost fury; shame and despair inflamed the courage of the Imperial Legions, while the conquerors, who, through eagerness to complete their advantage and secure the victory, had fallen into some confusion, were not able to withstand the renewed assault. Still the fortune of the field continued in suspense, until Lætus, who commanded the cavalry of Severus, made a vigorous charge upon the wavering line of the enemy, and completed their disorder. This officer is represented by Dion as having declined, in the early part of the day, to take any share in the action; being desirous that the two rivals should destroy one another, and make room for his own pretensions to the supreme authority, should the Throne become vacant. But when he saw that Severus must ultimately prove conqueror, he resolved to redeem his character from the imputation of criminal inactivity, and by a decisive stroke recommend himself to the master of the Roman People. His rapid onset produced the effect which he contemplated. The soldiers of Albinus could no longer keep their ground; but being routed at all points, they sought refuge within the walls of Lugdunum, the ramparts of which resisted for a time the impetuosity of the victors.*

The unfortunate General found a temporary shelter in a private house near the banks of the Rhone. Convinced that his affairs were in a hopeless condition, and unwilling to expose himself to the vindictive temper of Severus, he resolved to put an end to his life. Employing for this purpose either his own hand, or that of a slave, he had nearly expired, when a party of horsemen discovered his retreat, cut off his head, and carried it to the conqueror, who immediately sent it to Rome. The indignities which he committed upon the corpse of his rival, have left a deep stain on the memory of Severus. He trod it under the feet of his horse, and then gave orders to throw it in the river. In like manner, after having put to death the wife and children of Clodius, he interdicted the honours of burial.

No motives of Policy can justify such conduct; for although the flames of Civil war have on many occasions been extinguished by the blood of the vanquished, a generous enemy does not extend his revenge to the dead bodies of his opponents, and more particularly to those of women and children. Nor was Severus incapable of repressing his resentment, for until the final decision of the contest, his cruelty was in a great measure restrained by the uncertainty of the event, as well as by the reverence which he pretended to bear for the Senate. But no sooner did he find himself securely seated on the Throne by the victory of Lugdunum, than the head of Albinus, accompanied with a menacing Letter, announced to the Romans, that he was resolved to spare none of the adherents of his unfortunate competitor. He was irritated by the just suspicion, that he had never possessed the affections of the higher Orders

Lucius
Septimius
Severus.From
A. D.
193.
to
211.He puts
himself to
death.Cruelty of
Severus.* Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xiphilin. p. 321.* Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xiphilin. p. 324. Spartian in *Sever.* c. 11. Capitolin. in *Ulad. Albin.* c. 9.

Biography.
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in the State, and he concealed his old grudge against them, under the recent discovery of some treasonable correspondence. He condemned, say Spartianus, forty-one Senators to death, whose wives, children, and clients were involved in the same fate. In the *Epistle* just mentioned, which is preserved by Capitolinus, he says, "I have ended several ways to the advantage of the Republic: I have filled the city with abundance of provisions; by my victory over Niger I delivered you from the horrors of a tyrannical Government, with which you were threatened. And how have you expressed your gratitude to me for so many services? By preferring to me a lying African, whose mouth was ever full of deceit, and whose whole merit consisted in the claims which he made to the honours of high birth which he did not possess!"* It deserves to be mentioned, however, that though Severus yielded to his vindictive passions more than became a truly great man, he granted a pardon to thirty-five Senators who had espoused the interests of Albinus; and, by his subsequent behaviour, endeavoured to convince them that he could forget the Political offences of individuals, whose general character he found reason to respect.

Restores the
memory of
Commodus.

Upon his return to Rome, after which the executions mentioned above are understood to have taken place, he gave his sanction to a measure the precise object of which has not, perhaps, been clearly ascertained. He knew that the Senate detested the memory of Commodus, and yet, though the character of that Emperor presented no qualities which Severus himself could approve, he resolved, nevertheless, to raise him to the rank of a Divinity, and to appoint to him a Priest and a Festival. In the same spirit, he called himself the brother of that tyrant, and the son of Marcus Aurelius; an extravagance which is recorded in History, and perpetuated on the authority of contemporary medals.

The Citizens of Rome, dazzled, perhaps, by the brilliancy of his exploits, and willing to appease the wrath of a master at once so powerful and so stern, went forth to meet him, carrying in their hands branches of laurel, and other emblems of triumphant peace, and prepared to do him all the honours which were usually conferred upon the success of an Imperial Commander. The Senate, in like manner, received him with every demonstration of submission and respect; concealing their well-grounded fears under the outward expressions of joy. Severus, in the midst of the loudest acclamations, entered the City, went up to the Capitol, where he sacrificed to Jupiter: and returning thence to the Palace, made known to the People how much he was satisfied with their loyalty, and gave them assurances of his favour and protection. It was against their superiors that he cherished the angry feelings which clouded his countenance, and which burst forth on the following day, when he made his appearance in the Senate-house.

Threatens
the Senate.

In his first address to this illustrious Body, which he had convoked, he gave intimation of the Policy which he meant to pursue, by praising the rigours of Sylla and of Marius, and by describing the bad consequences which resulted from the clemency practised, in the day of their power, by Julius Cæsar and Pompeius. His severity, for a time, as was to be expected, corresponded to the examples which he proposed to follow: and so

many men of rank fell under the hands of the executioner, or were deprived of liberty and fortune, that Geta, the youngest son of the Emperor, exclaimed, that more persons would be sorry for the victory which had crowned the efforts of his father's House, than could partake in the joy for its success.*

In proportion as he felt that his interests were alighted by the S-matorial Orders, he paid his court the more sedulously to the multitude and to the Army. To the latter, in particular, his complaisance was extended so far as to merit the indignation of several Historians. Herodian, for example, maintains that, by his largesses and concessions, he impaired military discipline far more than had been done by Commodus; and forgetful of the venal and insolent spirit which he had found it necessary to check among the Prætorian Guards, he encouraged among his followers the same habits which had already led to so much disgraceful insubordination.

But Severus, while he pampered his Soldiers in the Capital, and allowed them to forget, during a short interval, the restraints and privations of active service, did not intend that they should be long idle. No sooner had he confirmed his Government, and appointed the proper Magistrates to administer the Laws in his absence, than he resumed the war in Asia, which he had been compelled to leave unfinished when he marched to attack Albinus. Immediately, indeed, after the battle of Lugdunum, he is said to have despatched Lætus, with such forces as he could spare, to defend Nisibis against the Parthians, who had besieged it while he was employed in the West. He himself, before the end of the year in which he had defeated the British Legions, followed with the greater part of his Army; and having passed through Syria, he arrived in time to save the invested city, and to punish the fickleness or treachery of his Oriental Allies.†

It was his intention, in the succeeding summer, to establish the power of Rome beyond the Euphrates on a much firmer foundation than it had possessed since the days of Trajan. With this view, he strengthened his cohorts, built a great many transports and ships of burden, and, after the heat of the season was over, left the Syrian Province with a formidable armament as well by land as by water. He carried with him the brother of the King of Parthia, whose knowledge of the country, he hoped, might at once facilitate his conquests and give confidence to the troops. Arriving at Babylon, he found that great city deserted. Thence he directed his progress towards Seleucia, which the inhabitants likewise relinquished, and allowed to fall into his hands. Ctesiphon was not reduced without a siege, and the loss of many lives. The Parthians, animated by the presence of their King, Vologeses, who had shut himself up within the walls, made a brave and protracted resistance; while the Romans, destitute of provisions, and compelled to subsist upon herbs and the roots of plants, were consumed by an epidemic disease which greatly thinned their ranks. But the resolution of Severus triumphed over all these obstacles. He persevered, and his exertions were at length crowned with success. The city was taken by storm. The

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Septimius
Severus.

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to
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Flatters the
Soldiers,
and in-
creases
their pay.

Resumes
the war in
Asia.

Captures
Ctesiphon.

* Spartian, in *Sever.* c. 13. Capitolin, in *Clod. Albin.* c. 10. Herodian. lib. iii.

* *Ælii Spartiani Antoninus Geta, — In civitate, ait, plures cruent tristes, quæa lerti, quod vicinus.*

† Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xiphilin. p. 325. Spartian, in *Sever.* c. 15, 16. Oronius, lib. vii. Herodian. lib. iii.

Geography.
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slaughter and the booty were both immense, and the number of prisoners amounted to a hundred thousand. Vologeses escaped from the carnage, and owed his life to the swiftness of his horse; the assailants being too much exhausted by fatigue and sickness either to follow him in his flight, or to mark the place of his retreat.*

Severus assumed for this exploit the title of *Parthicus*, to which the flattery of his troops induced him to add the more questionable epithet of *Maximus*. He seized the same occasion for associating his two sons with him in the Government; and though Caracalla was not more than eleven years of age, he was invested with the rank of *Augustus*, while upon his brother Geta, whose name was at that time changed to Antoninus, was conferred the distinction of *Cæsar*. The Senate, informed of what had taken place, sanctioned by a formal deed the proceedings of the Army, and thereby acknowledged the children of the Emperor as the legal heirs of the Crown.

The capture of Ctesiphon, which cost so much labour and blood, proved in the end a very fruitless acquisition; for the effects of an unhealthy climate, combined with a scanty supply of food, soon reduced the Romans to great extremities, and compelled them to abandon their conquest. Severus, therefore, to procure for his men the benefit of a cooler sky, marched them into Armenia, where he renewed the alliance which had long subsisted between the Empire and the King of that country. But, that he might not return into Syria without accomplishing some object worthy of a place in the annals of his eventful reign, he resolved to reduce the city of Atræ; which, besides having provoked his anger by taking part with Pescennius, had created to itself an imperishable fame by baffling the utmost strength and skill of the Emperor Trajan. His intention was to attack it suddenly, and carry it by storm. But the inhabitants, aware of the resentment which they had kindled in the breast of the Roman Commander, were so completely prepared for his assault, that they drove him off with great slaughter, as well as with the loss of all his warlike engines. Obligated to desist for the time, he resumed his march into Syria; resolved, however, to spend the winter in preparations for the siege of Atræ, upon the people of which he meant to inflict a severe and final chastisement.

Having collected a great quantity of provisions and military stores, together with mechanical aids of every description, he turned his face once more towards the East, and encamped under the walls of the devoted city. But the inhabitants on their part were not less in readiness for a renewal of the contest. Being descended from a tribe of Arabians, they excelled in the use of horses, and in all the arts which render cavalry formidable in an open country. They formed, as it were, an invisible line around the entrenchments of the Romans, cut off their detachments, intercepted their supplies, and confined the Legions to the ground which they covered with their tents. The garrison within were equally active in employing all the means of annoyance and destruction with which their rude warfare had rendered them familiar. They made frequent sallies, set fire to the engines which threatened their walls, and even poured down upon the heads of the assailants flaming pitch and poisonous liquids.

* Dion Cassius, and Spartian. *ubi supra*.

Lucius
Septimius
Severus.
From
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But the superior skill and formidable instruments of the Romans at length effected a breach in the fortifications; when Atræ must have fallen, had not the avarice of Severus counteracted what his perseverance had achieved. He knew that the place contained immense riches, which, if it were taken by storm, must become the booty of the Soldiers, but which, were the enemy to surrender upon capitulation, would belong exclusively to the Imperial Exchequer. For this reason, when the reduction of the city was about to be completed, he called back his men, in the hope that conditions would be immediately proposed. The Atrians, however, so far from submitting to terms, resolved to continue their defence; and accordingly, repairing in the night the damage which had been done to their rampart, they laughed at the forbearance of the besiegers, and repeated a boastful defiance of their power. Severus, distracted with rage and disappointment, ordered his troops to resume their operations and carry the town; but, on this occasion, his commands were met with a positive refusal; the engineers turned their backs upon the walls, and the legionaries threatened to lay down their arms. Thus, after twenty days of toil and danger, and the loss of many lives, the Roman Commander, in order to prevent the still greater evil of a general mutiny, was obliged to raise the siege.

But although the Emperor failed in this instance, his *Vitis* expedition into the East was, nevertheless, attended *Egypt*, with results very favourable to the peace as well as to the stability of his dominions. Returning from Syria by the way of Egypt, he gratified his learned curiosity by visiting the most celebrated places in the latter country, and performed, at the same time, an office grateful to his followers, by paying to the ashes of Pompey the honours which were due to the memory of that unfortunate General. He examined in person the works of Art which had long given a just celebrity to the Kingdom of the Pharaohs, the Statue of Memnon, the Pyramids, and the Labyrinth. He obtained access even into the Temples of the Gods and the Sanctuaries of Religion, conversed with the Priests on their Mythology, and received lessons in regard to the doctrines which were contained in their sacred books. In recompense for this addition to his knowledge, he granted to the Egyptian People several important privileges, relieved them from burdens which had borne them down from the days of Augustus, and established at Alexandria a Council of State, with powers not much inferior to those vested in the Roman Senate.

After spending about six years in Asia he pursued his journey into Italy, through Syria, Cilicia, Thrace, Moesia, and Pannonia. The Senators, if Spartianus may be credited, made haste to decree to their victorious Prince the splendours of a Triumph; an honour which the increasing infirmities of age induced him to decline. A Triumphal Arch, however, attests at once the success of Severus over the Parthians, and the date of his return to Rome. The inscription upon it, which is legible at the present day, records, that it was erected in the eleventh year of the Tribunitian power of Severus, coinciding with the two hundred and fourth year of the Christian era.

The tranquillity which this warrior expected to enjoy in the bosom of his family, was soon disturbed by the ambition of his sons, and by the unpopularity of Plautianus, the Prætorian Prefect. The latter is said to have made use of his exorbitant power to oppress the

Discord in the Palace, and death of Plautianus, the Prætorian Prefect.

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People, and to excite the vindictive passions of his master. By the marriage of his daughter with Caracalla, who had already, for some years, enjoyed the rank of Augustus, he obtained admittance into the Imperial household; where his pride, and the influence which he possessed over the Emperor, rendered him an object of suspicion and dislike. The Prefect could not be blind to the danger with which he was menaced, and, probably, for that reason might be induced to entertain designs in regard to the succession which could not fail to alarm the selfishness of the Prince, and even to form some ground for the charge which he brought against him. Herodian, who appears not to have examined with suitable care the particulars of the accusation, yields to the impression which prevailed against Plautianus; while Dion Cassius, whose rank in the State afforded him an opportunity of sifting the accuracy of such rumours, satisfies himself with insinuating, that the Praetorian General gave way to hopes and desires which ought not to have entered his mind. The Emperor's brother, at the approach of death, whispered into his ear some cautions respecting the views of Plautianus; the effect of which soon appeared in the diminished confidence of Severus, and in the restricted power of his favourite. Caracalla, who incessantly lay in wait for an occasion to ruin his father-in-law, seized the moment of suspicion and declining authority to lay before the Emperor the most appalling evidence that the Praetorian Prefect had entered into a conspiracy to murder all the male branches of the Royal family. Plautianus, who was immediately sent for, made haste to the Palace to learn the pleasure of his master. As soon as he entered, Severus gently upbraided him with his ingratitude, and with the violent nature of his intentions. It was in vain that the Prefect asserted his innocence in the strongest terms. Caracalla seized a sword to run him through the body, but being admonished by a frown from his father, he gave orders to a soldier, who instantly performed the office of executioner. Plautianus fell dead at the feet of the Sovereign, whose injudicious favour had led, step by step, to his destruction, and to the perpetual unhappiness of his own family.*

Increased
severity of
the admini-
stration.

The unhappiness which preyed upon the mind of Severus, gave birth to many cruel acts of tyranny in the general administration of the Government. Being naturally superstitious, he lent a ready ear to every rumour of magical incantation and unfavourable omens; and, with a degree of inconsistency which proves how confused the notions of the most leared Pagans were in respect to the power or constancy of their Gods, he, on some occasions, used the most unjustifiable means to defeat the accomplishment of their declared intentions. To illustrate this statement, as well as to describe the general insecurity of life and property which, at that period, prevailed among all classes of Roman Citizens, Dion Cassius records an incident which could hardly be credited on any testimony less unimpeachable than that of an eye-witness.†

Death of
Apronia-
us.

Apronianus, the Proconsul of Asia, was charged with High Treason, merely because his nurse had dreamed, when he was a child, that he would one day be Emperor. It was added, as an atrocious aggravation of this offence, that he had, in order to penetrate more

deeply into the will of Heaven, consulted Soothsayers, and offered up impure or irregular sacrifices. Upon the simple announcement of these charges, which he was not allowed an opportunity either to disprove or to deny, he was condemned by the Senate as an enemy to his Country, and as a conspirator against the life of the Sovereign.

But the main fact itself sinks into insignificance when compared with a circumstance which attended its progress through the Court of Justice. When the informations were laid before the Senate, it was discovered that a witness, who had been examined concerning this criminal dream, upon being asked in regard to the person who had related it, as well as in respect to those in whose hearing it had been mentioned, replied, that the individual chiefly implicated in the narrative was a bald-headed Senator then present. Nothing could illustrate more forcibly the horrible excess to which tyranny was then carried, than the consternation into which the whole Senate is said to have been thrown by the reading of this deposition. As the name of the accused person was not stated, Dion Cassius confesses that they all trembled, as well those among them who were bald, as those whose heads were well clothed with hair. I acknowledge, says he, that I could not help putting up my hand to feel whether I still retained my hair, and I observed that several others did the same. A circumstance which was afterwards specified, restricted the danger to a small number of individuals. It was declared, that the bald Senator wore at the time in question the *toga prætexta*. The eyes of all were immediately fixed on Barbuius Marcellinus, who was very bald, and who, besides, was invested with the office of Curule Ædile at the period referred to in the evidence. Marcellinus rose up, and said, if the witness saw me on that occasion he will, without doubt, know me again. The informer could not identify the individual whom he had attempted to describe; and it was not till one of the members, desirous, perhaps, for his own sake, to put an end to the cruel uncertainty, pointed out Marcellinus, that the infamous wretch could select his victim. But no sooner was the accusation repeated than the unfortunate Senator was seized, dragged to the place of execution, and put to death.*

Severus, after a short residence in his Capital, took refuge from the dissensions of his family and the intrigues of State in the stirring scenes of a foreign war. He passed over into Britain, with the view of securing the northern boundaries of the Roman Province against the incursions of the Caledonians, and of the other barbarous Tribes, who dwelt between the wastes of Northumberland and the Grampian Mountains. He had hoped, also, that the love of military glory might exalt the ambition of his sons, and chase from their breasts those malignant passions which at once disturbed his domestic repose, and ever and anon threatened to tear the Commonwealth in pieces. His success against the foreign enemy was much more complete than his scheme for restoring fraternal concord. He repressed the wandering savages of Caledonia, confined them by a wall and rampart to their barren hills, and even taught them, by repeated chastisements, to respect the power of the Empire, and the Arts of civilized life. But he did not succeed in subduing the

Lucius
Septimius
Severus.

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to
211.

And of
Marcel-
linus.

Severus
resolves
to invade
Caledonia.

* Dion Cassius, and Spartian, *ubi supra*.
† Dion Cassius, *Epitom. Xiphilin.* p. 336.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom. Xiphilin.* p. 336.

Biography.

From
A. D.
193.
to
211.Account of
the Caledo-
nian by
Dion Cas-
sius.

fierce temper of Caracalla, nor in moderating the peevish resentment of Geta. When his triumph over the Britains was accomplished, Severus found that he had not yet made any progress in uniting his sons in a common interest, or in establishing between them the bonds of harmony and peace.

The account which is given by Dion Cassius of the northern parts of Britain, betrays much ignorant credulity. The inhabitants are represented as living in the very lowest state of barbarism, without houses or agriculture, and so totally unacquainted with the Arts, as not to be able to provide themselves with clothes, or shoes, or any of the most common comforts of Society: and yet they are described as possessing an efficient body of cavalry, well armed and appointed, and, moreover, as bringing into the field of battle a great number of chariots, the riders of which were so well trained as to be formidable even to the Roman Legions. Some distinction, perhaps, ought to be admitted between the *Meate*, the natives of that comparatively level country which stretches from the Tweed to the narrow neck of land which separates the estuaries of the Forth and Clyde, and those ruder clans who preferred the inheritance of the steep and barren mountains, which constitute the frontier of Caledonia Proper. Still, there can be no reader who does not, at once, perceive the absurdity of attributing to a People the use of wheeled carriages and a regular system of military tactics, and of denying to them, at the same time, the knowledge necessary to construct a house, or to protect their limbs with a garment. The information on which Dion wrote must have been either very imperfect or very ill understood, when he relates, that the inhabitants of ancient Scotland went to pass whole days up to the chin in water, and that they had discovered the composition of a species of food, the smallest morsel of which, not larger even than a bean, proved a substitute for all other meat and drink for several days together!*

They ask
peace and
forgiveness
of the
Emperor.

The Historian subjoins what is, indeed, much more probable, that the Barbarians, terrified at the approach of the Emperor towards their country, sent messengers to beg his forgiveness, and to solicit peace. But Severus, regardless of their promised fidelity, or desirous to carry the conquest of Britain farther than any of his predecessors, refused to receive their submission. Leaving his younger son to command in the Roman Province, he himself, with Caracalla, marched northward at the head of the Legions. It is mentioned, that he was carried in a litter, being so much enfeebled by the gout as not to be able to sit on horseback.

The pro-
gress and
success of
Severus.

The difficulties which he had to overcome were very great, and must have conquered the resolution of a mind less firm than that of Severus. He was obliged, says Dion, to cut down forests, level mountains, construct bridges over rivers, and form roads through fens and marshes. Nor had he an opportunity of revenging, in a regular engagement, the losses which were inflicted upon his troops by the incessant attacks of the enemy. The latter were too sensible of their inferiority in the art of war to present themselves in large bodies, or on equal ground. They chose rather to hang upon the skirts of their martial invaders, to cut off stragglers, or to draw them into snares by the prospect of booty; and, in this way, they prosecuted their petty warfare

with so much success, that when the Imperial Commander had finished his campaign, and added a few leagues of useless territory to the Empire of Rome, he found that his army was diminished by disease, or accident, to the amount of fifty thousand men. Consoling himself with the titles of *Britannicus*, *Marinus*, which he likewise conferred upon each of the Princes, he retraced his steps towards the centre of the Island.*

His triumph, such as it was, was soon disturbed by the restless spirit of the Caledonians, and by the intrigues of his ungrateful son Caracalla. This young Prince, after failing in an attempt to excite the soldiers to mutiny, is said to have drawn his own sword against the person of his father. Irritated by such conduct, on the part of his friends as well as of his enemies, Severus allowed himself to fall a prey to the corroding feelings of anger and disappointment. He invited his son to complete his act of meditated parricide; while, in respect to the revolted Britons who had abused his clemency, he expressed, in the words of Homer, his fixed resolution to exterminate them from the face of the earth.

— Τὴν μῆτις ὑπερφύγοι αἰεὶν δλεθροί,
Χεῖρας ὅ' ἡμετέραν μὲν ὄντα ἡστέρι μῆτηρ
Κούρον ὄντα φέροι, μὲν δὲ φίλοι.†

But death soon put an end to his sufferings and to Death of
all his plans for revenge. Having returned as far as Severus.

York, he was attacked with a disease which he himself foresaw would, at no distant period, terminate his career. In the expectation of this event, he called for both his sons, whom he once more exhorted to be affectionate to one another, and to cooperate with mutual endeavours to strengthen the interests of their Family, and the welfare of the Empire. "I found the Republic," said he, "in disorder and confusion. I leave it quiet at home and abroad, even as far as these remote Provinces of Britain. I am now an old man, and rendered feeble by much suffering; but I bequeath to my two Antonini, my beloved children, an Empire which, if they are good, will prove lasting and strong, but which, if they are bad, must be weak and precarious." Spartianus informs us, that he made, on this occasion, some very suitable reflections on the vanity of Human ambition, and on the unsatisfactory nature of all earthly greatness. "I have been every thing," he exclaimed, "but what avails it now." Ordering the urn in which his ashes were to be enclosed to be brought to him, he took it into his hands, and inspecting it narrowly, addressed it in these words, expressive at once of triumph and disappointment: "Thou shalt soon be the habitation of a man whose ashes the whole world was too narrow to confine."‡

He expired at York, in the two hundred and eleventh year of the Christian faith, at the age of sixty-six, after having reigned nearly eighteen years. The funeral rites were performed in that City, and honoured with the respectful attendance of the Army, as well as of the principal inhabitants of the Province; by all of whom

Lucius
Septimius
Severus.From
A. D.
193.
to
211.

* Spartian, in *Sever*. c. 18. Dion Cassius, *Epitom*. p. 340.

† *Iliad*, lib. vi. v. 57—59.

Not one of all the race, nor sex, nor age,

Shall save a Trojan from our boundless rage!

None shall perish whole, and bury all.

Her babes, her infants, at the breast shall fall. Pope.

‡ Dion Cassius, *Epitom*. Niphilii, p. 344.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom*. Niphilii, p. 337, 338. Spartian, in *Sever*. c. 18. Herodian, lib. iiii.

Biography.

From
A. D.
193.
to
211.

His character.

the character of Severus was held in veneration, not less for his great talents than for his wisdom and justice in the administration of the Government. The body was burnt, and his remains were conveyed by his sons to Rome, where they were placed in the sepulchre of the Antonini, whose memory he ever cherished with particular pleasure.

It has been found very difficult to obtain from the pages of ancient writers a fair or consistent representation of the character of Severus. One of the authors of the Augustan History applies to him an expression which was suggested by the effects which the conduct of the first Roman Emperor had upon the fortunes of his Country, namely, that it would have been well for the Republic if he had never been born, or if he had never died.* This remark has in it, perhaps, more point than truth; for though Severus was no ordinary man, he nevertheless rather followed than directed the general current of events. He considered the Roman world as his property, and had no sooner secured the possession, than he bestowed the utmost care on the cultivation and improvement of so valuable an acquisition. Judicious law, executed with firmness, soon corrected most of the abuses which, since the time of Marcus Aurelius, had infected every department of the State. It has been remarked, that in the administration of justice, the sentences of the Emperor were characterised by attention, discernment, and impartiality; and if on any occasion he deviated from the strict line of equity, it was generally in favour of the poor and oppressed; not so much, perhaps, from any feeling of humanity, as from the natural propensity of a despot to humble the pride of greatness, and to sink all his subjects to the same level of absolute dependence upon his will.

His magnificence, and love of the Arts.

His taste for public buildings and magnificent spectacles recommended him greatly to the Roman People. His unremitting care, too, that the Capital of his Empire should at all times be well supplied with provisions, confirmed the affection and gratitude of the Citizens. He laboured to obliterate all traces of the suffering and devastation which had arisen from Civil discord. The Provinces enjoyed under his Government the inestimable blessings of peace and security; and many Cities in the remotest parts of the Empire, restored by the munificence of Severus, have attested by public monuments the sense of their grateful felicity.

Indulgence to the Army

In respect to his management of the Army, there is less ground for unqualified praise. Perhaps no degree of firmness or of wisdom could have avoided the errors with which his command has been charged; for as the Soldiers were the medium through which power was at the same time attained and preserved, an Emperor was induced, by every motive which affects either the gene-

rous or the selfish feelings of our nature, to bestow wealth and dignity upon his Troops. The main danger, moreover, arose from the number and power of the Praetorian Guards, the very ministers and bulwarks of despotism; and Severus not only increased this part of the military establishment fourfold, but also added to its pay, and extended its privileges. He flattered himself that, as the Praetorians were draughted from the whole body of the Army, Provincials as well as native Romans, the Legions would consider them as the representatives of their Order, and be delighted with the honours which, from the rewards bestowed upon the Guards, was reflected upon themselves; while, on the other hand, he cherished the hope, that the ready aid of fifty thousand men, superior in arms and professional experience to any force that could be brought into the field against them, would for ever crush the hopes of rebellion, and secure to himself and his posterity a perpetual possession of the Empire.

His memory has always been respected for the love which he showed to Learning. The habits of a life spent chiefly in the Camp were, no doubt, quite incompatible with any distinguished progress in Science or in Letters; but his taste, notwithstanding, induced him to spend his hours of leisure in the study of Philosophy, and his penetration suggested to him the numerous advantages which would result to his Government from the countenance of learned men. He was much devoted, it cannot be concealed, to that perversion of natural knowledge which was known to the ancients under the name of Magic; and led away by the foolish persuasion, that accidental combinations of matter, or particular positions of the stars, could influence the fortunes of mankind, he had recourse to the various arts by which the Sages of his time professed to lay open the future, and to render propitious the action of the elements. It is said, that he was determined in his choice of a second wife by the discovery that a young Syrian lady, whose name was Julia, had been born with a royal nativity; in other words, that those who could read in the position of the stars the secret pleasures of the Gods, had announced that she was ordained to be the wife of a Sovereign Prince. He wrote, in Latin, Memoirs of his own life; a work of which Aurelius Victor praises the style not less than the fidelity. But Dion Cassius, who had better means for forming a correct judgment, does not give so favourable an opinion of this Imperial autobiography; insinuating that Severus has not, on all occasions, paid the strictest regard to truth, and that in his attempts to vindicate himself from the charge of cruelty, he laid greater stress on hidden motives and refined views of Policy than on the palpable facts which met the eye of the Public.*

Lucius Septimius Severus.

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A. D.
193.
to
211

Patronage of Literature.

* *Illam aut nasci non debuisse aut non mori.* Spartian. c. 18.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xiphilina. p. 343. Spartian. in *Sever.* c. 19—21. Aurel. Victor, p. 517.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS CARACALLA

FROM A. D. 211 to 217.

Biography. It has been already mentioned, that the original name of this Emperor was Bassianus, derived from his maternal grandfather, who was Priest of Apollo, in a city of Phœnicia. When Severus had ascended the Throne, and resolved to perpetuate the Crown in his family, he made his eldest son relinquish an appellation which denoted the humble, and even obscure, lineage from which he drew his blood, and assume the noble and respected names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which were associated in the mind of every Roman with the happiness and glory of the Empire. It was from the fancy which the young Prince manifested for a particular robe of Gaulish manufacture that the *cognomen* arose by which he is most commonly known in History. He not only used it himself, but recommended it to the Soldiers, and even distributed it among the inhabitants of Rome; whence, as the national name of the gown in question was *Caracalla*, the wit or contempt of the Capital designated the young Monarch by a reference to his favourite dress. A similar proof of his frivolous disposition drew upon him the nickname of *Tarantus*, which was borrowed from a famous Gladiator, whose reputation the heir of Severus valued more highly than the renown of any of his father's victories in the East and in the West.*

Their dis-
The late Emperor continued to cherish the groundless hope that his two sons, whom he invested with an equal and joint authority, would administer the Government with mutual affection, and a due regard to the interests of the Commonwealth; a proof that his natural acuteness failed him in the most important concern of his whole life, or that his partiality for two very unpromising youths had more weight in his decision than the peace and prosperity of half the globe. Such a divided rule, it has been well observed, would probably have proved a source of discord between the kindest brothers: it was therefore impossible that it could long subsist between two implacable enemies, who had no desire to accomplish either a reconciliation or even a compromise. Both seemed to be impressed with the conviction that only one could reign, and that the other must fall; and each of them, judging of his rival's designs by the sentiments which filled his own breast, thought it necessary to guard his life with the most unremitting vigilance. Herodian tells us, that during their journey from Britain to Rome, they neither lodged in the same house nor eat at the same table; and that when they arrived in the Capital, they divided between them the Imperial Palace, shutting up all communications which might connect their several apartments, and placing Guards at their doors, as if the City had been threatened by an invading Army.

Prisoner of Geta. Caracalla, even before the obsequies of his father were duly performed, wrought upon the avarice of the

Soldiers with the view of inducing them to declare for him alone, and to set aside his brother. But the Troops, attached to the memory of Severus, and respecting his will in the destination of the Empire, rejected the proffered bribes; looking upon themselves as the proper guardians of the two Princes, to whom they owed an equal allegiance and affection. Geta tried other arts to supplant his more boisterous colleague. He had recourse to smooth speeches and plausible professions; and as he was naturally of a mild and, apparently, an open disposition, he did not fail to secure a great number of partisans. He inherited his father's taste for Learning, promoted the study of the liberal Sciences, and in all his amusements encouraged only such exercises as became a man of rank and refinement. Caracalla, on the other hand, was harsh and brutal, extremely passionate, and always more desirous to be feared than to be loved. He affected the airs of a rough soldier; and while others praised the pursuits of Art or of Literature, he thundered out his approbation of war and arms.

In a case where interests and dispositions were so diametrically opposed, it was in vain to expect the restoration of harmony. All the efforts of Julia proved unavailing; her entreaties and her tears were despised; and she at length began to perceive that the enmity which embroiled the Palace and divided the Army, could not be extinguished but by the death or distant separation of the two brothers. It is, therefore, surprising that she should have opposed herself to the only expedient which could have removed her apprehensions respecting the fate of her sons. Fatigued with their incessant quarrels, the young men themselves proposed to divide the Empire, and to establish their Thrones in different seats of Government. Geta declared that he would be satisfied with Egypt and the Asiatic Provinces, and would fix his residence at Alexandria or Antioch. The Propontis, a natural boundary between the East and the West, was to have fixed the limits of their respective dominions, while garrisons at Byzantium and Chalcedon would have been charged with the duty of preventing all such communication as might have endangered the repose of either Country.

But the dismemberment of the Roman Empire was opposed not only by Julia, who compared it to the dissection of her own body, but it was likewise deprecated by the chief persons in the Commonwealth, who foresaw, in its division, the seeds of weakness and mutual distrust. Disappointed in this project, which the feelings of his subjects were not prepared to adopt, Caracalla resolved to rid himself of his colleague by means less scrupulous. He solicited an interview with his brother in the chamber of their common parent; where, by the hands of assassins, whom he had concealed for the purpose, he put him to death, notwithstanding the shrieks and struggles of the Empress, who had clasped her unfortunate child in her arms. She

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla.

From A. D. 211. to 217.

The Princes propose to divide the Empire.

Presented by Julia.

Geta is murdered.

* Spartian, in *Caracall.* c. 9. Herodian, lib. ix. Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* p. 344.

Biography. even received a wound in her endeavours to prevent the murder; but the bodily pain which she endured was nothing, in her estimation, compared to the anguish inflicted upon her maternal sensibility, by an order from the brutal survivor to suppress every token of grief, and to conceal from the world that she was aware of the melancholy catastrophe which had just polluted and alarmed the Palace of the Cæsars.*

Caracalla gains the Praetorians. This compulsory dissimulation on the part of Julia was necessary to accomplish the object which Caracalla had yet in view. Geta, he knew well, possessed a firm hold upon the affections of the Army: on which account he determined to have recourse to stratagem, in order to divert their resentment until he should have an opportunity of addressing himself with flattery and an extraordinary largess to their vanity and avarice. Rushing out of his mother's apartment with an air of assumed terror, he exclaimed, that he had just escaped from the most imminent danger, and had with difficulty saved his life. Summoning his Guards to attend him, he proceeded to the Camp of the Praetorians, where he returned thanks to the Gods for his miraculous escape, and entreated the wondering Soldiers to join with him in offering up sacrifice to Heaven for the continued preservation of the Empire. He intimated, indeed, that his brother had not been as fortunate as himself; but congratulated them that one Emperor still lived, ready to promote their interest and increase their comforts. He promised them a donative of ten thousand sesterces a man, doubled their daily allowance of provisions, and professed that the pleasure of his whole life would be to live amongst them, and his greatest honour to die in their ranks.†

The Senate listens to his defence. The mercenary Praetorians could not resist such arguments as these. After passing a night in the Camp, which he pretended to regard as the only place of safety, the Emperor convoked the Senate, to whom he delivered a speech, full of deceit and prevarication, relative to the event which had spread among the Citizens so much fear and sorrow. He complained that his brother had laid snares to take away his life; and, accordingly, represented the death of Geta as an act of self-defence which could not be avoided, inasmuch as he was compelled to choose the painful alternative of removing a rival by violent means, or of falling himself a victim to a similar resolution. His auditors were far from being satisfied either with his motives or his reasoning; but having, perhaps, anticipated such a result, and being sensible that the Government could not have been conducted advantageously by two Princes whose sole study it was to oppose each other's views, they listened to the statement of Caracalla without any expression of impatience or of disapprobation. It was suggested to him, however, that in order to soothe the feelings of the People, and to atone, in some measure, for the crime to which Political necessity had urged him, he should honour the memory of his brother with the usual apotheosis conferred upon deceased members of the Imperial Family. The consent of this unworthy son of Severus was characteristic of his fierce and contemptuous disposition. "Let him be a God," he exclaimed, "provided he does not come alive again!" In pity to the misfortunes of

Geta, posterity has cast a veil over his vices. That young Prince has been considered as the innocent victim of his brother's ambition, without a recollection that he himself wanted power rather than inclination to consummate a crime similar to that by which he was destroyed.*

The subsequent conduct of Caracalla is marked by so many features of extravagance, that it is impossible to account for it without the supposition of occasional insanity. His conscience appears to have been haunted by the most frightful phantoms; and he confessed that he often saw the indignant shades of his father and brother pursuing him with angry looks, and threatening him with the severest punishment for his cruelty and disobedience. His remorse for the murder of Geta frequently melted him to tears; and while the fit of compunction was on him, he was wont to issue orders to put to immediate death certain of the individuals who had been concerned in that atrocious deed. Lætus, who is understood to have approved his determination to reign alone, was among the first who fell victims to his repentance. But, with the inconsistency of a madman and a tyrant, he embued his hands deeply in the blood of those who were known to have been attached to Geta. Dion Cassius relates, that about twenty thousand persons, against whom no other charge could be brought than that they had been friends or dependents of the Emperor's brother, were condemned to death in some one of the various forms in which it pleased Caracalla to inflict it. In this miserable proscription were included all who had served the Prince, in a public or in a private capacity; his Guards, his Freedmen, his Counsellors, the Officers whom he had promoted, and the Commanders whom he had employed. Virtue could not protect, nor could obscurity conceal the victims; and both sexes were equally exposed to the fatal resentment of the unfeeling and capricious despot.†

Among the thousands whose unmerited fate signalized this reign of terror, a conspicuous place has been assigned by Historians to Papinianus, whose death was lamented as a public calamity. During the latter years of Severus, this distinguished person exercised some of the most important offices of the State, and by his judicious advice kept the tenour of Government within the limits of justice and moderation. Relying upon his virtues and ability, the Emperor, when on his death-bed, entreated him to continue his services for the welfare of the Commonwealth, and for the benefit of the Imperial Family. But Caracalla endured with impatience the influence of a character which controlled his own, and seemed more disposed, in all matters of public interest, to lead than to follow. In truth, the more assiduously Papinianus laboured for the good of the community, the more did he become an object of hatred to the jealous spirit of his master. He was deprived of the important office of Praetorian Praefect, and divested of all military rank and authority. But as he was not less eminent as an orator and a constitutional lawyer than he was at the head of an Army, the Emperor applied to him immediately after the assassination of Geta, to compose such a defence or apology for that nefarious deed as he might pronounce before

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla.

From A. D. 211. to 217. Extravagance and cruelty of Caracalla.

Death of Papinianus.

* Herodian. lib. iii. Dion Cassius. *Epitom.* Xiphilini. p. 345. Spartian. in *Get.* p. 5, 6.

† Dion Cassius. *Epitom.* p. 352. Herodian. lib. iv.

* Spartian. in *Get.* p. 6, 7.

† Dion Cassius. *Epitom.* Xiphilini. p. 352. Herodian. lib. iv. Spartian. in *Caracall.* 4; in *Geta*, 6.

Biography. the Senate. The generous Roman made answer, that it was much more easy to commit a murder than to justify it; and that to assail the memory of the murdered person, was nothing better than to commit the crime a second time. Such freedom could not be pardoned at the Court of Caracalla. The wrath which he had excited was only to be appeased with his blood; and, accordingly, a short time afterwards, the intrepid Commander was put to death, together with his son, who had risen to the rank of *Quæstor*, and who could be charged with no other offence but that of imitating his father's virtues.*

Judiciary **officers** **on** **Roman** **Civil**. Not being able on all occasions to carry with him the concurrence even of the brutal Soldiery who executed his commands, the Emperor found it necessary to cover his cruel intentions with the most consummate hypocrisy. For example, although he had resolved on the death of Fabius Cilo, he was compelled by popular indignation to relinquish his intentions, and even to applaud the excellence which he had wished to remove from his sight. Cilo had been one of the dearest friends of Severus; had served twice as Consul; and having been appointed to superintend the education of the two Princes, Caracalla affected to honour him as a second father. For these reasons, though he hated him as a monitor who had often reproved his vices, and blamed his conduct towards his brother, he could not openly give orders to put him to death. But a party of his devoted Prætorians, who were no strangers to his wishes, determined, by anticipating his commands, to earn a claim upon his liberality. Stimulated, as it were, by voluntary zeal in behalf of their Chief, they seized Cilo while in the bath, plundered his house, and dragged him, with the utmost violence, through the streets, towards the residence of the Emperor. The sight of such indignity inflicted on so good a man, roused the inhabitants to sedition. The City Cohorts, in particular, whom he had commanded, assumed in his defence an air of so much determination, that Caracalla found it expedient to leave the Palace in order to calm the tumult, and protect his venerable tutor. He threw his own robe round the naked body of Cilo, commanded the soldiers to desist from their meditated crime, and directed that they should be punished with death for proceeding so far without his authority. The Prætorians met their doom, says a native Annalist, not because they had assuaulted the ancient friend of Severus, but because they did not despatch him when he was in their power.†

Other **emblems** **of** **Caracalla**. The reader of History cannot fail to regret, that the records of the Roman Empire, for the period now under our consideration, are so closely connected with the personal character of its rulers; or rather, indeed, that the events which stand most prominently forward may be identified with the caprice, the extravagance, and the cruelty of the Sovereign. But as such details are neither agreeable nor instructive, we shall not enter into them with the minute diligence of Spartianus and Dion Cassius. It cannot be interesting to any one to know that Caracalla condemned to death an aged lady, sister of Commodus and daughter of Marcus Aurelius, merely because she mixed her tears with those of the Empress Julia upon the murder of Geta. Nor can it be more gratifying to learn, that

he took away the life of his own cousin, because his name was Severus. In this instance, indeed, he added the most contemptible duplicity to his inhumanity. He sent to him a dish from the Imperial table as a mark of his respect and friendship, and next morning gave orders for his immediate death. Pertinax, a son of the Emperor of the same name, owed his destruction to an ill-timed joke. Being in the Senate-house on one occasion when the Prætor rehearsed the titles which Caracalla had been pleased to assume, and hearing the epithets of *Sarmaticus* and *Parthicus*, with others denoting foreign conquest, annexed to the Imperial designation, he suggested that they should add the more striking honour of *Geticus*; an expression which was at once applicable to the *Geta*, a people with whom the Romans had been at war, and to the unfortunate youth who had recently shared the Empire. Pertinax, who was at no time a favourite, paid for this witicism with the loss of his head.*

Fortunately for Rome, her inhuman master was at length seized with the desire of martial renown, and resolved to conduct the Legions in person against the Barbarians beyond the Rhine. The occurrences of the war which ensued are very obscurely related; but it admits not of doubt, that, by means of the most abominable treachery, he succeeded in perpetrating an extensive massacre among the *Alemanni*; a valiant Tribe, whom he himself acknowledged he could not otherwise subdue. Another horde, to whom Dion Cassius gives the name of *Calli*, admonished, perhaps, by the fate of their neighbours, defended themselves with so much bravery that Caracalla was glad to purchase, with a large sum of money, permission to retreat. Defeated by the men, he took revenge upon some females who had fallen into his hands, and who, though they preferred death to servitude, were all sold for slaves. He reaped no other fruit from his German expedition than the contempt of the natives, who plainly saw, through all his pompous boastings, the cowardice and perfidy of his real character. The Barbarians still more remote, encouraged by his imbecility, menaced him with war; finding that, though he threatened them with utter extermination, he did not disdain to solicit their forbearance, and even to bribe them into peace.†

From the banks of the Rhine, Caracalla pursued his warlike career to the borders of the Danube; where he provoked the enmity of the Goths, whose manners and arms were at that time new to the Romans, and received hostages from the Dacians, who wished to avoid hostilities. Passing through Thræce, he arrived at the shores of the Hellespont; after which he sailed for Asia Minor, with the view of visiting Troy, and of doing honour to the heroes who had perished under its walls. He erected a statue to Achilles, and offered up libations upon his tomb. Smitten with disease, both in body and mind, he repaired to Pergamos, where there was a magnificent Temple of *Esculapius*, celebrated for the wonderful cures performed in it by the influence of that God. The effects of dissipation, and the disorders of an intellect which had never been well balanced, were ascribed to the incantations of the Germans, who, as his flatterers insinuated, being unable to oppose him in the field of battle, had sought their revenge in magic

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caracalla.

From A. D. 211. to 217.

The Emperor leaves Rome, and engages in war on the Rhine.

Proceeds to the Danube, and passes into Asia Minor.

* Spartian. in *Caracall.* c. 6. Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* lib. lxxvii.

† Spartian. in *Caracall.* c. 3, 4; in *Sever.* c. 21; in *Get.* c. 6.

* Spartian. in *Caracall.* c. 10.

† Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Niphalia. p. 353. Herodian. lib. iv.

Biography.

From
A. D.
211.
to
217.

Prepares to
invade the
Parthians.

From the evils under which he laboured, the Emperor found no permanent relief in the professional fame of Æsculapius, nor even in the more powerful aid of Apollo and of Serapis; the Gods, says Dion Cassius, being less pleased with his offerings, costly as they might be, than they were incensed at his criminal conduct and impious designs.

During a winter spent at Nicomedia, he made great preparations for invading the Parthians and Armenians, who, it was acknowledged, had given him no provocation, and were even averse to war. The former People had recently lost their King, and were exposed at that moment to all the disadvantages which attend a disputed succession. The Crown was claimed by two brothers, one of whom, Artabanus, obtained the ascendancy; and being unwilling to hazard his acquisition in a doubtful war with the Romans, he complied with the conditions prescribed by Caracalla, and was allowed to occupy the Throne of his father as a vassal of the great Western Empire.

Treachery
to the
Kings of
Edessa and
Armenia.

The advantage which Caracalla thus took of the circumstances in which the Parthian Prince found himself involved, might, perhaps, be justified by the example of better men, and might find an apology in the motives upon which Sovereigns too frequently go to war. But his conduct towards the Kings of Edessa and Armenia admits not of excuse on any principle recognised among civilized nations. He invited the former, whose name was Abgarus, to meet him at Antioch, to consult on matters connected with their common interest; and as soon as he had him in his power he loaded him with chains, and seized upon his territory. In a similar manner he entrapped the Armenian King, who, with his two sons, was detained as a prisoner while a body of troops was sent to take possession of his land. But the people of that Country, more numerous and warlike than the subjects of Abgarus, flew to arms in order to defend their property, and to avenge the injuries inflicted upon their Monarch. In a battle which soon followed, they repulsed, with great slaughter, the Roman Army which Caracalla had despatched against them, and compelled his feeble General to fall back upon Syria with the remainder of his broken and dispirited forces.

Boasts of
his duplicity.

Though the perfidy of the Emperor recoiled upon his own head, and involved him in disgrace which could not have occurred in an open and honourable war, he nevertheless took credit to himself for unbounded success and the most manly exploits. In a Letter to the Senate, he boasted of his triumph in having reconquered the East, and of his personal exertions in defying the effects of climate, and the obstacles of seas and mountains; reproaching, at the same time, the Members of that illustrious Council with their effeminacy and idleness, so unworthy of Romans, and of the glory which continued to follow their arms. It was perfectly well known, meanwhile, that the author of this boastful Epistle never saw an enemy in the field, but that, while his Lieutenants were ravaging one district, or retreating with shame from another, he was wallowing in the luxuries of Antioch, or seeking remedies for his bodily distempers.*

Caracalla is
incensed at
the people
of Alexandria.

The cruelty and deceit with which he treated foreign Princes, were in a short time surpassed by the barbarities which he exercised upon the Citizens of Alexandria. His person and pretensions excited the ridicule

of that facetious People; who, finding that he aspired to the fame of Achilles in respect of strength and beauty, and to the renown of Alexander the Great as a conqueror, could not repress their merriment when they saw in Caracalla a deformed figure of very small stature, and learned that his courage had never been shown, except in the murder of his friends and relatives. Their unseasonable wit sought vent even in the theatres and public places. Eteocles and Polyneices were produced as types of Caracalla and Geta; and Julia, the mother of these last, was alluded to under the name of Jocasta.

But they soon discovered reason to repent the liberties which they had taken with the ferocious Tyrant. He announced his intention of repeating his visit, that he might at more leisure examine their works of Art, and do honour to the genius and patriotic views of their immortal founders. Forgetting the ground of offence which they had given him, or hoping that it had altogether passed away from his mind, they made preparations to receive him with the utmost joy and magnificence. Concerts of music, illuminations, perfumes, garlands of flowers, and crowns of gold, were lavished with profusion. The sullen, vindictive Monarch appeared to receive these tokens of loyalty with entire satisfaction. He went first to the Temple of Serapis, where he sacrificed whole hecatombs, and burnt a prodigious quantity of incense upon the altar. He next repaired to the Tomb of Alexander, where he made an offering still more costly, and not less flattering to the vanity of those who witnessed it. He pulled off his Imperial robe, which was composed of the richest materials, his belt, which was covered with precious stones, and all the rings which were upon his fingers; and placing them on the coffin, or urn, which contained the ashes of the hero, devoted them to the memory of the greatest Warrior that any Age had produced, and whom he and all Commanders admired the most.*

The scene which followed was truly horrible, but as Dion Cassius and Herodian differ materially in the details, there is ground to suspect that the narrative has been much exaggerated. According to the latter, Caracalla pretended a desire to form an Alexandrian phalanx, after the model of the famous Macedonian Body; and in pursuance of this object, he assembled all the young men of the city in a plain adjoining to the walls, where he surrounded them with his troops, and put them all to death. Dion Cassius makes no mention of this atrocious slaughter, but merely relates that the Emperor first murdered the most eminent of the citizens, who had waited upon him on his arrival, and whom he had invited to his table; that the Soldiers afterwards spread themselves all over the city, and killed without distinction every person whom they found, of whatever age or sex; and that the massacre was so extensive that even Caracalla thought it necessary to conceal or diminish the number of the slain. It is said that he feasted his eyes with the sight from the summit of the Temple of Serapis, whence, from time to time, he sent orders to the Tribunes to increase the activity of the assassins. It was on this occasion, if Herodian is to be believed, that he consecrated to Serapis the dagger with which he had murdered his brother.†

Marcus
Aurelius
Antoninus
Caracalla.

From
A. D.
211.
to
217.

Visits that
city.

Massacre of
the inhabitants.

* Spartian, in Caracall. c. 6. Herodian. lib. iv.

† Herodina. lib. iv. Spartian. in Caracall. c. 6. Dion Cassius, Egiptum.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom. Xiphilini*, p. 364.

Biography.
From
A. D.
211.
to
217.
Known
in Syria,
and elsewhere
the Par-
thian war.

Resuming the intention of an Eastern campaign, he returned into Syria; but as he was at peace with all the nations which bordered on the Roman Province, it was necessary to create a pretext for a quarrel before he could march his Army into their country. With that view, he demanded in marriage a daughter of the King of Parthia, in the hope that she would be refused, and thereby justify an appeal to arms, or in the prospect, if his request were granted, of having a right to dictate in all affairs of Government. Herodian states, that though the projected marriage was contrary to the established customs of the Romans as well as to those of the Parthians, Artabanus, after considerable hesitation, at length agreed to it. But the authority of Dion, in this instance, seems entitled to greater confidence. He assures us that the Parthian King, seeing through the unjust and ambitious designs of Caracalla, resolutely declined to sanction an alliance the consequence of which, he predicted, could not fail to prove both fatal and disgraceful to his subjects. The Legions were therefore pushed forward into Mesopotamia without loss of time; and finding the low country of Parthia quite unprotected, they carried devastation over the greater part of it, plundering the cities, and destroying every monument of art and of independence. In the neighbourhood of the Capital, the Emperor observed some Royal Sepulchres, which he caused to be thrown open, and gratified his paltry resentment by scattering to the wind the dust of several generations of the Arsacids.

Is unac-
quainted by
Marcella.

The King of Parthia had retreated beyond the Tigris, and taken possession of a line of strong posts, whereon he resolved to collect the military forces of his Country, and to descend thence, like a storm, upon the Romans in the following Spring. Meanwhile, Caracalla fell back upon Edessa, a town in Syria, to spend the winter in the voluptuous living peculiar to the Orientals, to write magnificent Letters to the Senate descriptive of his victories, and to prepare his Troops for a renewal of their conquests. But the career of his boasting and folly was now near an end. The author of his death was Macrinus, one of the Prætorian Præfects, whose hatred he had provoked by many contumelies, and whose aspiring disposition had alarmed his jealousy. This Commander, aware of the danger with which he was surrounded, resolved to anticipate the designs of his suspicious master; for which purpose he applied to Martialis, an Officer of the Guard, who had various reasons to be dissatisfied with Caracalla, and incited him, by the strongest motives of hope and of fear, to revenge his wrongs on the body of the tyrant. During a march, accordingly, which the latter, attended by a detachment of the Prætorians, undertook to Carthæ, where he meant to offer up a sacrifice in the Temple of the Moon, Martialis, seizing an opportunity when the Emperor was quite alone, stabbed him with a poniard. The assassin was himself almost instantly put to death by a Scythian Bowman belonging to the Imperial Guard, but not before he had the satisfaction of knowing that his personal enemy had breathed his last.*

Is unac-
quainted by
Marcella.

Unworthy and contemptible as Caracalla was, his loss was nevertheless deeply regretted by a large portion of the Army. The Prætorians, already increased in number from ten to fifty thousand, bewailed in him a constant benefactor; for although the son of Severus

was unprovided by nature with those qualities which are necessary to form a successful Commander, he thirsted for military reputation with so strong an appetite, as to place the main study and pleasure of his life in the aggrandisement of the Soldier, whom he was pleased to regard as the instruments of his fame. The desire which he manifested to be thought like Alexander the Great, and to rival the exploits of that celebrated conqueror, led him into a thousand absurdities. It was not enough for him to form a Macedonian phalanx of sixteen thousand men, all natives of Greece, and to appoint Officers with names corresponding to those of the Generals who served under the son of Philip. He was not satisfied with copying the dress, the armour, and the gait of his favourite warrior, and with erecting to him innumerable statues in all parts of the Empire. He thought it, moreover, incumbent upon him to persecute the Peripatetic School of Philosophy wherever a single Member of it could be found, merely because a rumour had reached his ears that Aristotle was privy to the death of Alexander. The accusation itself is admitted to have been an arrant calumny; but Caracalla thought otherwise; and in consequence of this notion, he not only gave orders that all the Works of that great Philosopher should be burnt; he farther insisted that every individual who was known to hold his opinions should be made responsible for the crime with which his memory is charged, and accordingly he issued instructions that the annual payments, and other advantages, bestowed upon the Museum at Alexandria, wherein the doctrines of the Stagyrite were inculcated, should be forthwith discontinued.

Marcus
Aurelius
Antoninus
Caracalla.

From
A. D.
211.
to
217.

His foolish
imitation of
Alexander
the Great.

Mistaking the real points of excellence in the character which he was so desirous to imitate, he professed to take a great delight in military exercises which he did not understand; he dressed and armed himself like the meanest of the Soldiers, mixed with them in their labours, and shared with them the same food; but as he chose for these manifestations of his zeal the time of profound peace, or the security of a summer encampment, his bustling activity had no other effect than that of exciting derision. Herodian adds, that he sometimes ground with his own hands the corn which was selected to make his bread, then kneaded the dough, baked it, and eat the fruit of his own toil. He condescended, on other occasions, to act the part of an Ensign, and carry on his shoulders the heaviest standards of the Legions. In a word, he thought himself an Alexander merely because he did the duty of a common soldier, by working in the trenches; and imagined that he could revive in his Army the Spartan discipline, by tasting once or twice of coarse food, and by descending from the necessary dignity of his high station.

Another bad consequence arising from his military affliction, appeared in a marked contempt for Learning, and for all men of Letters. The peaceful pursuits of the Student, and the abstract researches of the Philosopher, were regarded by him as an avowed dereliction of manhood; and on no occasion was he more delighted than when an opportunity occurred for expressing his deep and utter aversion from all the votaries of the Muses. He endeavoured to forget that he had ever heard the name of one of the Sciences, The Games of the Circus and the fights of wild beasts were his favourite studies; and he boasted that in one day, after taking a share in other combats, he had killed a hundred boars with his own hand.

His con-
tempt of
learning.

* Dio Cassius, *Epit.* p. 359. *Spartan*, in *Caracall.* c. 6, 7.

Biography.

From
A. D.
211.
to
217.
Neglect of
his Civil
duties.

To such a person the patience and self-command necessary for the administration of justice must have been extremely irksome. We find, accordingly, from Dion Cassius, that he avoided as much as possible this important part of his duty, and never, indeed, engaged in it but with reluctance and disgust. This Historian, who was Prefect of the City, and hence officially bound to assist the Emperor in his decisions, tells us, that Caracalla frequently sent notice to the Judges that he would be ready to hear causes, or hold a Council, early in the morning. We failed not, says he, to be punctual to his orders, but he made us wait till afternoon, and sometimes till the evening. We remained without doors, not being permitted to enter even into the ante-chambers. At length, when we were called in, it was only to be informed, that it was no longer time to do business; and, indeed, we were often sent away without having had an opportunity of making the customary salutations. Whilst we were thus losing our time in waiting to no purpose, the Prince was amusing himself with trifles, driving a chariot, fighting with wild beasts, or drinking, perhaps, with a gladiator. Dishes of meat and great vessels of wine passed before our eyes for the use of his Guards, while it was manifest that he enjoyed a secret pleasure in the fatigue and delay which we were compelled to endure.

Affection
of zeal for
Morality
and Reli-
gion.

Did not the history of Human Nature abound with similar examples, we should be surprised to learn that Caracalla, amid his rank debaucheries, affected a great zeal for purity of morals. He punished adultery with death; and condemned to be buried alive four Vestal Virgins, one of whom himself had attempted to seduce. Nay, he attempted to set himself up not only as a reformer of Religion, but even as a pattern of piety and godliness. He mistook, indeed, belief in magic for trust in Divine Providence, and his fear of punishment for a reverential awe towards the Supreme Ruler of the world. A slave to superstition himself, he denounced it as an unpardonable offence in all others; and Spartianus records, that several individuals during his reign were put to death for wearing round their necks a charm against intermittent fever.*

His exten-
sion of the
privileges
of Roman
Citizens to
all the sub-
jects of the
Empire.

The Government of Caracalla was rendered remarkable by a measure, the Policy of which has been greatly questioned by writers on Constitutional Law, both in

ancient and in modern times. We allude to the decree by which he threw open the rights and privileges of Roman Citizens to all the inhabitants of the Empire. The pride of the Commonwealth had long restricted this honour to the native subjects of the original State, and it was not granted to the rest of Italy until after the struggle of a long and bloody war. The first Emperors, Augustus and Tiberius, were equally sparing of this envied distinction; and it was not until the weak and mercenary reign of Claudius had raised the Provincials to an unwonted pitch of authority, that Citizenship could be obtained with nearly an equal facility on both sides of the Alps. During the same administration the Gauls were admitted into the Senate; a privilege which they ever afterwards retained; and at a later period, when the Sovereigns themselves were chosen from among the colonists of Spain, and even of Africa, the line which separated the descendant of a Roman in foreign parts from an aboriginal native of the same country, became more and more evanescent, and at length entirely disappeared. Then it became customary to admit not only individuals, but whole Provinces, to the freedom of Rome; and Consuls who drew their origin from Germany, Syria, and the various districts of Asia Minor, were not unfrequently seen invested with the robes and the power which had awakened the ambition of Julius Cæsar and of Cneius Pompeius. Still there was a certain distinction between Citizen and Subject even in the Colonies, till it was abolished by a solemn edict issued by Caracalla; after which, all persons not in a state of servitude acquired the rights and privileges of the former class, and there was no longer in the Empire any denomination of People but Slaves and Roman Citizens.

The motive assigned by Historians for this unprecedented extension of a privilege once so highly valued, is the increase of revenue which the Emperor expected to arise from the vast augmentation of taxable subjects. Perhaps he was incapable of taking such a step on any generous principle; but it is more probable that this unpopular resolution was adopted from a wish to mortify the inhabitants of the Capital, all descriptions of whom he most cordially hated, than to enlarge the income of the State, which he knew how to improve by more compendious means.

Marcus
Aurelius
Caracalla.

From
A. D.
211.
to
217.

His sup-
posed mo-
tive for that
step.

MARCUS OPILIUS MACRINUS.

FROM A. D. 217 TO 218.

Biography.

From
A. D.
217
to
218.

It has been already stated, that the death of Caracalla proceeded from the fears and ambition of Macrinus. An African Soothsayer, impelled either by malice or by

* *Damnati sunt eo tempore qui urinam in eo loco fecerunt, in quo stantes, aut ungues erant Principis: Dammati sunt et qui remedia quarantæ testiculariæ collo anicca gestarent.* Spartian, in *Caracallæ*, c. 5.

funnicism, had announced, as the will of the Gods, that the Prefect just named and his eldest son were destined to reign over the Roman People. The prediction created so much uneasiness in the Province, that the Seer was immediately carried to Rome; where he was examined with the greatest care by those trusty persons whom the Emperor had charged with the duty of discovering the favoured individual whom the stars

Marcus
Opilius
Macrinus.

From
A. D.
217.
to
218.

Macrinus. had fixed upon for his successor. A regular report of this singular investigation was forwarded to the Imperial Court, then resident at Antioch; but Caracalla being engaged in a chariot race when the messenger arrived, the packet was handed to Macrinus, who presided over the Civil department of State affairs. The intelligence with which he was thus supplied, acted upon his mind in two different ways; for he saw thereby placed before him the alternative either of wearing a Crown, or of falling a speedy victim to the jealousy of his master. The choice he made, and the result of his decision, have been already recounted. He used the hand of Martialis to assassinate his Prince, and to secure for himself a seat on the Throne which neither Nature nor education had qualified him to fill.

The election by the Army. Macrinus is greatly blamed by Dion Cassius for not using the influence which belonged to his office, in order to guide the election of the Army to a proper person as the successor of Caracalla. But it ought not to be forgotten, that the Prætorian Præfect, in all probability, had not less confidence than his Sovereign in the efficacy of magic, and in the revelations of Judicial Astrology. At all events, instead of opening a path for the ambition of others, he made haste to gratify his own. Concealing from the Soldiers the share he had in the murder of their leader, he endeavoured to recommend himself to their choice as the Commander of the Imperial Guards; his colleague, who, indeed, was senior to him in rank, being rendered unfit by his age and infirmities for the labours of the high office to which he aspired. But the Troops, who neither loved nor esteemed him, seemed to wait for the appearance of a more worthy candidate, when, on the fourth day, intelligence that the Parthians were on their march to attack them with a powerful army, quickened their deliberations, and induced them to commit the destiny of the Empire into the hands of the junior Præfect.*

The application to the Senate. The usages of Government required that the suffrages of the Soldiers should be confirmed by the Senate. To obtain this confirmation, Macrinus addressed a letter to that illustrious assembly, in which he informed them of the two great events which had just taken place, and modestly requested their approval of the choice which had been made by the Army. He promised that no measure of importance should be undertaken without their advice and approbation; that his administration should revert to the more liberal maxims of the Commonwealth; and that all Orders of the Citizens should enjoy their full rights, fortunes, and privileges. He condemned the Policy which had involved the Empire in a war with Parthia, which he knew to be disliked both at Rome and in the Camp; and, in particular, he blamed the practice introduced by his predecessor, of granting large sums of money to Barbarian nations, with the view of securing their forbearance or neutrality.†

The Senate. The Senate, delighted with their deliverance from the tyranny of Caracalla, sanctioned, with loud acclamations, the proceedings of the Syrian Army. They overlooked the obscurity of birth in Macrinus, his want of military talent, and even the doubtful affections of the very Body which had elected him, and forthwith they enrolled him in the Order of Patricians, decreed to him all the titles of Imperial power, and concluded by deco-

rating his son with the name and rank of *Cæsar*. Macrinus, indeed, owed the accomplishment of his wishes to the detestation with which every one not of the military profession regarded the son of Severus. Even the Senators did not conceal their deep aversion to his memory. "We would have preferred any one," said they, "to the paricide from whose hands we have just been rescued, the encourager of all crime, the murderer of all classes of the People." The Popular voice was equally loud in terms of execration. The Festivals instituted in honour of the late despot were instantly abolished; his statues were thrown down and melted; the praises of the assassin were proclaimed in the streets, and the resemblance of his name to that of Mars, the founder of their State, was hailed as the presage of returning liberty. Had not the fear imposed upon the Senate by the preence of a large military force checked the current of their indignation, they would at once have declared Caracalla a public enemy, and loaded his memory with the curses of the nation.‡

But the reputation which this unhappy ruler left among the Soldiers, led to results of quite a different nature. To gratify the affection of the Prætorians, upon whose favour his own power depended, Macrinus found it indispensable to confer upon Caracalla a place among the Gods. The Senate was desired to record the Apotheosis of a tyrant, for whose murder it had secretly offered up its thanks to Heaven, and to set apart a Temple and a Priesthood to commemorate the name and the virtues of a monster, whom in its heart it detested and abhorred.

This involuntary compulsion employed by the new Emperor diminished the confidence which the first acts of his reign had tended to inspire. He soon afterwards alienated to a greater extent the minds of the more reflecting among the Patricians, by the injudicious appointment of certain Magistrates. Desirous to be freed from the society of his former colleague, the Præfect Adventus, he sent him to Rome, gave him a high office in the City, and even nominated him to the Consulship for the following year. This promotion was extremely disagreeable to the Public, for the Consul elect was not only arrived at a very advanced age, which unfitted him for the duties of his new station, but he was likewise so ignorant that he could not read, and so little acquainted with business, that he did not know even its customary forms. Other instances of preferment, equally undeserved and unsuitable, increased the dissatisfaction of the Citizens. They saw the bravest and most experienced Generals set aside to make way for favourites who had no qualification to recommend them but their subservience to the Emperor, who seemed, in his choice of Public servants, to avoid courage in the Army, and talent in all the other departments of Government.†

In conferring the rank of *Cæsar* upon Diadumenus, the son of Macrinus, the Senate had been anticipated by the Army, who, in the expectation of a more abundant largess, lost no time in gratifying their master with a compliment which custom had now established as a general rule. To render this ceremony more striking, the father proposed that the popular name of Antoninus should be revived in the person of the young Prince, who was not more than nine years of age. The suggestion was received with the loudest expression of joy:

Macrus Opilius Macrinus.
From
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217.
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Caracalla raised to the rank of the Gods.

Macrinus makes injudicious appointments.

His son proclaimed Cæsar by the name of Antoninus.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xiphilin. p. 361.

† Capitolin. in *Macrin.* c. 5, 6. Herodian. lib. v.

* Capitolin. in *Macrin.* c. 2.

† Ibid. c. 5.

Biography.
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praises and vows were lavished upon the Emperor and the youthful Caesar; and the name of Antoninus Diadumenus was reechoed throughout the Camp. Macrinus was willing that the Senators and Roman People should, in like manner, share the happiness of greeting another Prince by a name which they so much loved and admired. He therefore wrote to the former, giving notice of the auspicious event which had been so enthusiastically celebrated by the Army; and promised to the latter a splendid donative, to welcome the return of better days, and the restoration of justice, peace, and security, among all Orders of the Republic. The multitude, which gladly embraces every opportunity of amusement and hilarity, was easily impressed with the joy which it was meant it should express; but the Senate, displeased at finding its prerogative invaded by the Soldiers, contented itself with announcing a sullen acquiescence in an arrangement which it had not been asked to promote, and which it could not have prevented.*

His affected
manners
bring him
into con-
tempt.

The higher Orders of the People had not forgotten the low extraction of their Emperor, which, unfortunately for his own peace, he himself endeavoured to forget. A haughty demeanour and an affected address were not well received by men who were better born, and of whom many must have known him in the humble condition from which he rose, and in the subordinate offices which he successively filled: while no crime, it is said, was more severely punished than the imprudence of comparing his entry into life with the splendid rank to which he had now attained. He soon found, however, that by following the dictates of his ambition, he had ascended a height on which he could neither stand with safety, nor from it attempt to retrace his steps without the hazard of instant destruction. Trained in the Arts of domestic society and the forms of Civil business, he trembled in the presence of the fierce and undisciplined multitude over whom he had assumed the command: his Military talents were despised, and his personal courage suspected; while a whisper that circulated in the Camp disclosed the fatal secret of the conspiracy against the late Emperor, aggravated the guilt of murder by the baseness of hypocrisy, and heightened contempt by a just feeling of indignation.†

His timidity
in negotia-
ting with the
Parthians.

Had Macrinus possessed any spark of enthusiasm for military exploits, or even known how to reward the zeal of others, he might have retained the affection of the Soldiers. But the coldness of his temper, which approached to timidity, disgusted the hardy veterans who had been formed by the discipline of Pertinax, and accomplished in the Arts of war by their long service under Severus. Such troops were ashamed when they saw a Roman Emperor hastening, by concessions to a Barbarian Prince, to avoid the toils and dangers of a campaign. When Artabanus had advanced to the frontiers, at the head of the mixed host with which he intended to oppose the designs of Caracalla, he was met with propositions which savoured strongly of cowardice. Macrinus restored all the prisoners who had been taken the former year, acknowledged that the guilt of infringing the Treaty between Parthia and Rome was chargeable upon his predecessor, and ended by soliciting the renewal of amity. The Barbarian,

finding that he had to negotiate with a pusillanimous upstart, rejected the proposed terms with disdain; and insisted that the Romans should, moreover, rebuild all the fortresses which they had destroyed in their repeated invasions of his Country, and embellish the cities which they had plundered of their ornaments and wealth. He demanded the restitution of all the territory which had belonged to him in Mesopotamia, an equivalent for all the losses which his subjects had sustained in that part of his Kingdom, together with an ample satisfaction for the indignity which had been offered to the sepulchres of his fathers.*

Marcus
Opilius
Macrinus.
From
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to
218.

Desirous as Macrinus was of peace, he was not allowed to accede to such disgraceful conditions in order to obtain it. The two Armies met at Nisibis, where an engagement soon took place, in which the Romans with difficulty kept their ground. A second action ensued, the result of which was again favourable to Artabanus. But as his Parthians never carried with them any large store of provisions, and were in other respects unaccustomed to protracted or regular warfare, he was now more willing, though in fact a conqueror, to listen to an accommodation than he was before he drew the sword. He accepted from the Emperor two hundred millions of sesterces, in name of compensation, for all the losses and injuries which had been inflicted upon his Kingdom by the Roman arms, and immediately withdrew his impatient followers from the scene of contest.

Concessions
rejected,
and war
commenced.

The Armenians were induced to abstain from hostilities by means not more honourable to the military reputation of the Empire. Macrinus gave the Crown of that Kingdom to Tiridates, the lawful claimant; released the Queen-mother, who had been detained at Antioch by Caracalla during the space of a whole year; repaired the damage which the Roman Troops had occasioned in various parts of the Country; restored all the places which former Armenian Princes held in Cappadocia; and even promised to renew the subsidy which his predecessor had sometime paid to his Eastern allies.

He restores
the King-
dom of
Armenia.

Having sacrificed every thing to the love of tranquillity, he communicated to the Senate an account of his triumphs over the ancient enemies of the Republic. The leading men at Rome, either deceived by his representations, or wishing to complete the ridicule which began to thicken round his character, ordered Feasts and rejoicings for the victories which had crowned the labours of the Emperor, and even decreed to him the surname of *Parthicus*. Macrinus declined, indeed, this ambiguous honour; but upon his return to Antioch he determined to remunerate himself for all the privations which he had endured while in the field, and to enter upon the full enjoyment of the ease and luxury which his high rank enabled him to command. He resigned himself to pleasure in all its forms, decked his person in the most gorgeous robes that Asiatic taste could supply, and in all things affected a degree of magnificence which disgusted even the corrupted Praetorians.†

His luxury
and affecta-
tion.

His cowardice and effeminacy soon withdrew from him the allegiance of the Soldiers, and brought them to the very brink of revolt. The firmest ruler, perhaps, that ever placed himself at the head of the

Attempts to
reform the
Army, and
provokes
their resent-
ment.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* p. 362. Herodian, lib. v. Capitolin, in *Macrin.* c. 6.

† Capitolin, in *Macrin.* c. 4.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xiphilin, p. 363.

† Herodian, lib. v. Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xiphilin, p. 362.

Biography. Legions, would have found much difficulty in satisfying the demands and repressing the extravagance of such disorderly troops; it is not wonderful, therefore, that Macrinus, whom they despised, should have failed of success. In his first attempts at reform he proceeded, indeed, with much caution, and without directly alarming the jealousy of his mutinous Cohorts. To the men already in the service he confirmed the privileges and high pay which Caracalla had bestowed upon them; but he declared that, with regard to such as should afterwards join the Legions, the establishment should be reduced to the more moderate footing on which it had been placed by Severus. But to render this arrangement efficacious, he ought to have dispersed his troops through the several Provinces of the East, to which, in fact, their ordinary duty was confined, instead of allowing them to remain in Syria, where their united strength encouraged disaffection, and their ready means of communicating with one another supplied an opportunity for maturing the revolution upon which they had already fixed their thoughts. The veterans, instead of being flattered by the distinction which was made in their favour, persuaded themselves that the concessions of the Emperor were extorted from him by fear; and that he would unceremoniously revoke them as soon as he should find himself in a condition to quash their resistance; and the young soldiers entered with reluctance into a service of which the labours were increased, while the rewards were greatly and systematically diminished. A few attempts to enforce discipline among the more seditious bands which were scattered over Mesopotamia, completed the irritation of the Syrian Legions, and prepared them for the most desperate resolutions. Seditious murmurs, from time to time, were heard in the Camp; the mutinous spirit which pervaded the whole Army was with difficulty suppressed; and symptoms were everywhere manifest of a rooted disaffection and contempt of authority, which, on the slightest occasion, would infallibly burst out into a general rebellion against the unwelcome Monarch. As it was to be expected, troops so disposed soon found or created an incident which afforded them an opportunity for realizing all their views.*

Conspiracy against Macrinus. The fate of Macrinus was accelerated by a conspiracy of women and Priests. The Empress Julia, whose powerful influence over a husband and a son had been experienced during two reigns, was compelled, upon the accession of the new Sovereign, to relinquish all concern in Public affairs. But notwithstanding the respectful civility expressed by the usurper to the widow of Severus, she descended with a painful struggle into the condition of a Subject; and is said to have soon afterwards withdrawn herself from a state of anxious dependence by a voluntary death. Her sister, Julia Messa, had experienced similar varieties of fortune. On the death of her nephew she was ordered to leave the Court, and even the city of Antioch, wherein it had been sometime held. She retired to Emesa with great riches, accumulated during twenty years of Imperial favour; for Macrinus, although he hated the whole house of Severus, did not disgrace himself by plundering the establishment of an unprotected female. As the wife of Julius Avitus, she had two daughters, Soëmis and Mamae; the latter of whom became the mother of Alexander Severus, who afterwards ascended

the Throne. Soëmis was married to Varius Marcellus, by whom, or by Caracalla, she had a son, who is known to History by several names, but who subsequently rose to the head of the Roman world under the appellation of Heliogabalus.*

The reader will remember that the father of Julia, (the wife of Severus,) and consequently of Julia Messa, was High-priest of the Sun in the Temple of Emesa. When, therefore, his granddaughter found herself necessitated to return to the city of her kindred, she obtained for her son, who was then only thirteen years of age, the Priesthood, which appears to have been hereditary in the family. A numerous body of troops was stationed at Emesa; and as the severe discipline which Macrinus had thought proper to adopt constrained them to pass the winter in Camp, they waited with eagerness for an opportunity to revenge what they esteemed an unnecessary hardship. The Soldiers, who were accustomed to resort in great numbers to the Temple of the Sun, beheld with veneration and delight the rich vestments and the fine figure of the young Pontiff; in whose countenance they imagined they could recognise the features of Caracalla, whose memory they were more than ever disposed to adore.

Messa, who was naturally ambitious and impatient of the private condition to which she had been forced to descend, no sooner perceived this favourable disposition on the part of the Military, than she resolved to turn it to the best advantage. Regardless of the reputation of her daughter, she eagerly confirmed the conjecture that Heliogabalus was indeed the son of Caracalla; and distributing her bounties with a liberal hand, she silenced every objection which might have been raised to the alleged paternity of the youthful Priest. She was greatly assisted in the execution of her designs by Eutycheus and Giannys, the latter of whom had been tutor to her grandson while resident at Rome and Antioch. These two individuals, whose dispositions inclined them to Political intrigue, practised upon the fidelity of the Troops so successfully, as to prevail upon them to receive the young Prince into their camp during the night, and to proclaim him their Sovereign. At an appointed hour, Heliogabalus made his appearance, dressed in a robe like that which Caracalla used to wear in his youth. His resemblance to the son of Severus was thus rendered very striking; and being accompanied by a band of Soldiers who were in his interest, he had no sooner presented himself at the gate than it was opened for his reception, and he was instantly saluted, amidst a thousand acclamations, by the name of Antoninus, and the title of Emperor.†

This step committed beyond retrieve the fidelity and character of the Legions at Emesa. They accordingly strengthened their fortifications, added to their stores, and made all other preparations for a regular siege. Macrinus, who did not at first allow himself to see the evil in its full magnitude, sent against the rebels one of the Prætorian Præfects, Ulpius Julianus. This Commander had in his little army a body of Moorish auxiliaries, extremely attached to the Emperor, and his countryman, and quite devoted to his cause; and had he availed himself of the ardour with which they assailed the camp of the insurgents, he might, it

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From
A. D.
217.
to
218.
History of
Heliogabalus.

Suggested to
be the son
of Caracalla.

Revolt in
his favour at
Emesa.

* Capitolin. in *Macrin.* c. 12.

* Capitolin. in *Macrin.* c. 9. Dion Cassius, *Egypt.* Xiphilin. p. 363.
† Dion Cassius, *Egypt.* Xiphilin. p. 364. Lamprid. in *Heliogab.* c. 1, 2. Capitolin. in *Macrin.* ubi supra.

Biography. was thought, have suppressed the rising before its abettors could have gained additional strength from other quarters. But unwilling, perhaps, to originate a Civil war and to shed the blood of Citizens, he had recourse to delay; until at length his men, shaken in their fidelity, joined the party which they had been commissioned to chastise, and concluded by assassinating their Officers, and by sending the head of Julianus to his irresolute master.

Macrinus prepares to take the field. The defections from Macrinus, although numerous, still left to him a Body of troops upon which he could sufficiently rely for restoring the balance of affairs. He wrote to the Senate, and that Body, at his request, declared Heliogabalus, Julia Mama, Sornnis, and Mamaea, Public enemies; and proclaimed an unconditional pardon to all who, having espoused their cause, should return to the standards which they had deserted. But decrees of the Senate were no longer of any importance when weighed against the sword, which both parties had already drawn. Macrinus himself saw clearly that his claims must be determined in the field of battle; for which reason, having assembled all his forces, he marched to attack Heliogabalus, who was already prepared to meet him, within twenty miles of Antioch.

The insurgent Army was commanded by Gannys, an eunuch, whose cares had been hitherto devoted to the duties of the Palace, assisted by his mother and grandmother of the young Prince, who attended him to the field. Entirely ignorant of war, the preceptor of Heliogabalus nevertheless displayed much ability in the choice of his ground, in the distribution of the Troops, and above all in the eloquent address which he delivered to the Soldiers, and in which he placed before them, in the most energetic language, the advantages of victory, and the horrors of defeat.

A battle ensues, in which he is defeated.

Macrinus, on the other hand, was well supported by Officers of courage and experience. The Prætorians, too, who had just been relieved from the more weighty and cumbersome part of their armour, presented a formidable array; and although they did not express that enthusiastic ardour which they were wont to exhibit when about to engage under the eye of a spirited Sovereign, their pride, their martial character, and their excellent discipline, afforded an ample security for their good conduct in the presence of an enemy. In the first onset, accordingly, these gallant Troops broke through the ranks of the rebel Army, and had almost decided the fortune of the day, when the two Princesses, whose fate hung upon the issue of the contest, sprang from the chariots in which they had been concealed, threw themselves before the flying Soldiers, and with prayers and tears endeavoured to check the disgraceful rout. Heliogabalus, likewise, who on no other occasion of his life was distinguished for heroism, mounted his horse, and at the head of a body of men who had rallied round his person, charged sword in hand among the thickest of the enemy. His example and exhortation produced a great effect. Shame revived the courage of the fugitives: they halted, returned to their standards, and prepared once more to dispute the sovereignty of Europe and of Asia.

Heliogabalus acknowledged Emperor on the field. The battle was resumed with a degree of obstinacy which rendered the result a long time doubtful. Macrinus, it is said, might have again obtained the ascendancy, had he not betrayed his own cause by a shameful flight. Herodian, indeed, relates that the Emperor did not leave the field until he saw a large body of his

Troops abandon his ranks, and pass over to the enemy. Terrified by this desertion, he set the example of a precipitate retreat, which he did not attempt either to direct or to justify. The Prætorians, meanwhile, ignorant of the cowardly resolution adopted by their master, continued the battle some time after he was gone; till at length the young Antoninus sent messengers to inform them that they were fighting for no object, that their Prince had already provided for his own safety, and that the Sceptre of Rome had now passed into another hand. The Guards, who had sacrificed enough to honour, listened to the terms proposed by the conqueror; and upon finding that their rank and privileges were to be respected, that their influence in the State was not to be diminished on account of the part which they had just taken, and that they were understood to have submitted without being vanquished, they readily acknowledged the claims of Antoninus, the son of Caracalla.*

Macrus Opilius Macrinus. From A. D. 217. to 218.

Macrinus pursued his flight to Antioch, where he announced that he had gained a splendid victory over the forces of Heliogabalus. But his first care, notwithstanding, upon his arrival in that city, was to provide for the safety of his son, whom he resolved to place under the protection of Artabanes, the King of Parthia. For himself, he determined to proceed without delay into Italy; with the favour of the Senate, and the jealousy which already began to prevail at Rome respecting the views of the Eastern Army, presented the hope that he might yet retrieve his affairs in a more fortunate field. Disguising his person in the dress of an Imperial Messenger, he succeeded in passing unmolested through the several Provinces of Asia Minor; but he was discovered at Chalcodon, where he had occasion to ask for a sum of money in the name of the Government. Hence he was carried back as far as Cappadocia, on his way to the Capital of Syria. Learning in the district just named, that his son had been intercepted and put to death, he threw himself, in a transport of despair, out of his carriage, and broke one of the bones of his arm; and, as the wound thereby received left no hope of his being able to complete the journey, he was deprived of life in the city of Archelais, and his head sent forward to Heliogabalus.

Macrinus pursued and put to death.

The character of Macrinus, as a Civilian and Statesman, has usually been estimated rather from the things which he meditated than from such as he actually performed. He is said to have expressed his resolution to restore to the Laws of the Commonwealth the authority of which they had been gradually deprived by the introduction of Imperial rescripts; which documents not only superseded the Law in the particular cases to which they were applied, but became, in fact, precedents of so much weight as to interfere with the administration of justice in all parts of the Empire. In this reserve he followed the excellent example of Trajan, who uniformly refused to employ his prerogative wherever a Court of Law could determine the matter at issue.

His character and moderation.

There was another great abuse in the Criminal Jurisprudence of Rome which he attempted to remove. As there was no Public Prosecutor, whose special office it would have been to receive informations and to collect evidence for the punishment of all crimes against

Laws against informers.

* Capitolina. in Macrin. Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xlpluin. p. 364, 365.

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the public peace, there was devolved upon the Emperor the odious duty of receiving in person charges against the loyalty of his subjects, of investigating the grounds upon which they rested, and even of ordering punishment, without allowing the accused an opportunity of confronting the witnesses, or of making a defence. In such a state of things no life was safe, and more especially under a weak or jealous Monarch. His fears and interests were arrayed against the most powerful persons in the Country; and no rumour was likely to be disregarded which respected, however indirectly, the character or the safety of the Head of the Government. Besides, as was to be expected, those who watched for the preservation of the Emperor did not perform an unrequited labour. The trade of Informer became a lucrative calling; and many individuals, who had no other means of living, supported an enviable establishment upon the wages of falsehood and blood.

General
history
of the Em-
pire in this
time.

To check this dangerous practice, Macrinus enacted, that such Informers as could not by reasonable proof

substantiate their allegations, should be put to death; and that those who did produce sufficient evidence, should receive, indeed, the pecuniary reward usually allowed in such cases, but that, in return, they should be branded with perpetual infamy. The effects of this rule were very soon apparent in the mutual confidence and safety of all ranks of the People. Peace and tranquillity, says Herodian, reigned throughout the Empire; and the Citizens, who in the time of Caracalla saw a naked sword continually suspended over their heads, enjoyed under his successor the inestimable blessing of personal security. It is, therefore, to be presumed, that if this Emperor had been endowed with an ordinary degree of courage and Military talent, his Administration would have proved exceedingly popular; but his marked deficiency in nearly all the qualities which make a Soldier, brought him into contempt with those who placed him on the Throne, while his attempt to restrict their privileges and diminish their pay, turned decidedly against him the only power which could have perpetuated his reign.*

Marcus
Opilius
Macrinus.
From
A. D.
217
to
218.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS HELIOGABALUS.

FROM A. D. 219 TO 222.

Biography.
From
A. D.
218.
to
222.

THE combined Army having vowed their allegiance to the new Antoninus, solicited, as their reward, a full permission to plunder Antioch, the Capital of the Syrian Provinces. Unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be disgraced by an act of violence and perfidy against a city which had not given him any real cause of offence, he purchased its redemption from the hands of his own followers, at the price of two thousand sesterces to every individual soldier.*

It has been justly observed, that History affords no example which can show more impressively the numerous evils inseparable from a Military domination than the election of Heliogabalus to the Throne of the Cæsars. A child not more than fourteen years of age, a Syrian by birth, and whose strongest recommendation was his supposed relationship to one of the worst Sovereigns that ever existed, was, by the unbounded licentiousness of the Soldiers, placed at the head of the Roman Empire, and thereby had committed to his charge the most important section of the habitable globe. The results which followed demonstrated the imprudence of the choice. The young Emperor soon showed himself such a monster of wickedness, that even at the present day his name conveys to the mind of the reader those gross conceptions of voluptuousness, extravagance, and cruelty, which we find it difficult to express in words, and which the modern Historian would rather allude to than describe, even in the most guarded language.

Introspec-
tion of his
character
and
tempers.

The passions assumed at an early period the complete mastery of this Prince's mind. In the first Letter which he wrote to the Senate from Antioch, he gave

utterance to the strong feelings of malignity which inflamed his heart against the memory of Macrinus, whom he loaded with every species of abuse and invective. He put to death, at the same time, every person of rank or influence in Syria who was supposed to have been attached to that unfortunate ruler; and he even sent private orders to Rome to despatch several individuals whose names alone were known to him, merely because they had been faithful in the discharge of their duties towards their late master. Meanwhile his letters to the Counsellors of the Nation were filled with professions of affection and respect, and of his unalterable love for the virtuous part of Mankind. He declared that the examples of Augustus and of Marcus Aurelius should ever be the model of his Government at home and abroad. He took pleasure in drawing the attention of the Patricians to the resemblance between his own age and fortunes, and those of the first Roman Emperor, who in early youth revenged, by a successful war, the murder of his father. The name and style indeed which he adopted, indicating that he was the son of Antoninus Caracalla and grandson of Severus, asserted his hereditary right to the Empire; but he gave still greater offence to the Senate by assuming, without their concurrence, the Proconsular and Tribunitian powers; a stretch of prerogative which the boldest of his predecessors had not dared to exercise, and proving either his ignorance of the Constitution which he had bound himself to protect, or his contempt for the illustrious persons by whom it was usually administered.

The first months of his reign were disturbed by

Marcus
Aurelius
Antoninus
Heliogaba-
lus.
From
A. D.
218.
to
222

* Dion Cassius, *Epitome*. Xiphilin. lib. lxxix. Herodian. lib. v. VOL. XI.

* Capitolin. in *Macrin.* c. 13. Lamprid. in *Diadumen.* c. 5—8

Biography.

From
A. D.
218.
to
222.

Conspiracies against
the new
Emperor,
and his
cruelty in
suppressing
them.

rumours of intrigue and conspiracy. The example afforded by his own elevation gave ground for hope to many individuals who would not otherwise have aspired to supreme power. It could be no longer concealed, that the gift of the Crown was in the hand of the Soldiers; and, also, that no one had reason to despair of obtaining that splendid but fatal prize, who had sufficient resolution to ask, and presumption enough to promise. Dion Cassius mentions no fewer than five attempts of this nature, made by men of no importance in the State or influence in the Army. Suspicions, at the same time, were not unnaturally directed towards others who might have disputed the government of a boy, had their inclinations led them to covet the Imperial purple; and several individuals of Senatorial rank accordingly fell under the sword of the executioner, merely because their power was supposed to render them dangerous. Silvius Messala and Pomponius Basserus were condemned to die, on the sole ground that their general principles were likely to create in their minds disaffection to the young Emperor, or a desire, perhaps, to restrain the excesses of his tyranny.*

Murder of
Gannys.

But the determination of the Prince to admit no rival and to endure no control, was soon rendered manifest by a very atrocious murder. Gannys, who was the instructor of his infancy, and the most active instrument of his elevation to the Throne, excited, by his zeal for the public welfare, the wrath of his peevish and ungrateful pupil. Assiduous himself as a Minister, and vigilant as a military Chief, he exhorted Heliogabalus to attend to the business of the State, and to regulate his conduct by the rules of justice and moderation. The worthless youth, insensible to every generous emotion, plunged his dagger into the heart of his best friend, and commanded some soldiers who stood by to complete the assassination which himself had begun. Even his mother and grandmother narrowly escaped the effects of his resentment, when they ventured to remonstrate with him on his absurd and pernicious conduct. He devoted himself entirely to a miscreant, whose name was Eutycheianus, originally a buffoon in the Circus, and who to the frivolity which belonged to his profession, added a thorough acquaintance with every form of vice. This wretch, to the great scandal of virtue and propriety, was raised to the high rank of Prætorian Præfect, assumed by the Emperor as his colleague in the Consulship, and three times appointed Governor of Rome.†

Effeminacy
of the
Prince.

The young Priest of the Sun, ignorant or regardless of the manners of the Country which he had undertaken to govern, continued to wear the splendid but fantastic dress which distinguished him as a Syrian Pontiff. Julia Mæsa, whose quick sense of decorum suggested the fatal consequences that would arise from insulting the eyes of the Romans with such vestments, alike unbecoming the dignity of a man and the gravity of an Emperor, entreated him to lay them aside before he should enter the Capital of the Western world. He admitted the justness of the remarks which were thus addressed to him, but instead of complying with the advice which was founded upon them, he proposed an expedient whereby all the disadvantages which his grandmother anticipated would, he thought, be entirely

precluded. He gave orders that a Picture of himself at full length should be executed, in the sacerdotal robe and ornaments, and associated with a representation of the God to whom his services were consecrated. He was accordingly drawn in robes of silk and gold, after the loose, flowing fashion of the Medes and Phœnicians: his head was covered with a lofty tiara, and his numerous collars and bracelets were adorned with gems of an inestimable value. His eyebrows were tinged with black, and his cheeks painted with an artificial red and white. This Picture he sent to Rome, with orders to hang it up in the most conspicuous part of the Senate-house, over the Statue of Victory, that the Senators might present to it, as they entered, libations of wine, and offerings of frankincense.‡

The Solar orb was worshipped at Emesa under the form of a black conical stone, or acrolite, which it was maintained had fallen from Heaven on the spot where the Temple stood. As the son of Sœrenis ascribed to this Deity his elevation to the Throne of the Cæsars, he lavished upon the expressions of his superstitious gratitude the wealth and time which ought to have been devoted to the prosperity of his People. He determined to establish the worship of his favourite idol upon the ruins of every other Religion; and for this purpose he removed to the Temple which he built for him on Mount Palatine, all the sacred relics and emblems of divine things which were employed by the Romans in the service of their principal Divinities. The famous Stone of Pessinus or Statue of Cybele, the Palladium, the Fire of Vesta, and the Shield of Numa, were all deposited in the fane of Heliogabalus. To these he meant to add the Religious ceremonies of the Jews, and even the rites of Christianity, in order that the magnificent superstition of Syria, now transported to the Capital of the greatest Nation upon earth, might comprehend and supersede all other forms of adoration.

In a solemn procession through the streets of Rome, the path was strewn with dust of gold; the Black Stone, set round with precious gems, was placed on a car drawn by six milk-white horses, richly caparisoned. The Emperor himself held the reins until he reached the Palatine Mount, where sacrifices to the new God were celebrated with the utmost solemnity and boundless expence. The most costly wines, the most precious incense, and victims of extraordinary value, were consumed on the altar; while a Chorus of Syrian damsels performed their lascivious dances to the sound of their native music, and the noblest persons in the State, clothed in long Eastern robes, officiated in the meanest duties with outward gravity and inward resentment. The Emperor himself, in his Priestly robes, danced in the presence of his tutelary Divinity, moving, whenever he retired, with backward steps, that he might not fail in respect to the Lord of Heaven, nor forfeit the benefit of the Celestial countenance.†

But the absurdity of the scene was not completed until a consort was chosen for this powerful God, and the union celebrated with suitable demonstrations of joy. The Prince first thought of selecting Pallas, the patroness of wisdom and of war, as a proper wife for his Divinity; but upon reflection, he rejected this idea, on the ground that a female so stern and active would

Marcus
Aurelius
Antoninus
Heliogaba-
lus.

From
A. D.
218.
to
222.

Introduces
the worship
of the Sun,
and offici-
ates in
person.

Celebrates
the marri-
age of the
Sun and
Moon.

* Dion Cassius, *apud* Vales. p. 701. Lamprid. in *Heliogab.* c. 3, 4 Herodian. lib. v. p. 560—568.

† Herodian. lib. v. p. 567. Dion Cassius, p. 368, 369.

* Dion Cassius, *Epitom.* Xiphilin. lib. lxxix. Herodian. lib. v. p. 578.

† Dion Cassius, lib. lxxix. Herodian. lib. v. Lamprid. in *Heliogab.* c. 3.

Geography. not prove agreeable to the soft manners of his voluptuous master. He therefore fixed upon the Moon, adored by the Phœnicians under the name of Astarte, and adopted by the People of Carthage as the Goddess of their ancestors. Her Statue was accordingly brought from the latter city to Rome, and with it, as a becoming marriage portion, all the wealth which had been collected in her Temple. The Emperor forthwith celebrated the nuptials of the two Astronomical Deities with the greatest possible magnificence; having issued orders to all the nations and cities which owned the sovereignty of the Cæsars, to send to the Capitol, on the day of the mystical wedding, offerings and gifts corresponding to the dignity of the Celestial couple.

*His shame-
less excesses
in respect
to
luxury.* The luxury and extravagance of Helioabalus have been a theme for declamation from the days of Lampridius down to the present times. The expense of his table, and the caprice which he manifested in the choice of his food, have exposed his memory to just contempt. A wasteful profusion supplied the place of taste and elegance. The invention of a sauce, or the composition of a new dish, conferred upon the fortunate artist a degree of fame which was denied to the highest eminence in the Sciences, and to the most brilliant triumphs of Literature. It is said, that he never ate fish but at a great distance from the sea; and then he took pleasure in distributing to the peasants of the inland country vast quantities of the rarest sorts, conveyed to him at an immense expense. We are assured, that not satisfied with having on his own table the most costly viands that imagination could suggest, he fed his dogs on the livers of geese, and his lions with peacocks and pheasants. Nor was his dress less extravagant than his board. He wore garments formed of cloth of gold, enriched with precious stones, so heavy that he himself could not refrain from remarking, that he almost sank under the weight of his magnificence. Even his shoes were adorned with jewels of the most exquisite workmanship. The pavement of the porticoes through which he passed, when about to mount his horse or step into his carriage, was strewn with the dust of gold or silver. His attendants imitated his luxury and applauded his spirit; and while he squandered away the treasures of his People, they extolled him as more beneficent than Augustus, and more patriotic than Trajan.*

*He lives
possibly
exaggerated.* His vices, we are inclined to believe, for the honour of human nature, have been somewhat exaggerated. Even Lampridius, who detested his character, seems ready to admit, that more has been said against him than ought to be implicitly adopted; although that Historian himself has, with a disgusting minuteness, related every anecdote of indelicacy and madness which had reached his ears. Yet even if we confine our estimate of Helioabalus to the public scenes which were displayed before the Roman People, and which have been attested by Writers who had the best opportunity of ascertaining their truth, we must pronounce, that their infamy surpasses that of any other Age or country.

*He depicts
intemperance.* The patience of the Army, as well as that of the Citizens, was at length exhausted. However small might be their reverence for virtue in the concerns of private life, the Soldiers were ashamed to see the Throne of Marcus Aurelius polluted by the studied vice of a

Syrian voluptuary. To soothe the public indignation, therefore, Julia Mæsa, whose powerful mind still retained a considerable influence over the passions of her dissolute grandson, suggested to him the expediency of adopting his cousin Alexianus, and of investing him with the rank of Cæsar. She reminded him, that as the Priest of the Sun, he had many serious duties to perform, which would necessarily withdraw his attention from secular affairs. She exhorted him, therefore, to assume a colleague, upon whom he might devolve the weight of all worldly concerns; securing thereby to himself at once an exemption from the troubles and cares of State, and all the splendour and enjoyment of Imperial power.

The Emperor, whose habits of thinking never led him to anticipate remote consequences, acceded without reserve to the proposal of his grandmother. Full of a scheme which promised to gratify his favourite inclinations, he repaired to the Senate, accompanied by Mæsa and Soemmis, and declared that he had adopted Alexianus, and bestowed upon him the dignity of Cæsar. The apparent absurdity of a youth, who had scarcely attained to seventeen years of age, adopting for his son a Prince not more than four years younger, gave way to considerations of greater importance; and the Senators were not disposed to interrupt Helioabalus when they heard him congratulating the Empire upon the measure which he had just published in their hearing. He pronounced himself happy in having been able to find such a son; adding, that he had no desire to see his family increased by the issue of his own body, because, from his experience of domestic life, he could only anticipate therefrom much dissension and rivalry. He assured his auditors, that the God in whose service he spent his days had inspired him with the patriotic resolution upon which he now acted; and that it was the pleasure of the same Divinity that the young Cæsar should thenceforth be called Alexander, in compliment to the admiration of Caracalla for the Macedonian Conqueror. By the act of adoption, accordingly, he communicated to the son of Mæsa not only the name just mentioned, but also that of Marcus Aurelius and Severus.*

The opening virtues of Alexander, fostered and protected by the excellent discipline of his mother, soon made a deep impression on the love and respect of all orders of the People. Helioabalus, who soon repented of the step which he had been induced to take, first tried to pervert his cousin, and failing in this, he next attempted to put an end to his life. He drove away from the Palace all the masters who had been appointed to superintend his education; banishing some of them, and putting others to death. But the just indignation of the Public would not allow him to proceed farther; for when he sent orders to the Senate and to the Prætorian Guards to divest Alexander of the title and dignity which he had lately conferred upon him, the former Body hesitated, and the latter rose in open rebellion. Apprehensive for the safety of the Cæsar, a party of the soldiers seized their arms, and rushed towards the Imperial gardens, where it was understood that Helioabalus was pursuing his pastimes, and waiting for the result of his machinations against his successor. The interposition of Antiochianus, one of the Prætorian

Marcus
Aurelius
Antoninus
Helioaba-
lus.
From
A. D.
218.
to
222.

And raises
him to the
rank of
Cæsar.

Repents,
and wishes
to degrade
him:

* Lamprid. in *Helioab.* c. 13. Herodian. lib. v. Dion Cassius, lib. lxxix.

Biography.

From
A. D.
219,
to
222.

But is pre-
sented by
the Præto-
rians.

Præfects, saved on this occasion the life of the Emperor. The enraged veterans retired to their camp, but not before they had received a promise that he would follow them thither, and give satisfaction to the Army, as to his designs, and particularly with respect to the individuals who shared his counsels, and encouraged his folly.*

The son of Caracalla appeared among the Prætorians like a criminal before his judges. He acceded to all their demands; and when they insisted that he should remove from about his person the companions of his debauchery, the buffoons and charioteers, who disgraced the Palace and heaped ignominy upon its master, he promised to comply; entreating, however, that they would exempt from this proscription his favourite Minister Hierocles. The Soldiers, softened by the tears of their Prince, ceased to demand the death of that infamous minion; but they made known, at the same time, their firm determination to check or to punish all abuses in the Government, by recommending to their Præfects, in his own presence, not to permit him any longer to pursue the licentious life which he had hitherto led; to watch over the safety of the young Cæsar, whose preservation was dear to them; and, above all, not to allow the latter to be contaminated by the wicked society which crowded the rooms of the Imperial dwelling.†

It was not to be expected that a reconciliation between two Princes, founded on such a basis as that now described, could be either sincere or lasting. Accordingly, as soon as the terror of the Guards passed away from before his eyes, Heliogabalus began once more to plot against the life of Alexander. To clear the scene for the miserable tragedy which he contemplated, he gave orders that all the Senators should depart from Rome. In the next place, to try the temper of the Soldiers, he caused a report to be circulated that the son of Mamea was at the point of death. No sooner did this intelligence reach the Camp, than the Prætorians, inflamed by the suspicion that the young Prince must have been murdered, became quite outrageous, and declared that they would not perform any act of duty until they were assured of the safety of Alexander

by his actual presence in their Camp. The Emperor was again forced to yield. Mounting a splendid car, adorned with jewels and precious stones, he presented himself before his mutinous Guards, accompanied by his popular cousin; but finding that while he himself was received with the utmost coldness and even contempt, the sight of his colleague drew forth acclamations which rent the air, he lost command of his temper so far as to order the punishment of the more zealous among the disaffected Prætorians. This injunction was the signal for a general revolt. Heliogabalus fled, and even attempted to conceal himself; but he was soon discovered, put to death by the indignant Soldiers, dragged through the streets of the City, and finally thrown into the mud of the Tiber. His mother, as well as the ministers of his tyranny and vice, shared the same fate. Hierocles atoned for his numerous crimes by a violent death; and Eubulus, a native of Emesa, and Superintendent of the Finances, was literally torn in pieces by the Citizens and the Soldiers, who had suffered severely from his manifold exactions. The Senate decreed that the name of this Emperor should be erased from their annals, and condemned to eternal infamy; a sentence which has been so faithfully executed, that no Historian speaks of him by the appellation which he himself assumed, but always by some insulting allusion to the worst parts of his character, or to his tragical end.*

The absurd affectation of Heliogabalus to succeed immediately to his supposed father, the son of Severus, has led to a considerable difficulty in the chronology of his reign. It is certain that he occupied the Throne not longer than three years, nine months, and four days, and yet medals are found which bear date the fifth year of his Tributinal power; an apparent inconsistency which can only be removed upon the ground already stated, the desire to obliterate the name and Government of Macrinus. The same notion of hereditary right to the Empire, in virtue of his reputed paternity, induced him to claim as his own the Consulate of his predecessor, and consequently to reckon the first which he actually enjoyed as a repetition of that high honour.

Marcus
Aurelius
Antoninus
Heliogaba-
lus.

From
A. D.
218,
to
222.

Insurrection
of the Præ-
torians, and
death of the
Emperor.

MARCUS AURELIUS ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

FROM A. D. 222 TO 235.

Biography.

From
A. D.
222,
to
235.

THE accession of Alexander restored for a time the credit of the Roman name, and the confidence of all classes of the People. Guided by the wise counsel of his mother, he waited until the Senate conferred upon him the titles of Sovereignty before he presumed to exercise any of its powers; and being still in very early

youth, he consented to the appointment of a Regency, consisting of sixteen of the gravest and most illustrious of the Senators, without whose advice no measure of any importance was adopted. It has been remarked, too, of this virtuous Prince, that he resolutely refused to assume the name of Antoninus; alleging, that as he could not hope to equal the renown of so great an Em-

Marcus
Aurelius
Alexander
Severus.

From
A. D.
222,
to
235.

* Lamprid. in *Heliogab.* c. 14.

† *Ibid.* c. 16, 17. Herodian. lib. v. Dion Cassius, lib. lxxz.

* Lamprid. in *Heliogab.* c. 14—16.

Biography.
From
A. D.
222.
to
235

From the
delicious
rom of the
Country.

The con-
duct of
Mamae,
and care of
her son's
education.

Character
of Alexan-
der from
Herodian
and Lam-
pridius.

peror, he wished to avoid the disadvantage of a direct comparison. But the true reason, it is probable, was founded on a determination to disclaim the ambiguous honour of being the son of Caracalla; a distinction which Julia Mæsa thought proper to insinuate in his behalf, influenced rather by her own ambitious views, than by a regard to her daughter's matrimonial reputation.*

The first cares of the new Government were directed to the purification of such Temples as had been polluted by the Foreign worship, introduced into Rome by the Imperial Priest of Emesa. Attention was next bestowed upon the character and qualifications of those who had been raised to public employments during the late reign; many of whom were found unworthy to retain their offices, and were accordingly compelled to give way to men of ability and good principles. Eloquence, skill in the Law, and the love of justice, became the only recommendations to Civil preferment; while valour, experience, and regard to discipline, opened the path to promotion in the Army.

The death of Mæsa, which took place soon after her grandson mounted the Throne, left to Mamae an undivided influence in public affairs. With the celebrated Ulpian at the head of her Council of State, she conducted the Administration with not less integrity than judgment, and gave much satisfaction not only to the Citizens, who were delighted with the peace and security to which they had been a long time strangers, but even to the Soldiers, whose best feelings were gratified with the prosperity of their Country. But her greatest anxiety was devoted to the right education of her son, upon whose temper and dispositions, she well knew, the ultimate success of all her labours must have its chief dependence. She regarded it as her first duty to watch over the morals of the young Prince, that his innocence might not be corrupted. The fatal example presented in the history of her nephew's miserable reign, made a deep impression upon her mind; for which reason, she suffered no one to approach her son whose character was in the slightest degree suspected. An exalted understanding soon convinced Alexander of the advantages of virtue, the pleasures of knowledge, and the necessity of labour; while a natural mildness and moderation of temper, preserved him from the assaults of passion and the allurements of vice. Thus Mamae found, what is not always to be expected in the character of a young Prince, a ready and active cooperation with all her endeavours to promote in his mind the love of learning, and the power of self-command.†

The character of Alexander presented so many points worthy of praise, that the Writer of his life in the Augustan History exhausts all his powers of description in the attempt to do it justice. Herodian contents himself with saying, that this Emperor never shed the blood of an innocent person, and never allowed even a criminal to be put to death until after a regular trial and formal sentence. After the horrible tyranny to which the Romans had been subjected, during which the life of the most illustrious men in the State was at the mercy of a malignant informer or a suspicious despot, the prudent clemency of the second Severus must, no doubt, have appeared deserving of the eulogy which the Historian has pronounced upon it. But not to be

cruel or unjust is only to be negatively good, and in all ordinary cases, rather exempts a Sovereign from blame than entitles him to praise. Lampridius, accordingly, proceeding on this view, collects in his biography of Alexander a thousand minute circumstances which illustrate his diligence in business, his love of equity, his merciful disposition, his self-denial, and the habitual command which he exercised over all the strong passions. He paints him as a mild, amiable, and compassionate Prince, accessible to good counsel, and always more inclined to confer benefits upon others than to secure to himself the enjoyment of pleasure, or an exemption from toil. His doors were ever open to every one who wished to approach him. No guard surrounded his person, or obstructed the entrance to his Palace. He discouraged all adulation, and the use of pompous titles, on the part of those who had occasion to address him; forbidding expressly every free-born Roman to continue the practice, introduced by former Emperors, of falling upon the earth when introduced into his presence.

Mildness and gentleness were, indeed, so strongly imprinted in the heart of Alexander, that his Biographer has bestowed upon him the enviable character of never suffering a single day to pass in which he did not perform some act of kindness or humanity. He is said to have expressed great veneration for the Christian precept, of doing unto others as we should wish that they would do unto us; to have caused it to be engraved in large letters in several parts of his Palace, and even to have placed it as an inscription on several other public buildings; and when any criminal was about to be executed for violating those laws in particular which protect the peace of Society, he gave orders to the Public Crier to proclaim aloud the same sentence, as a reason for the punishment which justice demanded. It is added, that he made the rule now mentioned the guide of his personal conduct; being always ready not only to forgive an offence directed against himself, but even to conquer malice by deeds of generosity.*

There are proofs of great wisdom as well as of benevolence in the arrangements which Alexander made for the behoof of the poor and the unfortunate. He advanced money at a moderate interest, which he exacted or not, according to circumstances, from the fruits of the labour which he had set in motion. He gave grants of land, and even of slaves and cattle to cultivate it; reserving to the national Exchequer a claim upon part of the produce, which, however, was used rather as a pretext for stimulating the industry of the individuals whom he had relieved, than for securing a stated remuneration. But his patriotism and good sense shone with the greatest lustre in the distribution of public employments. He never looked upon the disposal of an office in the Army or in the Civil departments of the Government as a favour which he could bestow, but as a solemn duty with the obligations of which he could not dispense. To obtain a trust under his Administration, therefore, it was first necessary to merit the esteem of the Country.†

Lampridius mentions a circumstance which cannot be read without interest. The Emperor, he informs us, was so great a lover of Virtue, that he not only

Marcus
Aurelius
Severus
From
A. D.
222.
to
235.

Mildness of
his temper.

And true
patriotism.

Honours
bestowed
on virtue
and talent.

* Herodian, lib. vi. Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 1.

† Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 3. Dion Cassius, lib. lxxx.

* Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 4—15.

† Herodian, lib. vi. Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 17—21. Dion Cassius, lib. lxxx.

Biography.

From
A. D.
222,
to
235.

honoured it in the living, but did all in his power to commemorate its happy effects in the men of former Ages. He collected in Trajan's Square the Statues of all the deified Sovereigns of Rome, as, also, of the more celebrated Commanders who had distinguished themselves and served their Country; adorning them with inscriptions which set forth their exploits and prominent qualities. He had likewise in his Palace two chapels, in which the principal objects of his veneration were ranged in two classes; the one being dedicated to Virtue, the other to eminent abilities. In the former were placed good Monarchs, among whom he thought proper to rank Alexander the Great; and next to them, wise men or Sages, by whose precepts the World had been enlightened and improved, including Abraham, Orpheus, Apollonius Tyanæus, and Jesus Christ.* In the latter were Military heroes, and persons conspicuous in the Republic of Letters, such as Achilles, Cicero, Virgil, which last he usually called the Plato of the Poets. In each of these shrines he offered sacrifice every day; confirming thereby his good resolutions with the remembrance of departed excellence, and giving vigour to his motives by perpetuating the fame of good and great actions.

His various
pursuits.

The greater part of his mornings was devoted to the despatch of business with his Ministers; for which purpose he rose even before it was light, and spent several hours together in this occupation without showing any symptoms of uneasiness or fatigue. A countenance always placid and serene, and an invariable sweetness of temper, rendered such labour easy to himself and pleasant to others. After this he allotted some time to reading and amusement. His favourite authors were those whose names have been already mentioned. To the exercises of the mind succeeded those of the body; and to promote health and relaxation, Alexander engaged in the gymnastic arts which were most valued among his contemporaries, running, wrestling, and throwing the quoit. After the bath, and a slight repast, he returned once more to business, when surrounded by the officers of his establishment, he read letters, examined petitions, and corrected despatches, till the approach of evening. Nor was it before these important duties were discharged, that he opened the gates of his Palace to the Nobility, who went to pay visits of compliment, or to share in the entertainments with which the day was usually closed. A temperate meal, with instructive conversation, afforded to the graver class of the Senators the most agreeable pastime; while Plays, or the declamations of Orators and of Poets, who were invited to read their works, supplied that variety of amusement which suited the diversity of ages and of taste.

His learning,
and
love for the
Arts.

A life so regulated could not fail to be distinguished by Knowledge as well as by Virtue; and we accordingly find that Alexander had the reputation of learning and of many accomplishments. From his Syrian extraction, we are not surprised to find that he spoke Greek more fluently than Latin, and that he gave a decided preference to the former language. He composed verses in both tongues with so much facility, that he is said to have written in Poetry the lives of the good Emperors. He understood Geometry and Music, and was even

master of several instruments, on which, however, he never played except in private. Lampridius, who charges him with an unbecoming anxiety respecting his fame, accuses him of showing too much deference to learned men, and of regarding them as the arbiters of his reputation, of which, it is acknowledged, he was extremely jealous. He granted pensions, it is true, to the Professors of the several Sciences and Arts, built Schools and endowed them liberally; but as his patronage was extended to all classes of ingenious men whose labours promised to adorn or benefit Society, there is reason to believe that he was influenced not less by disinterested patriotism than by a selfish regard to his own posthumous celebrity.

Marcus
Anrelius
Alexander
Severus.From
A. D.
222,
to
235.

The worst enemies of Alexander have not assailed his memory with any crime more heinous than that of yielding a little too far to the caprice and avarice of his mother, whom Lampridius describes as an excellent woman, but covetous.* He is reported to have connived at her rapacity, when, perhaps, he was unable to check it. But Herodian relates an occurrence which, if true, convicts the Prince of a degree of obsequiousness not quite consistent with the general excellence of his character. He informs us, that Mamma, after consenting that her son should marry the daughter of a Patrician, became jealous of the influence to which the young Empress very naturally attained, and plotted her ruin. Her resentment could not be appeased until she had expelled the wife of Alexander from the Palace, and banished her into Africa, and finally brought down upon the father, who complained of the injuries inflicted upon his child, the punishment of a traitor or rebel. The same writer, who is throughout very unfairly to the reputation of this Emperor, assures his readers that Alexander remained a passive spectator of a scene which ought to have interested him the most deeply; that fear of his mother shut his mouth; and that he permitted, with a degree of patience which would have disgraced a simpleton, a transaction which the laws of justice and humanity equally called upon him to prevent.

Accused of
undue deference to his
mother

The account given by Lampridius of this affair is considerably different, and more creditable to the feelings of the Prince. He relates, that the father-in-law of the Emperor, loaded with dignities and honours which his connection with the Throne enabled him to procure, entertained a criminal design against the Government; and that it was in consequence of a discovery affecting at once his loyalty and his gratitude, that the Ministers of the Crown insisted upon his death and the repudiation of his daughter. It is impossible, indeed, to determine whether the malice of Herodian or the credulity of Lampridius is the more deserving of credit; but the unquestionable authority of Dion Cassius removes all doubt as to the fact, that Mamma showed towards the wife of her son a degree of jealousy and hatred for which the public eye could not discover any just cause.†

In the administration of Civil affairs, the sedulous attention and pure motives of Alexander secured the exercise of justice and the restoration of confidence. His choice, too, of wise counsellors contributed much to the tranquillity of the Empire; for public burdens were everywhere imposed with moderation and exacted

His success
in reforming
Civil affairs.

* *Christum, Abraham, et Orpheum, et hujusmodi ceteros habebat, ac sanctorum effigies, rebus divinis faciebat.* Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 29.

* *Mater sancta, et orant, et auris et argenti cupida.* c. 14.

† Dion Cassius, lib. lxxx. Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 49. Herodian, lib. vi.

Biography.
From
A. D.
222.
to
235.

with lenity. The Provinces, relieved from the taxes which had been drawn from them by the two preceding Emperors, flourished in peace and prosperity under the administration of Magistrates who were convinced by experience, that to deserve the love of his subjects was the only method of obtaining the favour of the Sovereign. By the judicious economy of the Emperor, the price of provisions and the interest of money were kept within moderate limits. Dignity, freedom, and authority were restored to the Senate; and in every department of the State except one, the powers inherent in the Empire were firmly directed to the confirmation and perpetuity of the renovated order of things. The Army did not sympathize with the great body of the People in the love of peace, and in the administration of equal laws; while their turbulent spirit, confirmed by long impunity, rendered them impatient of the restraints of discipline, and utterly regardless of the public welfare if opposed to their boundless pretensions.*

*Success
of the
Army, and
reign of
Ulpian.*

Domitius Ulpianus, the disciple of the great Papinianus, and tutor to the infancy of the reigning Prince, was elevated by his grateful pupil to the rank of Pretorian Prefect. The fame of Ulpian as a Jurist has reached even to our own times, but he did not display in the Camp the same commanding powers which raised his reputation in the Senate, and in Courts of Justice. His vigilance, as well as his avowed intention to introduce among them certain reforms, gave great offence to the Soldiers, who in return assailed his ears with seditious language, and on several occasions proceeded so far as to threaten his life. The Emperor frequently interposed for his preservation, and by presenting his own body to the swords of the angry Pretorians, saved that of his faithful Minister from mortal wounds. But at length their fury burst through all restraint; and pursuing the unfortunate Prefect to the Palace, they murdered him at the feet of his master. Encouraged by their success, which Alexander had not the firmness or the power to punish, they resolved to despatch in like manner the celebrated Historian Dion Cassius. This officer was just returned from his government in Upper Pannonia, where he had found means to bring the troops under his command to a proper sense of their duty, and to make them respect the authority of their superiors. It was the apprehension that this example might be extended to themselves also, which excited the wrath of the Guards against the Pannonian Governor, and rendered them clamorous for his head. But Alexander, so far from listening to their barbarous demand, conferred upon Dion the honour of a second Consulate; an act of firmness, however, in which he did not persevere, for he soon afterwards deemed it expedient to advise the Consul to retire from the neighbourhood of Rome, and finally into Asia Minor, his native country, to spend the remainder of his days at a distance from the mutinous Pretorians.†

*Subsided
spirit of
the
Army.*

These facts leave no doubt upon the mind of the reader, that the Emperor did not feel his power or his resolution equal to the object which he was so desirous to accomplish,—the reformation of the Military Order. This impression is still further confirmed by the indirect method which he was compelled to adopt for the punishment of Epagathus, the principal author of the

sedition which ended in the murder of Ulpian. He removed him from Italy to Egypt, under the pretext of giving him a command in the latter Country; from whence he was, in due time, brought back to Crete, where he paid the penalty due to his crime.

But that it was the want of power and not of courage to which we must ascribe the failure of Alexander in the case of the Pretorians, is rendered manifest by his conduct on other occasions. When the Troops were in the field, he never suffered either officers or soldiers to quit their standard to gratify their love of plunder or private revenge. On the contrary, he punished every such breach of discipline with marked severity: and on one occasion, when a farrier destroyed the property of an old woman, and thereby deprived her of the means of obtaining a livelihood, he condemned the man to be her slave, and to labour for her maintenance as long as she should live.

There is on record a still more remarkable instance of his coolness and determination. When at Antioch, preparing for his expedition against the Persians, he found it necessary to chastise the immorality of a certain number of the men belonging to a particular legion. The Cohorta became mutinous, and demanded back their comrades with seditious cries. Alexander ascended the tribunal, ordered the prisoners to be brought before him loaded with chains, and then addressed the riotous Legionaries in the following terms: "Fellow Soldiers! for such I am still willing to call you, because I make no doubt that you heartily disapprove the conduct of those individuals who have incurred my displeasure, you cannot fail to know that it is the discipline of our ancestors which has hitherto preserved the power and glory of the Commonwealth, and that without this support the Roman Empire and name must infallibly perish. Your companions have been guilty of great irregularities, alike disgraceful to themselves, and fatal to the success and reputation of our arms. Never will I suffer the infamous disorders which prevailed during the reign of my predecessor, that monster of impurity, to be revived while I am on the Throne. The death of the offenders shall expiate their crime!"

At these words, the clamours of the Legion interrupted his mild expostulation. "Forbear that noise," he exclaimed; "such outcries may be suitable enough in the field of battle, but they become you not when listening to your Emperor. Preserve your warlike shouts until you be in the presence of the Germans, the Persians, and the Sarmatians, but use them not against him who bestows upon you the food, the clothing, and the riches of the Provinces. Be silent, that I may not find it necessary to reduce you all at once from the rank of Soldiers to the condition of private Citizens, if indeed those be worthy of that honoured name who wantonly violate the most sacred laws of our Country." This threatening inflamed the resentment of the mutineers to a still higher pitch. Their murmurs were louder, and expressed more audaciously: they even proceeded so far as to brandish their arms. Alexander, still unintimidated, resumed his address. "Those weapons," said he, "were given you to be employed against the enemies of Rome; prove them in that service, if ye be men of true courage. Your menaces have no effect upon me. In taking my life, you will remove but one individual, whom the Republic can well spare. Our Country will still remain identified

Marcus
Aurelius
Alexander
Severus.

From
A. D.
222.
to
235.

His firmness
on a memo-
rable occa-
sion.

* Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 21, 22.

† Dion Cassius, lib. lxxx.

Biography.

From
A. D.
222.
to
235.The success
which
attended it

with the exertions of the Senate and Roman People, and the hand of National justice will not fail to avenge its own cause." The seditious legion became now more outrageous than ever; upon which the Emperor, who seems to have been prepared for all extremities, pronounced the decisive sentence, "Citizens! lay down your arms, and depart from a camp which no longer acknowledges you."

The voice fell on their ears like thunder, and it was instantly obeyed. Those very men who had so obstinately opposed the punishment of their comrades, quietly submitted to the punishment which was inflicted upon themselves. They forthwith laid down their arms and other military accoutrements, and, instead of returning to the Camp, sought a temporary lodging in private houses. Nay, what is more, they entreated Alexander in the most humble manner to embody them once more as a legion, and to afford them an opportunity of proving their repentance, and recovering their character as soldiers. At the end of thirty days he granted their petition, but not before he had punished with death those Tribunes by whose neglect or instigation the mutiny had been excited: and it is worthy of remark, that the legion which was thus broken and restored, was ever afterwards greatly attached to the Emperor, served him faithfully while living, and avenged him when dead.*

But Alexander, generally speaking, had recourse to more gentle means for gaining the affections of his troops. It was with him a standing maxim, that military discipline could not be effectually supported unless the men were well fed, suitably clothed and armed, and even somewhat at ease in their general circumstances.† For this reason, he not only vindicated the rights of the private soldiers with the most severe exactness, punishing every officer who attempted to infringe their privileges or diminish their dues; but he also devised means for lessening their fatigue on the march, for alleviating their sufferings when sick or wounded, and for securing to them a comfortable retirement at the end of their services. He relaxed the ancient rule by which every man was obliged to carry on his shoulders seventeen days' provisions. Ample magazines were formed along the public roads within the boundaries of the Empire; and as soon as they entered an enemy's country, they were supplied with mules, or other beasts of burden, to carry their baggage. Besides, the Emperor was always ready to share whatever labours he imposed upon his followers. He solaced their privations, and praised their exertions; and, in a word, he embraced every occasion of expressing his warmest regard for a Body of men, whose welfare he was pleased to describe as being closely connected with that of the whole Empire. His endeavours, indeed, to restore discipline and subordination, were not attended with the success which they deserved; and though, in the latter part of his reign, neither his prudence nor his courage could be

questioned, he at length fell a victim to the turbulent and licentious spirit which he had in vain attempted to subdue.

But the course of events calls us from the consideration of private character and domestic arrangements to follow him into the East, where, about the tenth year of his reign, he conducted a successful war against the Persians. There are, indeed, in the *Augustan History*, obscure hints of hostile movements said to have taken place at an earlier period, among the Barbarians of the Northern frontiers; and we find allusions to triumphs which on several occasions are imagined to have crowned the arms of the Imperial Lieutenants. But it does not appear that Alexander took the field in person until the dignity of the Empire was insulted, and its Asiatic Provinces endangered by the pretensions of Artaxerxes, the new Sovereign of Persia.

The reader of ancient History requires not to be informed, that the Parthians, under the command of their celebrated Prince Arsaces, rose, about two centuries and a half before Christ, to the Sovereignty of those fine countries which are watered by the Tigris and Euphrates; and also that, governed by a dynasty of Kings who perpetuated the name of their founder, they maintained an undisputed ascendancy in that part of Asia during the long period of nearly five hundred years. Artabanes, the last Monarch of the House of the Arsacids, weakened his Kingdom by a protracted Civil war, waged with his brother for the occupation of the Throne; and hence he found that he had no sooner suppressed all opposition at home, than he had to encounter the more formidable array of certain vassal Princes, who were resolved to shake off his yoke.

This insurrection originated with the Persians, who at that time consented to be led by a spirited youth, distinguished by the title of Artaxerxes, which he had probably assumed, and still more by the honour of founding the Royal Family of the Sassanides, which governed Persia from the days of Alexander Severus down to the era of the Mohammedan conquest. The birth of this adventurer, as is usual in Oriental tradition, is darkly clouded with fable. He was the son of a soldier, whose name was Sassan, by the wife of a shoemaker, who being very learned in Astrology, was thereby enabled to foresee that the descendants of his military neighbour were to acquire great fame and power, coveted for his spouse the honour of giving birth to the first of such a favoured race, and accordingly handed her over to the father of Artaxerxes. But whatever might be his extraction, there seems to be no doubt that he was the means of rousing the Persians to a sense of their degradation, as the tributaries of a People whom their ancestors despised. Recalling to their recollection the glories of Cyrus, and the long succession of Kings which they had given to Asia, he induced them to rise against Artabanes, whose arms and treasures, he reminded them, were no longer in a condition to resist their efforts to recover their just independence. In three battles he so completely defeated the Parthians, that he forthwith transferred to the Sceptre of Persia the authority of which it had been so long deprived, and invested it once more with a paramount sway over all the nations of Western Asia.*

Marcus
Aurelius
Alexander
Severus.From
A. D.
222.
to
235He prepares
for an
Eastern
war.State of
Parthia, and
the revo-
lution of the
Persian
Empire.

* *Deponite destras, contra hostem erigendos, si fortis estis: me enim ista non terrent. Si enim unum hominum occideritis, non nobis deest Republica, non Senatus, non Populus Romanus qui me de vobis vindict. Quirites, decedite, atque arma deponite.* Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 54.

† *Nec exercitum unquam finivit, idcirco, quod in eam suam nihil dies posset, quod unquam Trebon vel Albin deperdis militum quispam occideret: duros, Miles non terret, non ventos, et, motus, calcitrat, et intus, et habens aliquid in zona.* Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 52.

* Herodian. lib. vi. Lamprid. in *Alex. Sever.* c. 50, 55.

Biography.
From
A. D.
222.
to
235.
Artaxerxes
invades the
Persians,
who attempt
to separate.

Encouraged by this brilliant success, he resolved to turn his arms immediately against the Romans. He advanced into Mesopotamia, threatened Syria, and even laid claim to the whole of Asia Minor; asserting, that these countries had been conquered by Cyrus, and governed for centuries by Persian Satraps, under the authority of the Great King, whose glory, he added, he himself had in some measure retrieved, and whose territories he was determined to repossess. When intelligence of the Parthian revolution reached Rome, together with the pretensions founded upon it by the victorious rebel, the pacific Government of Alexander was not a little disturbed. On all occasions the son of Mamea was more inclined to have recourse to reason than to force. Herodian, indeed, takes pleasure in representing him as smitten with grief and consternation; shuddering at the fatigue and danger of so distant a war against so powerful an enemy. It is certain, that he sent ambassadors to the Persian Chief, with the view of dissuading him from his projected invasion of the Roman Provinces, by exhibiting the evils which must result from the conflict of two such mighty Empires. He reminded him at the same time of the repeated victories which had been gained over the Parthians by Trajan, Severus, and other Commanders, when the whole power of Persia was included in that of a single Province of the great Kingdom which owned the Sovereignty of the Arsacide.

Artaxerxes, as might have been expected, paid no regard to those remonstrances. Haughty by nature, and elated with prosperity, he answered the embassy of Rome by the commencement of actual hostilities. He entered Mesopotamia with an increased armament, laid siege to its principal cities, routed some legions which he attacked in their separate camps, and gained a temporary possession of the whole country.

Commander
meets his
enemy at
Antioch.

The deliberations which preceded the departure of Alexander from his Capital indicated, without doubt, that he regarded war in general as a great calamity, and looked forward to that upon which he was about to enter with the serious conviction, that before it could be brought to a close, much time and treasure, and many valuable lives, must be sacrificed to the ambition of an upstart. He levied, indeed, a powerful army, selected brave and skilful officers, and provided them with supplies adapted to the service in which they were to be employed. Still, he did not despair of obviating the necessity of a direct appeal to arms. When he arrived at Antioch, he despatched a second message to the Persian King, exhorting him to moderate his views, and listen to equitable terms of accommodation. He had hoped that his presence in Syria, at the head of a large army, might induce his rival to withdraw his pretensions, and retreat beyond the Tigris; but Artaxerxes, on the contrary, esteeming these repeated attempts to avoid a war as proofs of weakness or of fear, received every overture with scorn, and became more unreasonable in the conditions which he proposed. He returned an answer to the Emperor by four hundred of his Lords, magnificently dressed, armed with bows, and mounted upon fine horses; informing him, that the Great King demanded that the Romans should without delay relinquish all Syria, as well as the countries situated between the sea of Cilicia, the Ægean Sea, and the Euxine, as belonging to the ancient dominions of the Persians.

Alexander, finding that war could be no longer

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avoided, made his final preparations for carrying it on with vigour. As he had a numerous army, drawn from different nations, and trained to fight according to the various systems of tactics which at that time prevailed among the Romans, the Greeks, and the Asiatics, he was advised by the ablest Generals who followed his banners to divide his followers into three great bodies, and to attack the Persian Empire in three vital points at the same moment. One of these detachments was to cross Armenia, a country still in alliance with the Romans, and to pass from thence into Media; the second was to march southwards into the Province of Susiana, and to ravage the Capital of the rising Empire; and the third or main division, with the Emperor at its head, was to take the middle road through Mesopotamia, and at once to carry the weight of Alexander's vengeance into the heart of the enemy's hereditary dominions. The plan of the campaign likewise required that all the Troops should afterwards meet at one point, and cooperate together for the final reduction of the Persian confederacy.*

In regard to the details of the actual warfare which ensued, we have, as usual, to reconcile as well as we can the conflicting statements of Herodian and Lampadius. The Greek Historian insinuates, that the timidity of Alexander and the terrors of his mother retarded the progress of the main division of the Army, and rendered useless the success of the other two, which were conducted with greater resolution. But whatever occurrences may have diversified the opening of the campaign, it is admitted on all hands, that the grand Armies came at length to an engagement, in which the Romans carried away a signal advantage. Artaxerxes is reported to have entered the field with seven hundred elephants, a thousand armed chariots, and a hundred and twenty thousand cavalry. The Emperor is said to have displayed great firmness, skill, and the utmost contempt of death; moving from point to point with the coolness of an experienced Commander, encouraging his men, and setting an example of every military excellence. The victory is described as having been most complete. In his address pronounced before the Senate, Alexander stated, that, of the seven hundred elephants, the Romans had killed two hundred and taken three hundred; that they had captured a great many of the chariots, and put to flight sixscore thousand horse; that they had slain two thousand men armed in coats of mail, and made as many captives as would enrich by their ransoms the whole Army which had been collected round the Imperial standards at Antioch. "We have put to flight," says he, "Artaxerxes, denominated by the Eastern world the Great King, and who, if we measure his title by his power, is not unworthy of that distinction. He has retired, defeated and disgraced, into his native dominions; and the Provinces which, in days not long gone by, saw our captive Eagles carried in triumph by an insulting conqueror, have recently witnessed the flight of that presumptuous Chief, who left in our possession the national standard of his confederated Tribes. Our Soldiers return rich and happy. The benefits which have crowned their victory have made them forget the fatigue and peril with which it was purchased; and all that now remains is the duty of returning thanks to

Marcus
Aurelius
Alexander
Severus.
From
A. D.
222.
to
235.
And invades
Persia.

He gains a
signal vic-
tory, and
obtains a
Triumph at
Rome.

* Lampid, in *Alex. Sever.* c. 55. Herodian, lib. vi. Aurel. Vict.

Biography. the Gods, by whose favour our exertions have been rewarded with this triumphant issue.*

From
A. D.
222.
to
235.
The Ger-
mans invade
Gaul.

The Triumph which was decreed to Alexander did not detain him long at Rome. He endured, indeed, the fatigue of the usual display, exhibited his prisoners, and set forth to public gaze the variety of his spoils. He conferred the accustomed largess on the Military, and gratified the luxurious idleness of the Citizens with Games and theatrical amusements. He founded Schools for the gratuitous education of the poorer classes, and dedicated them in honour of his mother, whose name they bore; but his chief attention, meanwhile, was directed to a rising storm on the frontiers of Germany and Gaul, which threatened to lay waste the fairest parts of Italy.

Alexander
marches to
the banks of
the Rhine.

Several of those fierce Tribes which dwelt beyond the Rhine, taking advantage of his absence in the East, had invaded the Roman Provinces on the South, and carried devastation into the very heart of Gaul. Alexander, accompanied by his mother, marched against them with a powerful host, consisting not only of the veteran Legionaries who had just vanquished the Persian cavalry and bowmen, but also of Mauritanian slingers, Parthian archers, and other light troops selected from the Provincial armies, who were prepared to assail the Germans with weapons more formidable to their massy columns than either spear or sword. No sooner had the Emperor crossed the Alps than the enemy retired. Equally ready for peace or for war, he built a temporary bridge over the Rhine to command an entrance into their territory, and at the same time sent messengers to their Chiefs, to induce them to listen to terms of accommodation. History has not preserved the tenour of their reply, but we may presume that they rejected his offers and defied his

power; for it is clear that Alexander found it necessary to winter on the German frontiers, where he employed the interval in reforming the Gallic Legions, and in attempting to revive among them the spirit of ancient discipline. These stubborn cohorts, long accustomed to unbounded licentiousness, opposed the patriotic designs of the Emperor, and even became seditious; and the Officers who were employed to second the efforts of their Prince, instead of following up his instructions with firmness, listened to the complaints of the men, and studied to turn their disaffection to the furtherance of their personal ambition. Among these, Maximinus held a distinguished place. He was appointed to the command of the new levies, which he undertook to form after the model of the fine troops who under Severus had conquered the East and West. One day as he approached their lines to resume the usual exercises, the Soldiers, either from a sudden impulse or a premeditated conspiracy, saluted him by the title of Emperor, and urged him to complete their rebellion by the murder of Alexander. The catastrophe which followed is variously related.* Some writers assert that the son of Mamaea was assassinated in his tent, whither he had retired to enjoy a few hours of repose after dinner; while others maintain that he was pursued thither by the insurgents, who had openly declared for Maximinus. No doubt, however, exists as to the main fact, that he was murdered by the Soldiers at the instigation of the Commander just named; who to the number of his victims immediately added the Empress, and the most faithful friends of her Government. A system of proscription and cruelty ensued, which revived all the horrors of the evil days under Nero, Commodus, and Caracalla.

Marcus
Aurelius
Alexander
Severus.

From
A. D.
222.
to
235.

His assassi-
nation.

CAIUS JULIUS VERUS MAXIMINUS: MARCUS ANTONINUS GORDIANUS, SENIOR AND JUNIOR: MARCUS CLAUDIUS PAPIENUS MAXIMUS: AND DECIMUS COELIUS BALBINUS.

FROM A. D. 235 TO 238.

Biography.

From
A. D.
235.
to
238.

The troubles which followed the mild reign of Alexander Severus have left a deep impression on the page of Roman History. Native authors have compared the change which took place at his death to the fabled transition from the Golden Age to that of Iron; for the Sceptre then passed from the hands of a gentle, pacific, and truly patriotic Prince, into those of a cruel barbarian, who took pride to himself for governing the Empire by means of terror and brutal force. The fury which he manifested against every person distinguished either by his birth or by his services to the State, soon exhausted, indeed, the endurance of the Senate, and induced that illustrious Body to supersede him by the appointment of men more worthy to rule; but so great was his interest with the Army, as well as the means which he possessed for carrying on war, that before he was expelled from the Throne he triumphed over two

competitors, who fell on the field of battle, and finally followed the other two in the effects of the catastrophe which closed his bloody career.†

The personal history of Maximinus, while it presents some striking incidents as a separate narrative, tends to throw considerable light on the degraded condition of the Civil authority at Rome, and on the complete ascendancy which had been acquired by the Military power in the Provinces not less than in Italy. The adventurer now named appears to have been a native of Thrace, and is first noticed on an occasion of festivity, celebrated by Severus, when marching through that country, on his return from the East. During the military Games which were given on the birth-day of Geta, the attention of the Emperor was attracted by the boastful manner of a gigantic barbarian, who

Caius
Julius
Verus
Maximinus

From
A. D.
235.
to
238.
The early
history of
Maximinus

* Lamprid. in *Alex. Sevr.* c. 59. Herodian. lib. vi. Capitolin. in *Maxim.* c. 7.

† Herodian. lib. vii

* Lamprid. in *Alex. Sevr.* c. 56, 57

requested permission to contend for the prize of wrestling. Severus, unwilling to hazard the reputation of the Soldiers in an unequal combat, sought an antagonist for Maximinus among the followers of the Camp; and upon seeing him throw down sixteen of the stoutest without any effort or symptom of fatigue, he rewarded his success with some trifling ornaments of silver, and a request to enlist in the legions. Two days afterwards, when the Emperor appeared among the troops, the young recruit placed himself in his way; when the former, either to rid himself of the freedoms which he apprehended on the part of the victorious wrestler, or to put his astonishing swiftness to the test, galloped off at full speed. Maximinus kept close at the horse's side, without any diminution of vigour or alacrity. "Thracian," said Severus, "would it not give you pleasure to have a bout of wrestling after your race?" "It would indeed," replied the indefatigable youth, and he forthwith cast to the ground seven of the strongest soldiers that were in the whole Army. This feat was immediately acknowledged by the gift of a splendid gorget, and a place in the Imperial Guards.*

The stature of Maximinus is said to have exceeded eight feet. His strength, as we have seen, was in proportion to the magnitude of his body; and if we may believe the statement of Capitolinus, his appetite and powers of digestion were not less extraordinary. Forty pounds of flesh and seven gallons of wine supplied the materials of his daily meals. Nor was his courage inferior to his prodigious physical energies. In his early youth, while occupied with the cares of a herdsman, he was chosen by his companions to take the command of their troop when employed against the robbers by whom their country was infested. The same qualities of coolness and resolution secured his promotion in the more regular service of the Roman armies; and accordingly we find, that in the reign of Caracalla he had risen to the respectable rank of Centurion. Disgusted with the murder of this Prince, he refused to serve under Macrinus; but retiring into his native Province made a purchase of land, and devoted himself for a time to the arts of peace. The accession of Heliogabalus opened a path for his return to military life; and during the succeeding Government of Alexander, he continued to rise in his favourite profession until at length he attained to the command of a legion, the personal friendship of the Emperor, and the respect of the whole Army.†

But his ambition did not fail to keep pace with his preferment, and even to outstrip all legitimate means for augmenting his fortunes. He cast his eye on the Imperial Throne; thinking it not too much that he who could wield the affections of the Soldiers and train them to victory, should likewise have the power of remunerating their toils. Though a stranger to real wisdom, he was not devoid of that selfish cunning which can point out to the least instructed mind the proper occasion for pursuing its own interests. He saw that amidst the casualties of actual war, Alexander was gradually losing the hold which he had once possessed upon the reverence of the Army. He improved this change of sentiment among the men, and endeavoured to inspire them with contempt for a Prince whom he represented as a child still under the direction

of his mother. By means of his emissaries he spread a report, which he knew would incense the veteran troops, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence, that Mamaea had prevailed upon her son to relinquish the German war altogether, and to march back the Legions into Syria, her native country, where she might enjoy the ease and splendour to which she had been long accustomed, and which suited better with the female disposition than a dangerous encampment on the banks of the Rhine.*

The event has been already mentioned: Alexander and his mother were assassinated by the disaffected Soldiers, and Maximinus was immediately saluted Emperor. Some time passed, it is said, before the Army in general was aware that the death of their late Sovereign was attributable to the machinations of his successor. To conceal the share which he had in that atrocious crime, he affected to bewail the loss of a master so virtuous and gentle, and even to honour his memory with all the tokens of regard which friendship and the sense of obligation are wont to confer upon departed worth. A magnificent sepulchre was erected in Gaul, and the Royal ashes were conveyed to Rome with every mark of reverence and affection.

But while the fierce Maximinus was thus amusing the grief of the better part of the Army, he neglected no means for establishing the power to which his intrigues had raised him. He had a son, a young man of high promise in all the qualities which recommend a Prince to the favour of a warlike people; handsome, accomplished, and brave. Him he forthwith invested with the rank and title of *Cæsar*, and placed at the head of the noble youths who had formed themselves into a body to study the Arts, and acquire the habits of military life. He also wrote a submissive Letter to the Senate, entreating that they would confirm the election of the Army; a boon which it was no longer in their power to refuse. He gave or promised a large donative to the Soldiers, praised their loyalty, and held out to them the prospects of numerous triumphs in the war upon which they had just entered. Under various pretences, too, he dismissed from all employments near his person those individuals upon whose attachment he had not the fullest reliance. He sent into distant parts of the Empire every one who had attracted the regard or merited the friendship of Alexander; or if there were any whom he suspected of cherishing in their minds a feeling of detestation for the treacherous cruelty by which that amiable Prince had been cut off, he hesitated not to remove his fears and to gratify his revenge, by putting them to instant death. It is said, moreover, that he manifested the utmost impatience of the society of such Officers as had witnessed his progress through the different ranks of the service, and were acquainted with the meanness of his origin. Though he depended on the affection of the Soldiers, who really loved him for virtues like their own, he was conscious that his low birth, his rude manners, and his total ignorance of the Arts and refinement of civilized life, formed a very unfavourable contrast with the high lineage and accomplished character of his predecessor. For this reason, he took away the lives of several distinguished men, who were chargeable with no other crime besides that of having known the Emperor when

Caius
Julius
Verus
Maximinus
From
A. D.
235.
to
238.

Diminution on the
death of
Alexander.

He gains
the Army.

* Capitolin. in *Maxim.* c. 2, 3.
† Ibid. c. 4. Herodian. lib. vii.

* Capitolin. in *Maxim.* c. 7.

Biography.
From
A. D.
235.
to
238.
His
cruelties.

a poor and savage Thracian, or of having relieved his wants and aided his promotion.*

A conspiracy, for the detection of which he gave honour to his own vigilance and penetration, supplied him with an opportunity of glutting his revenge against some of the noblest and most meritorious of his subjects. Magnus, a man of Consular rank, was accused of having corrupted the fidelity of several soldiers and Centurions, who were to kill Maximinus and raise himself to the Throne. Whether such an intention was ever seriously entertained, no means have been left whereby to determine; for no persons were examined in regard to it, no evidence was collected or recorded; the voice of the Emperor alone declared that Magnus, with four thousand accomplices, had plotted against his life and Government, and that the punishment of death must be inflicted upon every individual conspirator. Some of the unfortunate sufferers were crucified, others were sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, several were exposed to wild beasts, and many were beaten to death with clubs.†

Nor was his cruelty confined to the hour of domestic treason and danger. Even after a successful campaign in Germany, in which his vanity was flattered by numerous victories over the Barbarians, he filled his camp with legal murders, and the whole Empire with suspicion and alarm. He sent forth a host of spies, whom he incited to torment the People with false accusations. Occurrences which had slept in oblivion for more than a hundred years, were revived by the ministers of his rapacity, in order to plunder the rich, or to punish the suspected. To be charged with an offence and to be found guilty were the same thing; for every one who was tried was sure to be condemned. Age and dignities were so far from being a protection, that on the slightest surmise of disloyalty, the greatest and most venerable persons in the State, even those who had commanded armies, governed Provinces, and had enjoyed the Consular and Triumphal ornaments, were seized, thrown into close carriages, and hurried away, day and night, to the head-quarters of the tyrant, where, after enduring every species of contumely and outrage, they were usually put to death.

His severities produce a reaction, and dispose the Troops to rebel.

The brutal ferocity of Maximinus realized on more than one occasion the very evils which he dreaded. A body of Osrhoenians, whom the late Emperor had enlisted in the East, and carried with him into Gaul, upon learning that the life of their master had been sacrificed to the ambition of the Thracian peasant, conceived against the latter the most violent resentment, and resolved to avenge upon his person and interests the cause of their beloved Prince. For this purpose they cast their eyes upon Titus Quartinus, an Officer who had not only discharged the duties of Consul, but had also attained a high place in the regard of Alexander, and him they invited to assume the Purple. Aware of the fatal consequences which must attend such a step, he endeavoured to dissuade them from adopting it; but his refusal and his remonstrances made no impression, and they proceeded by main force to invest him with the usual ensigns of the Imperial dignity. The result corresponded with the anticipations of the unfortunate Senator; for at the end of six days a perfidious friend, who had used his utmost influence to prevail upon him to comply with the desire of the Army, attacked him while he slept,

and carried his head to Maximinus. The jealous Emperor was pleased at obtaining so easy a deliverance from the slinger with which he had been threatened; but reflecting that the individual to whose treachery he was indebted for it, had been active in fomenting the rebellion of the Asiatic auxiliaries, and judging besides that he could not put any confidence in a man who had betrayed the most sacred feelings of private life, gave orders that he should be instantly put to death.*

These occurrences did not in any degree relax his preparations for the war against the Germans. Having added considerably to the Army which the son of Mamaea had collected on the Rhine, he crossed that river, and advanced to attack the Barbarians in their forests and marshes. If the extent of his success were to be measured by his own estimate of his exploits, as transmitted to the Senate, it could not be denied that he had, by his valour and skill, entirely eclipsed the fame of Julius Caesar. "It is not in the power of language," said he, "to do justice to our achievements. We have laid waste forty miles of the country, swept away the flocks, taken multitudes of prisoners, and slain every man who carried arms. In a very short period, I have finished more wars than any hero of antiquity ever waged. The booty sent to Rome exceeds all expectation; and the soil of Italy could not supply room for the captives who have fallen into our hands."† To assist the comprehension of the Senators, he ordered a picture to be executed, in which he himself was represented fighting up to the breast in a bog, and hewing down with his own hand some of the natives, whom he had pursued into that retreat. This piece of Art was forwarded to Rome, and hung up in the Senate-house; but it did not long insult the eyes of the descendants of Piso, of Lollius, and of Cornelius, for it was taken down and destroyed with the other monuments erected in honour of Maximinus, at the moment when they first resolved to oppose him in the field.

The triumphs of which he boasted, however, afforded to the People of Rome no compensation for the numerous indignities and sufferings to which the most distinguished of their Body were constantly subjected. As long, indeed, as the cruelty of Maximinus was confined to the illustrious Senators, or even to such adventurers as, in the Court or Army, exposed themselves to the caprice of fortune, the mass of the Citizens viewed his tyrannical measures with a less intense degree of sorrow or indignation. But his avarice, stimulated by the insatiable demands of the Military, at length attacked the Public property. It is well known, that every city of the Empire was possessed of an independent revenue, set apart for the purchase of corn, and to supply the expenses of the Games, and other public entertainments. By a single edict, unauthorized either by the Senate or the People, this immense stock of wealth was confiscated for the use of the Imperial treasury. The Temples were stripped of their most valuable offerings of gold and silver; while the Statues of Gods, Heroes, and Emperors, were melted down, and coined into

Caius
Julius
Verus
Maximinus.

From
A. D.
235.
to
238.

He begins
the war
against the
Germans,
and gains
repeated
victories.

Extends his
oppressions
to the
Provinces,
and occasions
tumults.

* Capitolin. in Maxim. c. 11. Herodian. lib. vii.

† Non vocatus tantum, Patris Conscripti, legum, quantum fecimus. Per quadraginta milia Germanorum viros incendimus, &c. Breui tempore, tot bella geri quod nemo retro. Tantum praedat in Romanam, ut rem attuli, quantum operari non potui. Tantum captivorum adduxi ut via tota Romana sufficeret. Capitolin. in Maxim. c. 12, 13.

* Capitolin. in Maxim. c. 8.

† Ibid. c. 10.

money. Such impious proceedings could not be effected without tumults and massacres; as in many places the inhabitants chose rather to die in defence of their altars, than to behold their Religion exposed to the violation of war, by the hands of their own soldiers, who were bound to protect it.

A scene of this nature, which occurred in Africa, led to events which shook the Throne of Maximinus. His Procurator, who followed in a certain district of that country the destructive maxims upon which the general Government was conducted, condemned several noble youths to the payment of a fine which must have exhausted the greater part of their estates. They petitioned for a delay of three days, to enable them to raise the sum which the iniquitous sentence of the judge had imposed upon them. But instead of collecting money, they assembled from their respective lands a large Body of trusty slaves, which they armed with clubs and axes, and other rustic weapons, which they instructed them to conceal under their garments until the moment of action should arrive. The chiefs of the conspiracy made way into the presence of the Procurator, as if to discharge the claims of their penalty, whom they immediately stabbed with their daggers, and then threw themselves upon the protection of their tumultuary train. The multitude soon oppressed the irresolute attempts of the Soldiers, avowed their determination to throw off the intolerable yoke of the Thracian tyrant, and already mingled with their shouts of victory and defiance the name of their venerable Proconsul, Marcus Antonius Gordianus.*

This distinguished Senator belonged to one of the most illustrious families in Rome. By the father's side he was descended from the Gracchi, by the mother's from the Emperor Trajan; and his wife, Fabia Orestilla, could boast the blood of the Antonini. His great wealth was decorated by a love of Literature and of the Arts, by a virtuous character, and by a benevolent and peaceful disposition. He had been twice Consul, and had even seen one of his sons invested with that high office. The magnificence with which he lived at Rome excited the envy even of Carnalla. The Palace which formerly belonged to the great Pompey had already been several generations in the family of Gordianus, now ornamented with the trophies of naval victories, and beautified with the finest specimens of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting. But the qualities of his mind endeared him to the African provincials still more than his high lineage and his great riches. They compared him to Scipio, to Cato, to Rutilius, to Scævola, and to Lælius, and they even maintained that every thing which was esteemed most excellent in the characters of these renowned Warriors and Statesmen, was revived in his single person.†

It is not surprising that Gordianus should have declined the dangerous honour to which the partiality of the Colonists had raised him. When the leaders of the insurrection entered his house, they found him enjoying the repose which the heat of an African climate renders necessary about the middle of the day, and altogether unacquainted with the events which had just taken place at the tribunal of the Procurator. Upon hearing their proposal to set him on the Throne, he entreated that they would consider his great age, his

reluctance to engage in the weighty cares of Government, the hazards with which they were about to surround him, and above all, his earnest desire to close his brief career without staining his hands with the blood of his countrymen. But his expostulations were uttered in vain. Menaces were used to overcome his hesitation; and he was assured, that if he did not immediately accept the Purple, his life would be made to atone for his indifference to the safety of the Empire. Another motive was suggested to remove his scruples and to strengthen his resolution. He was reminded, that to have been thought worthy of the Crown, would be regarded by Maximinus as a crime not less heinous than that of actual rebellion. The danger, therefore, if he persisted in his refusal, was certain and inevitable. These considerations fixed the decision of Gordianus. He was instantly proclaimed Emperor, with power to associate his son in the Government. The multitude gave a free expression to their zeal and delight, by pulling down the statues of Maximinus, effacing his name from the public monuments, and by transferring all his honours to the new Sovereigns, into whose hands they had thrust his Sceptre.*

The two Gordiani removed from Tysdrus to Carthage, whence they wrote to Rome, informing the Senate of the proceedings which had placed them on the Throne, stating the principles on which affairs were thenceforth to be administered, and soliciting the confirmation of the National Council to the unanimous act of the whole African Province. The popular voice in the Capital was not less decided in favour of the new accession, than was that of the Colonists on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean. Every demonstration of hatred and contempt against Maximinus was indulged in without the smallest disguise or restraint. His person and authority were denounced in the streets; and every emblem that could perpetuate the recollection of his savage manners or boastful pretensions, was thrown down and destroyed. The Senate acted with more deliberation, though not with less vigour. Having met in the Temple of Castor, they declared the Gordiani Emperors, with one voice, and the most hearty acclamations; and, at the same time, pronounced Maximinus and all his adherents to be enemies to their Country. The Praetorian Cohorts followed the example of the Senate and People. The Provinces, too, declared their acquiescence in the new state of things; and the African Proconsul might have congratulated himself upon the ease and safety of his elevation to the Supreme power, had not the malice of a personal enemy defeated his plans, and disappointed the hopes of the Roman People.

Cupelianus, the Governor of Numidia, was a creature of Maximinus, and as such had never studied to render himself agreeable to his superior Officer in the Province. When this last was raised to the Empire, he sent orders to the former to resign his command. Cupelianus not only refused to comply, but made preparations to march at the head of his troops against the usurpers, as he deemed them, of his master's Throne. The younger Gordianus proceeded from Carthage with such a force as he could raise, to oppose the Numidian Commander; but the soldiers whom the latter brought into the field being greatly superior, as

Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Senior and Junior.

From A. D. 235. to 238.

His son associated with him.

Election confirmed by the Senate.

The Gordian claim.

* Herodian. lib. vii. Capitolin. in *Maxim.* c. 14.

† Capitolin. in *Gordian.* c. 1, 2; in *Maxim.* c. 15.

* Herodian. lib. vii. Capitolin. in *Maxim.* c. 16, 17; in *Gordian.* c. 3.

Biography.

From
A. D.
235.
to
238.

Terror at
Rome.

well in numbers as in discipline, to the tumultuary bands which followed the other, gained an easy victory over them, and drove the fugitives back to the city in confusion, with the loss of their Imperial leader, who had fallen in the action. The father of this unfortunate Prince, upon finding that the troops of his victorious enemy had forced their way through the gates, and had already begun a massacre of the inhabitants, put an end to his life, after having borne the name of *Augustus* during the short period of only six weeks.

No sooner was this event made known at Rome, than grief and consternation seized all classes of the People. The Senators, aware that by their concurrence in the election of the Gordiani, they had provoked the resentment of Maximinus, perceived the necessity of adopting decisive measures, in order to defend themselves against its effects; but they appear to have been at the first so much paralyzed by their fears of the tyrant, or by their want of confidence in one another, that some time passed before any one could be found bold enough to propose an expedient to extricate them from their perilous situation. Convoked for the ordinary business of the State in the Temple of Concord, they betrayed by their unwonted reserve the hesitation which oppressed their minds, as well as their sense of the great difficulties with which they were surrounded. At length *Victus Sabinus*, who inherited the honours which belonged to the name and kindred of *Trajan*, claimed permission to speak before his turn, on a crisis at once so important and alarming. He reminded the distinguished body whom he addressed, that delay would be attended with the most frightful consequences; for that the Monarch whom they had deposed, and who at all times thirsted for the blood of the higher Orders of Roman Citizens, would, now that he was supplied with a legitimate motive, vent his hatred and revenge upon every Member of the Senate, and extend his barbarity even to their wives and children. "We have lost," said he, "two excellent Princes; but if we prove true to ourselves, the hopes of the Empire will still be found to rest on a stable foundation. There are many individuals amongst us, whose virtues and talents give them a claim to our suffrage, and hold out to us the best security for a wise and temperate administration of our public affairs. Let us make choice of two Emperors; one of whom may conduct the war with which we are threatened on the part of Maximinus, while the other shall remain at Rome to take charge of the Civil Government. I therefore propose, that we instantly invest with the Imperial dignity *Marus Clodius Pupienus Maximus*, and *Decimus Cælius Balbinus*." The acclamations of the assembly approved the wisdom of the nomination which was thus made by Sabinus: the merit of the candidates was universally acknowledged; and as no one objected to their elevation, or recommended any other in their place, they were proclaimed Sovereigns of the Roman Empire, and forthwith adorned with the usual ensigns of office.*

Election of
Maximus and Balbinus.

Character of
Maximus.

The former of these personages owed to his valour and abilities as a soldier, his rise from the mean condition in which he was born. From his infancy he was devoted to the profession of arms, in which he afterwards served his country with much distinction and success. His victories over the Sarmatians and the

Germans gave him a title to the highest honours which Rome conferred upon the military eminence of her sons; and we find that, besides having been successively Proconsul of Bithynia, Greece, and Gaul, there is reason to believe that he was colleague in the Consulship to *Numerius Albinus*, who held that high office in the reign of *Alexander Severus*. The pursuits and habits of a warrior's life had added to the natural gravity of his character an austere and commanding air, which was thought more suitable to the Camp than to the Palace; and hence, perhaps, arose the reason why the Senators who placed him on the Throne wished to blend in the government of the Empire the useful severity of his manners with the attractive mildness of *Balbinus*.

The birth of the Prince just named was noble, and his fortune affluent. His luxurious mode of living, indeed, would have been regarded by the more rigid Republicans as violating that austerity upon which the virtues of the earlier Ages were supported; but it was admitted, at the same time, that in him the love of pleasure was corrected by a sense of dignity, and that the habits of ease had not deprived him of a capacity for business. He was, besides, an Orator and a Poet, and not only cultivated Learning in his own person, but encouraged it in all others. His public employments, too, had been worthy of his descent and reputation; having twice filled the office of Consul, and repeatedly governed Provinces in Africa, and in various parts of Asia Minor. Historians have imagined, that in the two Imperial colleagues, Maximus and Balbinus, they could discover a renewal of the contrast which *Sallust* attempted to establish between *Cato* and *Cæsar*. The one was severe, the other was indulgent; the one commanded esteem by his firmness, the other attracted love by his goodness; the former valued himself upon the rigid impartiality of his justice, the latter took pleasure in exercising towards all an unbounded kindness and liberality.†

The tranquillity of the new reign was disturbed by an unforeseen accident. While the Emperors were engaged in the usual rites of sacrifice, the multitude assembled around the Capitol, and with loud and seditious accents demanded that a member of the family of the Gordiani should be added to the number of their Sovereigns. Maximus and Balbinus, at the head of their Guards, attempted to disperse the People, and even to cut their way through them; but the latter, armed with clubs, stones, and such other weapons as chance supplied, drove the former back into the Temple, and insisted that their proposal should be considered with attention. A boy, thirteen years of age, the grandson of the elder Gordian, was at length produced to the eyes of the multitude, and invested with the ornaments and title of *Cæsar*; an arrangement which satisfied all parties, and confirmed the accession of the second pair of Emperors, who had undertaken to dispute with Maximinus the possession of the Roman Empire.‡

It might have been imagined, that as soon as the news of the African rebellion reached the camp on the Danube, the impetuous Maximinus would have thrown his Army into Italy, and adopted the most expeditious means for punishing the ambition of the Gordiani. He

M. C. P.
Maximus
and
D. C.
Balbinus

From
A. D.
235.
to
238

And of
Balbinus.

Soldiers
demand the
Young
Gordianus.

Conduct of
Maximinus.

* Capitolin. in *Maxim.* c. 15, 16.

• Capitolin. in *Maxim.* et *Balb.* c. 2—5.

† Herodian. lib. viii. Capitolin. in *Gord.* Tert. c. 1; in *Maxim.*

Biography. is said, indeed, to have received the intelligence with the most frantic rage; but before he could take any step to retrieve his affairs in the South, his mind was relieved by the information that his competitors had already fallen, and that the insurgents at Carthage had in consequence returned to their duty. When he heard, however, that the Senate, regardless of his displeasure, or determined to brave its effects, had placed other two Emperors on the Throne, he vowed to inflict upon them the most signal chastisement; and yet, if we can put any confidence in the imperfect chronology of the *Augustan History*, not fewer than nine or ten months elapsed before he appeared with his Legions on the frontiers of Italy.*

Maximus proceeds for war. Maximus, after giving to the People of Rome the usual shows and gratuities, proceeded towards the Julian Alps, to make preparations for checking the advance of the fierce invader. He placed his headquarters at Aquileia, the walls of which were fortified with suitable care, its magazines well supplied with provisions, and its garrison strengthened by the addition of a large body of troops. He gave orders, at the same time, to remove all the corn and cattle from the surrounding country, to break down the bridges, and to destroy every thing which might afford shelter or protection to an enemy's army.

Maximus proceeds for war. After some delay, occasioned by the swelling of the rivers, the deposed Emperor made his way to the city just named; where he began his hostile operations by rooting up the vineyards in the neighbourhood, demolishing the suburbs, and employing the timber of the buildings for constructing the engines and towers by means of which he hoped to make himself master of that important place. But he was opposed in all his attempts, not less by the skill and bravery of the Soldiers than by the resolution of the Citizens, whose knowledge of his character impressed upon their minds, from the moment they shut their gates against him, the alternative of death or of victory. The sentiments of Religion, too, mixed with those of native courage in defence of their town. Crispinus, an experienced Commander, appointed by the Senate to superintend the preparations within the walls, inspired them with the most confident assurances of success; representing to them that the Gods had declared their will that Aquileia should not fall, and even that the tutelary Divinity of the place had already appeared amongst them in person, to secure the safety of his favoured dwelling. But they were not permitted to rely entirely upon the cooperation of Apollo Balenus. Instructed by the regular troops, they made frequent sallies upon the besiegers, of whom they slew a great number. They also showered down upon them from the wall large quantities of melted pitch, which destroyed their machines, and drove them from their trenches; until, at length, their confidence increased so much, that they insulted with loud taunts the ineffectual labours of the tyrant, and defied at once his power and his anger.†

is repulsed. The Barbarian, accustomed to conquer, was filled with rage at the successive repulses which his troops had sustained, and which, in a burst of passion, he ascribed to their want of courage, or of ardour in his cause. The men, on their part, having already suffered a great deal from want, fatigue, and disease, were no

longer disposed to tolerate the brutality of a leader who had proved himself destitute of every sentiment but those of selfishness and revenge. The Prætorians in particular, whose families were at Rome, began to entertain fears for the safety of their wives and children, who might be visited with the resentment of the Senate, or fall victims to the fury of the multitude, who hated still more than they dreaded the character of Maximinus. Besides, they called in question the duty of fighting for a monster who was detested by Gods and men, and of laying waste their native country, merely to enable a Thracian adventurer to shed, in gratification of his personal revenge, the best blood of Rome. They accordingly resolved to put an end to the war by taking away his life. In pursuance of this object, they went in a Body to the Imperial tent, destroying in their progress through the camp the various images and inscriptions which denoted the supreme power of Maximinus; till at length, having upbraided him with his cruelty, and repelled every effort he made to speak in his own defence, they killed him and his son, whom he had associated in the Empire, and carried back their heads in triumph through the ranks of their applauding countrymen.*

The joy which this event created at Rome exceeds the power of description. The Senators crowded to the Temples to thank the Gods for their deliverance from the most frightful tyranny with which their Order was ever threatened: the common People filled the streets with acclamations, tore down every monument that appertained to the late Emperor, extolled the valour and wisdom of his successors, and congratulated their Country upon the return of happy times. There was only one class of subjects whose satisfaction was not complete. The Soldiers were offended that the Throne should have been filled without their voice or concurrence; and amid the shouts which met their ears as they approached the gates of Rome, they could distinguish the applauses bestowed upon the Senate for their considerate choice of persons to guide the helm of affairs. In such praise they listened to their own condemnation, for having raised to the Throne the rude warrior whom they had recently put to death, and they detected, at the same time, the grounds of a resolution on the part of the Civil authorities to deprive the Army of the dangerous privilege which it had so long usurped and exercised. Maximus, too, when he addressed the Legions under the walls of Aquileia, reminded them that by the original Constitution of the Roman Government the supreme power resided in the Senate and the People, and that the Commander of the Armies, whether he were called Emperor or Consul, was nothing more than the deputy of those two constituent bodies. Hence, he impressed upon them, as the first duty of armed Citizens, a constant observance of discipline, and a respectful attention to the orders of their superiors; and upon this basis, he assured them, they would meet with an entire forgiveness of every thing that was past, and merit the esteem of all classes of their countrymen, whether in Italy or in the Provinces.†

The Prætorians participated deeply in the feelings of resentment and suspicion which pervaded the Legions. They called to mind the conduct of Severus, who, to

M. C. P.
Maximus,
and
D. C.
Balbinus.

From
A. D.
235.
to
238.

And slain.
by his own
soldiers.

Joy at
Rome on
the news of
his death.

Dissatisfaction
of the Army,
and
astonishment
of
Maximus
and
Balbinus.

* Capitolin. in *Maxim.* c. 17, 18.
† Ibid. c. 20, 21.

* Capitolin. in *Maxim.* c. 22. Herodian. lib. viii.
† *August. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 21. edit. Bipont 1782.

Biography. revenge the death of Pertinax, disbanded their several Cohorts; a measure of which they apprehended the repetition under the auspices of Maximus, who was known to dread their power and condemn their pretensions. They imagined, moreover, that they could perceive in the German troops whom this Emperor had assembled to oppose the inroad of Maximinus, the intended successors of the Imperial Guards. Determined, therefore, to anticipate the designs of their new masters, they took advantage of the Capitoline Games, which engrossed the attention of nearly all the inhabitants of Rome; proceeded to the Palace where the two Emperors, already alienated from each other, occupied remote apartments; and before an alarm could be given

to the faithful Germans who were in attendance, dragged them both into the street, naked and mangled, and at length put an end to their sufferings by a cruel death. The fears of Maximus, from the first moment of his accession, predicted this fatal issue. "What reward," said he to Balbinus, "shall be bestowed upon us, if we succeed in delivering the Roman world from the tyrant who now domineers over it?"—"We may," replied the other, "depend upon the gratitude and esteem of the Senate, of the People, and even of the whole Earth."—"Yes," rejoined Maximus, "and upon the hatred of the Soldiers, which will briag us both to an untimely end."*

M. C. P.
Maximus,
and
D. C.
Balbinus.

From
A. D.
235
to
238.

MARCUS ANTONINUS GORDIANUS III.

FROM A. D. 238 TO 244.

Biography. No sooner had the Prætorians accomplished their design against Maximus and Balbinus than they hurried the young Cæsar into the Camp, where he was proclaimed Emperor, and forthwith recommended to the loyalty and affection of the People. The murder of the reigning Prince had now become an event of such frequent occurrence, that it ceased to create in the public mind any feeling of horror, or desire of punishment. Hence, we find that the multitude, who had scarcely concluded the festivities with which they greeted the victorious entrance of Maximus, joined in the clamorous joy which proceeded from the Camp when Gordianus III. was invested with the Purple. In the space of a few months, six Emperors were cut off by the sword; and the boy who was now raised to the Throne was selected by the Army, not so much, perhaps, because his name was dear to the Senate and Roman People, as because his tender age promised a long impunity of Military licence, and an undisputed ascendancy to the household troops.

From
A. D.
238,
to
244.
The young
Gordianus
raised to
the Throne

Of this Prince, History has preserved so few particulars, that it still remains doubtful whether he was the son or only the nephew of the younger Gordianus, who fell in the insurrection at Carthage. His early years are praised for docility, talent, and application; but his Biographer adds, that he had not the good fortune to possess a mother like Mamae, the judicious parent and guardian of Alexander Severus. Under the influence of Mælia Faustina, the Government passed into the hands of eunuchs, and other unprincipled retainers of the Court, who made a traffic of the honours and emoluments of the Empire, and prostituted on all occasions the name of the Sovereign to accomplish their own nefarious purposes. This condition of affairs is well described in a Letter from Mysisæus, the preceptor and father-in-law of Gordianus, written to congratulate him on his escape from the disgrace and ruin which must have resulted from the administration of such sordid wretches. Military commands, says he, were given away upon the mere recommendation of the Eunuch of the Chamber; the services of the best Officers remained unrewarded; pardons and condem-

nations were determined by cuprice or money, without any regard to the merits of the case; the public treasures were plundered by designing knaves, who agreed in nothing but their resolution to deceive their master. The Prince, in reply, acknowledges the accuracy of the picture which was presented to his recollection; but, in apology for himself, he entreats his monitor to call to mind the hard fate of an Emperor, from whom truth is studiously concealed, and who, as he cannot see every thing with his own eyes, is compelled to listen to the reports of others, whether honest or deceitful.†

Mysisæus, raised by his son-in-law to the office of Prætorian Præfect, proved himself a wise counsellor in peace, and an able Commander in war. The Government immediately assumed a new aspect: grievances were redressed, merit was rewarded, the idle were dismissed, and the factious were punished. To use the words of Capitolinus, it was no longer either puerile or contemptible. An insurrection fomented in Africa by an obscure soldier, whose name was Sabinianus, was suppressed with so much decision and lenity, that the intelligence of it did not disturb for a day the tranquillity of the Capital.‡

A more formidable contest for the Roman arms was about to take place in the East. The Persians, since the revival of their nation under the dynasty of Sassan, had assumed a commanding attitude in Western Asia; they claimed the territory which belonged to them in the days of Cyrus, and even announced their intention of reestablishing that powerful Empire which had fallen before the genius of Alexander the Great. Artaxerxes, the first of the new race of Kings, had shown, as we have seen above, equal ambition and talents as a soldier; and although he retired across the Euphrates

Marcus
Antoninus
Gordianus
III.

From
A. D.
238,
to
244.

State of
Persia, and
secession
of Sapor.

* *Quid tu, Balbine, et ego meremur, cum hæc tam immensum bellum exitu dederimus? Cuiusque Balbinus duxisset, senatus populusque Romanus ferocissimum amorem et orbis terrarum: duxisset ferret Maximus, Ferror, ne militum odium sentiamus et mortem.* Herodian. lib. viii.

† Herodian. lib. viii. Capitolin. in Gord. Tert. § in Maxim. et Balb. c. 3.

‡ August. Hist. vol. ii. p. 50, 51.

Excerpt.
From
A. D.
238.
to
244.

when the son of Mamea advanced to attack him, it does not appear that his Army was broken, or that his views of conquest were in any degree relinquished. On the contrary, he seems to have renewed the invasion of Syria as soon as the Romans withdrew to celebrate their triumph; and hence the reason why Maximinus was preparing to march against him from the banks of the Danube, when he was diverted from his purpose by the change of affairs which had just occurred in Italy.

The death of the Persian ruler, which must have taken place at no great distance of time from the siege of Aquileia, occasioned a pause in the course of hostilities; and it was not until Gordianus had been three years on the Throne, that Sapor, the son of Artaxerxes, made such demonstrations of war on the eastern frontiers of the Empire, that an expedition into Asia could be no longer delayed. He had already, indeed, entered Mesopotamia, taken Nisibis and Carthra, and even laid siege to the Imperial city of Antioch. His progress was everywhere marked with that rapidity and determination which distinguished his future campaigns, and which enabled him, during a reign of thirty years, to keep the field on equal terms with the ablest Generals of the West. Italy itself heard the sound of his menaces; for his plans of conquest were not, like those of his father, bounded by the Ægean Sea and the Hellespont, but stretched to the Alps, and even to the shores of the ocean.

Exposition
of Gordianus
against the
Persians.

In the spring of the year two hundred and forty-two, Gordianus opened the Temple of Janus for the last time, and began his march towards his Asiatic dominions. Whilst passing through Mæsia and Thrace, he had to contend with some detached bodies of the Barbarians, over whom he gained a succession of easy victories. But the Alani, a more warlike tribe, whom he encountered on the plains of Philippi, are said to have checked his progress, and even to have inflicted upon one of the wings of his Army a considerable loss. Without spending upon the conquest of wandering hordes the time which he meant to devote to more important ends, he at once conducted the Legions into Syria, already wasted and alarmed by the inroads of Sapor, resolved to effect, at whatever cost, the recovery of a Province which the Empire had always valued very highly. No record has been preserved of the battles which ensued; but it is not doubtful that the Romans conducted the war with the greatest spirit and success, for in the course of the first campaign they drove the invading Army out of Syria, pursued them over the Euphrates, retook the several towns which had fallen into their hands, and concluded by punishing Sapor with a signal defeat near the city of Resæna.*

Letter to
the Senate.

In his Letter to the Senate, the young Emperor acknowledged that he owed his great victories to the admirable arrangements of Mysiæus, and requested that thanks might be returned first to the Gods, and next to the Prætorian Prefect. A Triumph was decreed to the Prince, in which it was intended that his car should be drawn by four elephants, to denote the country and people which had witnessed the success of his arms. Orders were given at the same time, that the Prefect should be rewarded with a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses, bearing an inscription that he was beloved by the Roman People, not less as

the father of their Emperor than as the guardian of their Commonwealth.*

That Mysiæus deserved all the honour which was conferred upon him, was but too soon proved by the melancholy events subsequent upon his demise. The disease which put an end to his valuable life is said to have been rendered more malignant than usual, by injudicious treatment on the part of his attendants; ascribed, as is common in such cases, to the envy or ambition of a rival. Philip, who was soon afterwards on the Throne, and who certainly at that time aspired to the office of Prætorian Prefect, is accused of having tampered with the fidelity of the physician, or with the honour of the person who administered the drugs to his patients, and of having thereby procured the death of Mysiæus. Whatever truth may be in this charge, there is no doubt that the ambitious soldier obtained the object on which he had set his heart. He was elevated to the dignity of the Prefecture, which he soon allowed himself to regard as only a convenient step to the Throne. An Arab by birth, and in the earlier part of his life a robber by profession, he thought no means unlawful by which he might supplant his master and patron. He contrived that an artificial scarcity should irritate the minds of the Soldiers, who were taught to ascribe it to the youth and incapacity of their leader. From that moment the fate of Gordianus was determined. The circumstances which attended his death are, indeed, variously related; but it admits not of any doubt that he fell a victim to the intrigues of the new Prefect, who corrupted the Army, and even employed against him the hand of a conspirator. Capitolinus informs us, that at first Philip was appointed colleague to the Emperor, on the ground that the inexperience of the latter might derive assistance from the skill of a veteran, who had served in different climates, and to whom the wants and habits of military life were perfectly familiar. He adds, that the Prince soon became impatient of the control under which he was placed, and that the other, who was not less desirous to reign alone, dreading the effects of his resentment should he accomplish his object, formed the resolution to remove him by violent means. The third Gordianus was put to death in the month of March, in the year two hundred and forty-four, after having reigned five years and eight months.

The assassin who succeeded him on the Throne affected to bewail his loss, gave orders that his obsequies should be performed with the greatest magnificence, sent his ashes to Rome, and employed the Army in erecting a splendid mausoleum on the spot where he fell, near the city of Circæsium, at the confluence of the Haboras and the Euphrates. An inscription, remarkable for a play upon the word *Philippi*, continued for some generations to record his exploits, and insinuate the manner of his death; and at a still later period, a mound of earth still remained to inform the passing traveller that the head of the Roman world had perished in the neighbourhood. The epitaph is as follows:

*Divo Gordiano Victori cesarum, Victori Gothorum,
Victori Sarmatarum, Depulsori Romanorum Seditionum,
Victori Germanorum; sed non Victori Philipporum.*
Capitolin. in Gord. c. 34.

Marcus
Antoninus
Gordianus
III.

From
A. D.
238.
to
244.
Death of
Mysiæus,
and preferment
of Philip.

who
murders
Gordianus.

* Capitolin. in Gord. Tert. c. 27, 28.

* Capitolin. in Gord. Tert. c. 29, 30.

MARCUS JULIUS PHILIPPUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 244 TO 249.

Biography.

From
A. D.
244.
to
249.

ENJOYING no longer the assistance of Herodian, nor the light which was supplied by the earlier Authors of the Augustan History, we feel ourselves becoming more and more destitute of those characteristic details which give the chief interest to Biography. From the middle of the III^d century we are compelled to trust for many facts to the accuracy of the Ecclesiastical writers, in whose eyes, as the affairs of State possessed only a secondary importance, the course of Civil and Military events did not assume its full magnitude. The scanty notices of Eutropius, accordingly, receive no material addition from the incidental remarks of Eusebius, or of his contemporaries among the Church Historians. On the other hand, the strong prejudices of Zosimus against our holy Faith, as well as his general scepticism as to the credibility of human testimony and the purity of human motives, create in our minds suspicions extremely unfavourable to the authority of that Annalist. Nor can we have a greater degree of confidence in the fragments collected by Zonaras; who, though his honesty and diligence have never been impeached, has not acquired the respect of more enlightened times for wise selection or critical discernment.

Family of
Philip.

For these reasons it cannot appear wonderful that considerable obscurity should still hang over the origin of the Emperor Philip. That he was a foreigner by birth, is admitted on all hands; but whether he drew his lineage from an indigenous Arabian, or was entitled to boast of a descent from one of the noble families of Rome, is a point which still remains undetermined. The same doubts exist in regard to his Religion. It has been customary, among writers connected with the Church, to claim this barbarous soldier, not only as a believer in the Gospel, but as a dutiful son and an exemplary penitent; an opinion which appears to have no other foundation besides the weak conceit of an ancient author, and the boundless credulity of subsequent compilers.*

He marches
against the
Carpi.

Philip was in the East when the last of the Gordians expired. Desirous to establish his power at Rome, he hastened to make peace with Sapor, the King of Persia; immediately after which he withdrew his army into Syria. Upon his arrival in the Capital he announced to the Senate that he had associated in the Government his son, who was only seven years of age, whom at the same time he had decorated with the title of *Cæsar*. He spent several months in endeavouring to gain the affections of the higher order of the citizens, who suspected, and were very slow to pardon, the share which he was supposed to have had in the death of their youthful Sovereign. But he did not in the meantime neglect the more important concerns of the Empire. He committed the command of the Legions in Syria to his brother Priscus, and of those serving in Mæsia and

Macedonia to his father-in-law, Severianus; while he prepared to take the field in person against some warlike tribes who occupied the mountains which divide Modern Hungary and Transylvania from Poland.*

The *Carpi*, who appear to have given their name to the Carpathian range, first disturbed the administration of Alexander Severus, and afterwards provoked the resentment of Maximus and Balbinus; the latter of whom was on the point of marching against them at the period when he was put to death. Availing themselves of the confusion and rapid changes in the Government which had recently prevailed at Rome, they advanced into the Provinces watered by the Danube, where they committed great ravages. Philip defeated them in a pitched battle, slew an immense number of their warriors, and shut up the remainder in a strong fortress, to which they had fled for refuge. Determined not to submit, they made an attempt to cut their way through the Roman army, by which they were now completely surrounded; but, failing in this desperate expedient, they relinquished all confidence in arms, and sued for Peace.†

Upon his return to Rome, the Emperor, trusting to the favourable impression which his success had made on the public mind, and actuated by the desire of establishing his family on the Throne, adopted his son as his colleague in the Consulship, and soon afterwards declared him *Augustus*. But a more interesting ceremony ere long invited his attention, and signalized his reign. It was now a thousand years since Romulus laid the foundations of the Eternal City; and it became alike the piety and the gratitude of the Romans to distinguish this remarkable epoch by the celebration of their Secular Games. This solemnity had been observed by Augustus, to whom is due the merit of its revival, or, perhaps, its institution; by Claudius, by Domitian, and by Severus.‡ It has been well observed, that every circumstance of those Games was skillfully adapted to inspire the superstitious mind with deep and solemn reverence. The long interval between them exceeded the ordinary term of human life; and as none of the spectators had already seen them, none could flatter themselves with the expectation of beholding them a second time. Mystic sacrifices were performed, during three nights, on the banks of the Tyber; and the Campus Martius resounded with music and dances, and was illuminated with innumerable lamps and torches. Slaves and strangers were excluded from any participation in these National ceremonies. A chorus of twenty-seven youths, and as many virgins, of noble families, each of whom had both parents living, implored the propitious Gods in favour of the present, and for the hope of the rising generation; requesting,

Marcus
Julius
Philippus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
244.
to
249.

He defeats
them and
compels
them to sue
for peace.

He celebrates
the
Secular
Games.

* Zonar. lib. xii. c. 19. p. 624. Edit. Paris.

† Zosim. lib. xi. Aurel. Victor, de *Cæsaribus*. Eutrop. lib. ix.

‡ Zosim. lib. xi.

* Eutrop. Aurel. Victor, de *Cæsaribus*.

Biography. in religious hymns, that, according to the faith of their
From ancient Oracles, they would still maintain the Virtue,
A. D. the Felicity, and the Empire of the Roman People.
244. The magnificence of the shows and entertainments
to given by Philip dazzled the eyes of the multitude.
249. The devout were employed in the rites of Superstition,
 whilst the reflecting few revolved in their anxious
 minds the past history or the future fate of the
 Empire.

From But, although the Emperor conciliated the esteem or
to forbearance of his subjects in the Capital, he could
to employ no means for preventing the still greater dan-
to gers with which he was threatened by the avarice and
 sedition of the Provincial Legions. The troops station-
 ed in Mœsia revolted, and raised to the rank of
 Augustus a Centurion whose name was Marinus.
 Philip, alarmed at the intelligence, made haste to com-
 municate it to the Senate; when Decius, a member of
 Consular dignity, who by his merits had elevated him-
 self from a low condition through all the honours of the
 State, rose to assure the Prince that there was no ground
 for apprehension; and that the soldiers, ashamed of
 their inconstancy, would, of their own accord, depose
 their new-made Emperor, and return to a sense of duty.
 The event soon corresponded to this prediction.
 Decius, as a reward for his sagacity, was appointed to
 the command of the mutinous cohorts; which he was
 directed to visit with punishment, or with indulgence,
 according to the part which they had severally taken in
 the recent commotion. The prudent General is said
 to have questioned the wisdom of this arrangement;

foreseeing the danger of presenting a popular leader to an
 army the angry passions of which had not yet subsided,
 and which had much to fear from a Sovereign whom
 they had attempted to degrade. His anticipations were
 again fulfilled. He no sooner appeared in Mœsia, than
 the soldiers proclaimed him Emperor, and invested
 him with the usual ensigns of Imperial authority;
 threatening, at the same time, that if he refused to
 comply with their views, they would instantly plunge
 their swords into his body.

The rebellious Legions having chosen a Sovereign Philip is
 resolved to place him on the Imperial Throne, and with
 this view began their march towards Rome. Philip,
 at the head of a more numerous body of forces, met
 his rival near Verona, where a battle ensued between
 the two armies. The fortune of war determined in
 favour of the Provincials, who by a signal victory re-
 venged the death of Gordian, and, at the same time,
 secured the Diadem for the Prince of their own elec-
 tion. Philip fell either on the field of battle, or imme-
 diately afterwards in the city of Verona; and his son,
 who appears to have been left in the Capital, shared
 the same fate at the hands of the Prætorian Guards.

The name of this Monarch is associated with the
 origin of a Colony at Philippopolis, which he founded
 in Arnhia Petrea, near Bostra; in which vicinity he is
 said to have been born. He projected or completed
 several improvements at Rome; but the shortness of
 his reign afforded no time for studying decoration, or for
 cultivating the Arts of Peace.*

Marcus
Julius
Philippus
Augustus.
From
A. D.
244.
to
249.

CAIUS MESSIUS QUINTUS TRAJANUS DECIUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 249 TO 251.

Biography. DECIVS was received with acclamations by the
From Senators, who, for the most part, respected his virtues
A. D. and admired his talents. But his reputation has been
249. tarnished by the just indignation of the Ecclesiastical
to writers, who could not be induced to regard the pru-
251. dence of his Civil Government, or the splendour of his
 victories, as any atonement for his violent persecution
 of the Christians. He had not, indeed, employed
 many months in the administration of affairs, when he
 was called to the banks of the Danube to oppose an
 invasion of the Goths. This people, afterwards so
 memorable for their conquest of the Western Empire,
 had at that period just approached the remoter Pro-
 vinces of the North-East. In the reign of Philip, a
 Gothic Chieftain, followed by numerous and warlike
 hordes, passed triumphantly through Dacia, and at
 length planted his standard under the walls of Marcian-
 opolis, a principal city in Mœsia. The inhabitants,
 whose wealth had tempted the avarice of this roving
 enemy, consented to purchase repose by paying a large
 sum of money, as well as by supplying the camp of the
 invaders with the best of their cattle. The success of
 the Barbarians in the first inroad induced them to repeat

it; and Decius, accordingly, was hardly seated on the
 Throne when he received information that Chiva, King
 of the Goths, had a second time crossed the Danube,
 and was spreading desolation over the fairest fields of
 Mœsia.†

The events which marked the progress of the Gothic
 war are perplexed with no small degree of inconsis-
 tency. It should seem that the eldest son of the Empe-
 ror was sent, in the first instance, to check the progress
 of the invaders; and that he found them employed in
 the siege of Nicapolis, a town situated on the Istrus.
 Breaking up at his approach, they directed their march
 towards Philippopolis in Thrace, a place of still greater
 strength and riches than that which they had relin-
 quished. The young Decius pursued them through a
 difficult country, anticipating an easy victory over their
 undisciplined ranks; when, on a sudden, the Gothic
 Chief, turning round upon the Romans, attacked them
 with the utmost fury, compelled them to seek safety in
 flight, and at length crowned his success by pillaging

Caius
Messius
Quintus
Trajanus
Decius
Augustus
From
A. D.
249.
to
251.
Romans
defeated.

* Zonar. lib. xii. c. 10. Aurel. Victor, de *Cæsaribus*. Eutrop. lib. ix.
 † Eutrop., Zosim., and Zonar.

Biography.

From
A. D.
249.
to
251.

their camp. Philippopolis soon after fell into their hands; the capture of which is said to have been stained by the blood of a hundred thousand of the inhabitants.*

These advantages, it was thought, were not gained by the Barbarians without assistance from certain Roman traitors. It is manifest, indeed, amid all the obscurity which covers this portion of History, that Priscus, a brother of the late Emperor, aided by his counsels, and probably by his arms, the conquerors of Philippopolis. It is even said that he accepted the purple at their hands, and had determined to employ their valour for cutting his way to the Imperial Throne; but his death, which followed soon afterwards, at once defeated his plans, and deprived Historians of the means of ascertaining the exact share which he had in the Gothic irruption, as also the motives upon which he acted.

Decius and his son are slain.

Alarmed at the defeat sustained by his son, the Emperor immediately proceeded to take the command of the troops in Illyricum. The length of time, as well as the great number of lives which had been lost by the enemy in the siege just mentioned, supplied ground for hope that the affairs of Mœsia might yet be retrieved. If we may trust to Zosimus, the skill and bravery of Decius were soon rewarded with several distinguished victories over the Goths. He attacked in separate bodies the various hordes of their German confederates, who were hastening from their mountains and forests to share the plunder of the Roman Provinces. He took possession of the principal passes, repaired the strong holds on the Danube, and adopted every expedient, as well for preventing reinforcements, as for cutting off their retreat. The invaders, it is said, would have gladly consented to purchase, at the expense of their richest booty, permission to withdraw unmolested from the country which they had wasted. But the Emperor, eager to recover the reputation of his arms, and to inspire a salutary fear into those rude warriors, resolved to bring them

once more to battle. The treachery of a rival, however, is reported to have again frustrated his plans. Gallus, who succeeded him on the Throne, is represented to have given such information to the enemy as enabled them to extricate their bands from the toils spread for their destruction by the Roman Commander. It is more probable, notwithstanding, that the triumph of the Goths arose from their advantageous position behind a marsh, and from the blind impetuosity of the assailants, who attempted to pass it, than from the infidelity of Gallus, who had no inducement to betray the arms of his Country. At all events, the defeat of the Romans was complete; and their loss was not a little aggravated by the death of the Emperor and of his eldest son, both of whom were left upon the field of battle amidst heaps of slain.*

Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Augustus.

From
A. D.
249.
to
251.

Character of Decius

The fortune of Decius, after he ascended the Throne, was not in any degree commensurate with his care and abilities. Perceiving that his Countrymen no longer retained the virtuous principles by which they had risen to power, he made an effort to revive the office of Censor; hoping that, with a renovation of moral feeling, he might confirm the foundations of that National pre-eminence which recent events had tended greatly to diminish. The Senate, to which the duty of election was intrusted, gave its suffrages in favour of Valerian, who was afterwards raised to the Empire. This distinguished soldier was with the army in Pannonia when the intelligence of his new honour was conveyed to him; the arduous duties of which appeared to his mind so oppressive, as to induce him to entreat the Emperor to relieve him from an appointment to which no subject was equal. But the disastrous issue of the war rendered abortive the benevolent purpose of Decius, and also saved the Censor elect from the weight of odium and responsibility prepared for him by the partiality of the Senatorial Order.

CAIUS VIBIUS TREBONIANUS GALLUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 251 to 253.

Biography.

From
A. D.
251.
to
253.

Gallus named Emperor.

THE Pannonian Legions, mortified by their defeat, did not at once exercise the right with which custom had now invested the army, of naming a successor to the Throne. They even condescended to be in some measure directed by the Senate in choosing a head to the Empire; and the latter Body, influenced by a due veneration for the patriotism of Decius, recommended that his surviving son, Hostilianus, should be elevated to the vacant seat. The urgency of affairs, however, required more vigour and experience than could be expected in the character of so young a Prince; for which reason the military leaders associated with him in the Government one of their own Chiefs, whose conduct or whose promises had secured their approbation.

Makes a treaty with the Goths.

The first measure adopted by the latter Sovereign was to relieve the Maritime territory from the pressure of

Gothic invasion. Unwilling to hazard the interests of the Empire by prosecuting the war, Gallus entered into a Treaty with the enemy; granting them permission to retire with all the booty and prisoners that the fortune of battle had thrown into their hands, and promising, besides, to make to their King a yearly present in gold, on condition that he should not violate the integrity of the Roman dominions.

Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus Augustus.

From
A. D.
251.
to
253.

Returns to Rome.

Having thus effected the object dearest to his heart, the Emperor repaired to Rome, where he soon gave himself up to the pleasures which already occupied the days and nights of too many of the higher classes of his Italian subjects. Hostilianus had fallen a victim to disease, or to treachery, and no longer divided with his colleague the honours and envy of Imperial power. Gallus raised his son Volusianus to a participation of

* Zosim. lib. i. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 20.

* Eutrop. lib. ix. Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus.

Biography. his Throne, and now looked forward to the enjoyment of that security which his policy, rather than his arms, had purchased. But the disgrace which he had inflicted upon the majesty of Rome, by an ignominious peace with the Barbarians, rankled in the breasts of his People. The annual gift to the Gothic Monarch could not be viewed in any other light than that of a tribute; and to this humiliating reflection, which cast a gloom on the return of the Emperor, there were soon added all the miseries attendant upon a destructive Plague.*

Notes re
to this
passage,
and are
omitted by
Antiquaries.
In the second year of his reign, Gallus had the mortification to discover that the faith of the Barbarians, whom he had hoped to bind by Treaty, had again yielded to the temptation held forth by the superior wealth and comfort of the Provincials in Mœsia and Pannonia. Swarms of those restless shepherds, conducted by various leaders, crossed the Danube, carrying with them terror and devastation, and setting at equal defiance the obligations of honour and the fear of arms. The safety of Rome, in such a case, was justly regarded as being placed in the hands of the General who commanded the Illyrian Legions. Æmilianus, who was said to be a Moor by birth, acted at that time as Proconsul on the banks of the Danube; and as his ambition was not inferior either to his power or his military genius, he did not refuse the reward which the army thought proper to present to a successful Chief. He defeated the Goths in several bloody engagements, recovered much of the booty which had been previously carried away, and thereby so materially diminished their strength as to afford to the neighbouring Provinces the hope of lasting tranquillity.†

But the success of Æmilianus as a Commander put an end to his allegiance as a subject; and hence he had

no sooner finished the war with foreigners, than he found it necessary to conduct the Legions against his Imperial master. Gallus, amazed by the rapidity of events, the victories, the revolt, and the advance of the Pannonian army, sent Valerian to collect the cohorts which were serving on the Rhine, while he himself set out at the head of such troops as he could assemble on the spur of the occasion, to meet the rebellious Governor. The two armies came in sight of each other near Interamna, a district of Umbria; but as both were convinced that no higher object was at stake than the personal interests of two individuals, they resolved that, without striking a blow, the smaller number should give way to the greater, and that the Empire should be secured to him who was surrounded by the strongest camp. The soldiers of Gallus, accordingly, ended the strife by putting him and his son to death; upon which the Imperial cohorts immediately passed over to the ranks of their antagonists. Nor did the Senate long delay to give the sanction of their authority to the right of conquest. The letters of Æmilianus to that body display a mixture of moderation and vanity. He assured them that he should resign to their wisdom the administration of Civil affairs; and, contenting himself with the honour of obeying their commands as a General, he would endeavour to avenge the cause of Rome, by driving from the Empire those crowds of Barbarians by whom its Provinces in the North and East had been recently insulted. His modesty and patriotism were applauded by the Senators; and their sense of his good intentions is perpetuated in certain medals, which represent him as combining in his own person the attributes of Hercules and of Mars.*

Caius
Vibius
Trebrianus
Gallus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
251.

to
253.

The Legions
revolted, and
Gallus is put
to death.

CAIUS JULIUS ÆMILIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FOUR MONTHS IN A. D. 253.

Biography. VALERIAN, who had been despatched by Gallus to bring to his assistance the Legions stationed on the frontiers of Germany, did not arrive in time to prevent the death of the Emperor; but finding, upon his return to Italy, that the catastrophe now mentioned had already taken place, he determined to revenge it on the person of the usurper. The army which had raised the latter to the Throne, appears still to have continued on the ground whereon was decided the fate of the two rival Commanders; and where, without drawing the sword to defend the object of its recent choice, it was again to transfer the Crown to another head. The moderation

which Æmilianus displayed, and which was probably the effect of principle, was ascribed by the fierce soldiery to the influence of fear. His apparent pusillanimity withdrew their confidence; and finding that Valerian was approaching, by rapid marches, to punish their late disaffection, they resolved to secure his forbearance by repeating, in his own favour, the treason with which they were chargeable against Gallus. The troops under his command had already proclaimed him *Augustus*; and the murder of the reigning Prince by their hands soon opened to Valerian an unresisted passage to the Throne.†

Caius
Julius
Æmilianus
Augustus.

A. D.
253.

* Zosim. lib. i. Aurel. Victor. Eutrop.
† Zosim. ubi supra. Eutrop. lib. ix. Victor, de Caesaribus.

* Zosim. lib. ii. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 21. p. 627.
† Eutrop. lib. ix. Aurel. Victor, de Caesaribus.

CAIUS PUBLIUS LICINIUS VALERIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 253 TO 260.

Biography.

From
A. D.
253.
to
260.

Character of
Valerianus.

Few Princes, in the evil times of which we are now writing, entered upon the Government with the advantage of so high a reputation as that enjoyed by Valerian. His merits had attracted the attention of the whole Empire; and his elevation to the most eminent rank in the State was accompanied with universal congratulation in Italy as well as in the Provinces. Descended from an illustrious family, he was introduced at an early period of life to the most important offices, Civil and military, that were open to the ambition of a Patrician youth; and long before he reached the Throne, he had arrived at a degree of consideration much more gratifying to a patriotic mind than the more ostentatious honours of Imperial power. The judgment formed of his character by his contemporaries, supersedes every other species of eulogy. When Decius desired the Senate to select from their Body one qualified to discharge the duties of Censor, the choice unanimously fell on Valerian. "His whole life," they exclaimed, "has been an example and an admonition to his fellow citizens. Let Him be the judge of others, who, in all respects, is their superior. Let Him be appointed to investigate the conduct of the Senators, who himself is not chargeable with any crime. Let Him pronounce sentence on our lives, whose own purity has never been impeached. From his earliest childhood Valerian has been Censor; his maturer years have done honour to the same office: as a Senator he has been wise, moderate, and grave; a friend of good men, and an enemy of the tyrannical and the immoral. We are all ready to acknowledge him as Censor, because we are desirous to imitate his virtues. More distinguished by his merits than by the nobleness of his blood, his conduct shows innocence of manners and sublimity of sentiments. He has revived in his person the excellence of the first Ages; and we venerate in his character an example of the purest and best of times."^{*}

His reign
not pros-
perous.

But with all these qualities to fit him for government, the reign of Valerian was not happy. His merits may have been overrated by partial judges; or, perhaps, the advanced period of life to which he had arrived, may have blunted his energies and clouded his discernment; but, whatever may have been the cause, there is no doubt that the character of his administration did not correspond to the lofty conceptions of wisdom and vigour, which his conduct in a lower sphere had led his Countrymen to form. To this ruler, accordingly, has been applied an observation made by Tacitus in regard to Galba; that, as long as he was a private person he appeared superior to a private station, and if he had never been Emperor he would, in the opinion of all men, have been esteemed most capable of discharging all the duties belonging to that high office.[†]

His views were not sufficiently expansive; and, above all, he wanted firmness in adhering to his plans, and activity in reducing them to practice. He is reported also in his latter years, to have become timid and credulous, more alive to the sense of danger, than to the means of avoiding it; and hence, though the love of his Country never cooled in his breast, he yet brought on it, or rather, perhaps, allowed it to endure, evils much more formidable than could have arisen from injustice and tyranny combined.^{*}

The reign of Valerian was soon disturbed by a simultaneous invasion of several of those warlike nations, which had gradually been augmenting their numbers and improving their martial skill, along its Northern boundaries. A powerful host, who had assumed the proud appellation of *Franks*, or *Freemen*, threatened the banks of the Rhine, and even made repeated inroads into the Roman Provinces; to oppose whom, the Emperor sent his son Gallienus, already honoured with the title of *Cæsar*, assisted by the experience of Posthumus, a General of high reputation, who undertook to direct the movements of the army. The first efforts of the Prince, it is said, were crowned with distinguished success. The applause of History, confirmed by a series of medals, ascribes to the son of Valerian several important victories, by which he acquired the distinction of *Germanicus*, *Marimus*. Having weakened their power in the field of battle, he next attempted to bind the faith of the enemy by a solemn compact; a proof, in all cases, that the triumphs of the conqueror have not been complete. The German Prince with whom this alliance was formed, promised not only to abstain from all farther aggressions himself, but even to prevent every other member of the confederacy from crossing the Rhine with hostile intentions.[†]

There appears, however, in opposition to the statement just given, a remarkable historical fact, which cannot be reconciled to the belief that the Franks were either intimidated, or induced to relinquish their plane of conquest. We find in the pages of Aurelius Victor, that the Barbarians, who are supposed to have yielded to the arms or policy of Gallienus, not only extended their ravages to the Pyrenees, but entered Spain, and laid waste some of its richest Provinces. Having exhausted the plunder of that extensive peninsula, they crossed the Mediterranean, and carried into the Roman Colonies in Africa the terror and desolation which every where marked their progress.[‡]

Valerian had already departed from Rome to conduct the Legions in Syria against Sapor, King of Persia; and, consequently, while Gallienus was engaged on the Rhine, the government of the Empire must have been confided to Chiefs of the Senate, under the nominal

Caius
Publius
Licinius
Valerianus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
253.
to
260.

Empire
invaded by
the Franks.

Inroad into
Spain.

Valerian
sent out to
conduct the
war against
the Persians

* Trebell. Poll. *Valer.* c. 1-3.
† *Magis privato visa, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, non imperat.* Tacit. *Hist.* lib. i. c. 49.

* Zosim. lib. i. Aurel. Victor.
† Zosim. lib. i. Eutrop. lib. ix.
‡ Aurel. Victor, c. 33. Eutrop. lib. ix.

Geography. superintendence, perhaps, of one of the junior members of the Imperial Family. In the absence of the two rulers, Italy appears to have been menaced with an invasion by another horde of Germans, who are known to history by the name of *Alemanni*; an appellation which is understood to express the variety of their lineage, and the courage which they claimed as common to them all. A numerous Body of this enterprising People had pushed across the Danube, penetrated the defiles of the Rhætan Alps, and poured down upon the plains of Lombardy. Meeting with no force able to oppose their progress, they advanced as far as Ravenna, and even extended the fear of conquest to the very gates of the Capital; when an army, raised in haste by the zeal of the Senate, and reinforced by the Prætorian Guards, successfully repelled the tumultuary invaders, and finally drove them back into their own Country. It is probable, however, that the *Alemanni*, already laden with plunder, and having therefore a stronger inducement to retreat than to fight, allowed to the Romans the credit of an easy victory; for it appears that they had no sooner deposited their spoils in a place of security, than they returned to lay waste the fields, and attack the wealth which had provoked their avarice.

Religion. This second invasion procured for Gallienus the honour of a decisive victory. Zonaras informs us, that the Prince, at the head of only ten thousand legionary soldiers, defeated, near Milan, a host of Germans, amounting to not fewer than three hundred thousand men. But the extent of this triumph may very reasonably be called in question, particularly when we find that the Roman conqueror immediately contracted an alliance with the King of one of the hostile tribes, married his daughter, and relinquished to him, as the price of his friendship, a large portion of territory in the Province of Pannonia.*

Geography. The first cares of Valerian, upon his departure from Rome, were directed to the safety of the Illyrian settlements. The Goths, who in their successive migrations from the shores of the Baltic, had now reached those of the Euxine, were become very formidable neighbours to the Roman Provincials in that remote part of the Empire. Various engagements took place between them and the Imperial Lieutenants, in which the skill and firmness of the Legions generally proved successful over mere savage strength and impetuosity. Aurelian, in a particular manner, distinguished himself in the Gothic war, and was rewarded for his exploits with the honour of the Consulate. Probus, too, who was afterwards raised to the Throne, acquired great reputation in the same arduous service. The Emperor himself remained at Byzantium to direct the movements of his Generals, and to remunerate their toils; and so great were their vigilance and activity along the whole extent of the frontiers, that the Barbarians were checked or defeated in every inroad which they attempted into the Illyrian Provinces.†

Geography. But the Goths found less difficulty in making an impression on the Roman Colonies in Asia Minor. Directing the stream of emigration from the Northern shores of the Black Sea, they arrived at the little Kingdom of Bosphorus; which falling a ready prey into their hands, supplied them with ships and other means for carrying

their armies to the coast of Asia. Embarking in the fleet with which they were thus provided, the Gothic Chiefs first encountered the Roman power, at the fortress of Pityus, whence they were repulsed with considerable slaughter: but being desirous to remove the disgrace which attached to their failure, they afterwards renewed the siege with increased vigour, and ultimately reduced the garrison to the necessity of surrendering. This success inspired them with so much confidence, that they resolved to pursue their conquests on an enlarged scale. They cruised along the shores of the Euxine in search of an object worthy of their courage, when, at length, they cast their eyes upon a rich Temple, at the mouth of the river Phasis, which they attempted, but in vain, to plunder. The city of Trebizond next awakened their love of booty and of adventure, and, owing to the most culpable negligence on the part of the soldiers appointed to defend it, their determination to carry it by storm was followed by the most complete success. A double wall and ten thousand men could not protect the wealth of that celebrated place against the assault of rude Barbarians. A general massacre of the inhabitants ensued; the Temples and the most splendid edifices were involved in a common destruction; and the amount of the spoil was so great, that the victors loaded with it a fleet of ships which they found in the harbour. The prisoners, too, whom they carried with them to their new settlement in the Kingdom of Bosphorus, served not only to man their ships, but also to instruct them in naval architecture and navigation, in which Arts the Romans, who colonized the maritime districts of the Empire, had made considerable advances.*

Encouraged by a degree of success which must have surpassed their most sanguine hopes, the Goths, in the course of the ensuing winter, made preparations for a second expedition against the Roman settlements in Asia Minor. Having equipped on this occasion a greater armament than before, they directed their course to the Western shores of the Euxine; and at length, after stripping the city of Chæcedon of its arms and wealth, they marched their victorious bands into the Province of Bithynia. Guided by the local knowledge of a traitor, who had joined their ranks, they proceeded to Nicomedia, the ancient Capital of the Bithynian Kings, which they took and plundered. Nice, Prusa, Apamæa, and Chius, cities not much inferior in wealth or population to Nicomedia, were involved in the same calamity. Cyzicus escaped a similar fate, owing to an inundation of the adjacent country, or to the unusual swelling of a river which crossed the path of the Goths. These victors, accordingly, once more loaded with booty, and leaving a name increased in terror by their late excesses, returned to their own coast, meditating new invasions and more extended conquests.†

It is extremely difficult, amid the varying statements of ancient Annalists, to determine the actual succession of events, and more especially as the same occurrence is referred to the time of Valerian, or to that of his son, according to the caprice of the several writers from whom we derive our information. The third inroad of the Scythian or Gothic nations is usually placed in the reign of Gallienus; on which account, although there

Caius
Publius
Licinius
Valerianus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
253.
to
260.

They renew
their invasion.
Trebizond.

* Zonar. lib. xii. c. 23. p. 629. Aurd. Victor. c. 33.

† August. Hist. Vopisc. in Aurel. Trebell. Poll. in Claud. Vopisc. in Prob.

* Zosim. lib. i. p. 647, 648. Aurd. Victor. de Cesaribus. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 23. p. 630.

† Zosim. lib. i. p. 649.

Biography.

From
A. D.
253.
to
260.

Sapor advances into Mesopotamia and Syria.

are considerable authorities for an earlier date, we shall adopt the more common arrangement. Meantime we proceed to trace the fortunes of the Roman Emperor in the East, when he was called from his retirement at Byzantium to repress the ambitious designs of the warlike Sapor.*

Since the Peace concluded by Philip with the Persian Prince, there had been no open hostilities between the two Empires. Sapor, indeed, had seized several occasions for annoying the Romans, and undermining their interests in Armenia and Syria; availing himself of the weakness, confusion, and distrust, which always accompany rapid changes in the supreme authority. But it was not till the reign of Valerian that he resolutely threw off the mask, and manifested a determination to try his strength against the armies of Rome. He was induced, it is said, to take this important step by the counsels of Cyriades, the son of a Syrian nobleman, who, having forfeited his reputation at home, took refuge at the court of the Persian Monarch. Taking the field suddenly, and before the Romans were acquainted with his design, Sapor advanced into Mesopotamia, where he took Nisibis and Carrhæ; and then penetrated into Syria, where he succeeded in surprising Antioch. So unexpected was the approach of the enemy, that the inhabitants of the great city just named, were attacked by the spears of the Persians, while employed in witnessing the feats of a Pantomime. Their houses were sacked, and the surrounding country was plundered, before they could have recourse to arms, or summon to their aid the Legions which guarded the Province.†

The Persians retire before Valerian; but in the end defeat him and take him prisoner.

In such circumstances, indeed, nothing could have saved the whole of Asia Minor from conquest, had the victors thought proper to advance. But the soldiers of Sapor, enriched by an immense booty which they were unwilling to hazard, and aware, perhaps, that the Western Provinces were already disputed by an enemy, from whom they could gain neither honour nor wealth, judged it expedient to return into their own Country. Valerian, meanwhile, made his appearance in Syria, and began to repair the fortifications of Antioch; a labour for which he has been rewarded by the flattery of the Imperial Mint, with the title of *Restorer of the East*,

preserved to the present day on certain well authenticated medals. Finding that the Persians had laid siege to Edessa, he crossed the Euphrates and entered Mesopotamia; where, encountering the host of the enemy on a disadvantageous ground, or betrayed by the wiles of a faithless General, he sustained a severe defeat. Intimidated by this reverse, he was about to make arrangements for purchasing Peace at the hand of the conqueror, by paying a large sum of money. Sapor, meditating it is presumed, the treachery which followed, expressed a desire to treat with the Emperor in person. The latter complied with this request; upon which he was detained as a prisoner, and carried captive into the heart of Persia, where he lingered several years before he was relieved from his ignominy by the hand of death.*

Sapor is reproached with a proud abuse of the rights of conquest. We are told that Valerian, in chains, but invested with the Imperial Purple, was exposed to the multitude, a constant spectacle of fallen greatness; and that whenever the Persian Monarch mounted on horseback, he placed his foot on the neck of a Roman Emperor. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his allies, who repeatedly advised him to remember the vicissitude of fortune, to dread the returning power of Rome, and to make his illustrious captive the pledge of peace, not the object of insult, Sapor still remained inflexible. When Valerian sunk under the weight of shame and grief, his skin stuffed with straw, and formed into the likeness of a human figure, was preserved for ages in the most celebrated Temple of Persia; a more real monument of triumph than the fancied trophies of brass and marble, so often erected by Roman vanity. The tale is moral and pathetic, but the truth of it may very fairly be called in question. The Letters still extant from the Princes of the East to Sapor, are manifest forgeries; nor is it natural to suppose that a jealous Monarch should, even in the person of a rival, thus publicly degrade the majesty of Kings. Whatever more cruel treatment the unfortunate Valerian might experience in Persia, it is at least certain that the only Emperor of Rome who had ever fallen into the hand of the enemy, languished away his life in hopeless captivity.†

Calus Publicus Licinius Valerius Augustus.

From
A. D.
253.
to
260.

His miserable captivity and death in Persia.

PUBLIUS LICINIUS GALLIENUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 260 to 268.

Biography.

From
A. D.
260.
to
268.
Character of Gallienus.

WHEN the news of Valerian's hard fate reached Gallienus, the unnatural son concealed his inward satisfaction under the show of Philosophical constancy and moderation. He made some trivial remarks on the vanity of human life, and on the instability of earthly hopes, and forthwith relapsed into his luxurious habits and vicious indulgences. While he was thus exhausting the treasures of the Empire on the most contemptible objects, changing, by his fantastic pleasures, day into night, and winter into

summer, his most valuable Provinces were attacked by powerful enemies, and his Lieutenants, in many parts, had renounced their allegiance, and even turned their arms against him. The Plague, at the same time, continued to desolate the Capital; carrying off, on some occasions, not fewer than five thousand individuals in a day. Famine, too, joined its ravages to those of disease; and even inanimate nature, by storms and earthquakes, cooperated with moral causes to desolate

Publius Licinius Gallienus Augustus.

From
A. D.
260.
to
268.

* Zosim. lib. i. p. 641.

† Zosim. lib. xii. c. 23, 24. p. 629—631. Trebell. Poll. *Aug. Hist.* *Trigint. Tyrann.* Amm. Marcel. lib. xiii.

* Zonar. lib. xii. c. 23. Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* c. 46. p. 89. Edit. Lugd. Bat.

† Lactan. de *Mort. Persecut.* c. 5. Victor, *Epit.* c. 46. Oros. lib. vii. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. c. 10.

Geography.
From
A. D.
260,
to
268,
The Persian
never
lost
Asia

and alarm the whole Roman World. But we cannot pursue the details, which made the deepest impression on contemporary writers, and which, perhaps, have been magnified by superstition and resentment. We resume, therefore, the course of general History, and return to the scene of war occupied by the Goths and Persians.*

Sapor, after having subdued the Roman army in Mesopotamia, and seized the person of the Emperor, renewed his invasion of Syria and of Asia Minor. He retook Antioch, which had been partially rebuilt and strengthened; after which he marched into Cilicia, and made himself master of Tarsus. Thence he advanced against Caesarea, one of the principal towns in Cappadocia, and supposed to contain not fewer than four hundred thousand inhabitants. Demosthenes, a General much esteemed for his patriotism and professional knowledge, assumed the command of the garrison, and would, it is probable, have baffled all the efforts of the Persians, had not a Physician, who seems to have been taken prisoner in a sally, revealed to them the means by which the walls might be ascended. The scene which ensued disgraced the triumph of Sapor. He is accused of treating his prisoners with wanton cruelty; enraged, it was thought, at the escape of the Roman Commander, who bravely cut his way through a thick body of the assailants. Aware, perhaps, that he could not make any permanent establishment in the Empire, he sought only to leave behind him a wasted desert, whilst he transported beyond the Euphrates the people and the wealth of the conquered Provinces. But his career was checked by two of the Imperial Lieutenants, who, finding that the interests of the State were abandoned by their profligate Prince, took upon themselves the exercise of a discretionary power, in the employment of the forces committed to their charge.

Are regulated
by the
laws.

The Persian Monarch laid siege to Pompeiopolis, which he threatened, in case of a protracted resistance, to visit with all the horrors of war. Balista, who had risen to the highest honours under the personal command of Valerian, assembled such troops as could be drawn together without loss of time, and attacked the invaders with so much skill and resolution, that he compelled them to relinquish that undertaking, and break up their camp. The retreat of an Eastern army soon degenerates into a rout. The Romans, pressing upon the rear of the fugitives, gave them no opportunity to rally, and at length had the satisfaction of seeing them recross the Euphrates, enriched indeed with spoil, but stripped of all the warlike honours which they had derived from their late successes.†

And de-
scribed by
Gibbon.

But Sapor encountered a still more formidable enemy in Odenatus, a noble Senator of Palmyra, who, amidst all the vicissitudes of his fortune, remained faithful to Valerian and to Gallienus. The zeal of this Chief was, moreover, not a little sharpened by a personal insult inflicted upon him by the Persian King. Desirous to secure at least the forbearance of that conqueror, Odenatus sent to him a magnificent present, accompanied with a letter full of respect and submission: but the haughty Monarch, instead of being softened by this expression of good will, ordered the gift to be thrown into the Euphrates, and returned an answer breathing the

utmost contempt and indignation. "Who is this Odenatus," he exclaimed, "that he should thus dare to write to his master? If he would obtain any mitigation of his punishment, let him prostrate himself at the foot of my Throne, with his hands tied behind his back. Should he refuse to do this, no mercy shall be extended to himself, to his family, or to his devoted Country." The Palmyrian Commander, who read his fate in the angry message of Sapor, immediately took the field; and, falling upon the enemy before they recovered from the panic inspired into them by the cohorts of Balista, gained a decisive advantage over their main body. He burst into the camp, seized the treasure and the concubines of the Prince, dispersed the intimidated soldiers, and in short time restored Carthage, Nisibis, and all Mesopotamia to the possession of the Romans. Trebellius Pollio informs us, that he even proceeded so far as to lay siege to Ctesiphon, with the view of liberating Valerian, who was still alive, but that neither his arms nor his entreaties could effect his benevolent object.*

Publius
Licinius
Gallienus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
260,
to
268,

The usur-
pers who
disturbed
the reign of
Gallienus.

The events now mentioned took place in an early part of the reign of Gallienus; immediately after which there follows a scene of confusion into which no diligence or arrangement can introduce the light of Historical order. In almost every Province of the Empire, the Commander of the Legions was raised by his men to the rank of *Augustus*; and hence, at one period in this troubled era, there were as many Emperors as armies. Posthumus reigned seven years in Gaul; Macrian was acknowledged Sovereign in Asia; Valens assumed the Purple in Achaia; and Ingenus was hailed Ruler of Pannonia. Macrian fell in Illyricum, whither he had gone to vanquish a rival, leaving his youngest son in the East to administer the Government. Quietus, the name of this Prince, was attacked by Odenatus, (who acted as a Lieutenant of Gallienus,) and slain at Emesa. Balista assumed the vacant sceptre, which he succeeded in retaining three years, either by the sufferance, or in defiance of the Palmyrian General. The affairs of Syria being thus restored to some degree of tranquillity, Odenatus was elevated to the authority of a Sovereign, and Gallienus took the honours of a Triumph for the victories gained by the former in the war with the Persians.†

It is a fancy of the Historian Trebellius Pollio, that as Greece had to bewail the domination of Thirty Tyrants, so the Romans, in the time of Gallienus, were visited with a similar calamity in the persons of those military usurpers to whom we have already made allusion. But the number fixed upon cannot be completed unless we include in it the names of certain women and children, who were, in a moment of disaffection or sport, raised to the Imperial title. Iustend, however, of tracing the progress and suppression of every separate revolt, we shall hold it sufficient to specify the names of the leaders, and of the Countries wherein they respectively arose.

In Illyricum there were	Decius Ladius Ingenus, A. D. 260.
	Quintus Nonus Regillianus . . . 261.
In the East	M. Fulvius Macrianus 260.
	Servius Anicetus Balista 262.
In Greece	Lucius Valerius Valens 261.
	L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi 261.

* Trebell. Poll. in *Gallien*. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 24. p. 631.

† Trebell. Poll. *Trigint. Tyrann.* 18. Suetell. *Chronograph.* p. 382. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 24.

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* Trebell. Poll. *Trigint. Tyrann.* 13. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 23. Agath. lib. iv. Zosim. lib. i. p. 661.

† Trebell. Poll. *Trigint. Tyrann. passim*; et *Vita Gallien.* c. 10.

Biography.

From
A. D.
260.
to
268.

In Gaul	M. Cassius Latinus Posthumus 260.
	Julius Cassius Posthumus .. 267.
	Ulpianus Cornelius Laelianus .. 267.
	Marcus Aurelius Victorinus .. 267.
	Laelius Aurelius Victorinus .. 267.
	P. Pescennius Tetricus .. 267.
In Egypt	T. Cestius Alexander Amilianus 262.
In Africa	T. Cornelius Celsus .. 268.
In Isauria	C. Annius Trebellianus .. 268.
In Pontus	P. Sempertius Saturninus .. 263.
In Italy	Man. Aelius Aureolus .. 267.

Their characters and motives.

To these we may add the names of Odenatus, of Herodes his son, of Maconius his nephew, and finally of Zenobia his Queen; but as the Government of Palmyra was recognised by Gallienus, we can see no reason for inserting the legitimate Sovereigns of that Country in the list of tyrants or usurpers. Indeed, if we examine with candour the conduct of those commanders to whom the stigma of usurpation is attached, it will appear that they were much oftener driven into rebellion by their fears than by any impulse of ambition. They dreaded the cruel suspicions of Gallienus, and the capricious violence of their own troops. If the dangerous favour of the Army had imprudently declared them deserving of the Purple, they were marked for sure destruction; and in such circumstances, even prudence would counsel them to secure a short enjoyment of Empire, and rather to try the fortune of war than to submit ingloriously to the hand of an executioner. Nevertheless, even as it was, of the nineteen tyrants who started up in the reign of Gallienus, there was not one who enjoyed a life of peace, or a natural death.*

New invasions of the Goths.

The irruptions of the Gothic nations were so frequently repeated during the days of Gallienus, that it is very difficult to determine either their number or their order. On one occasion they extended their ravages to the very heart of Greece, and even threatened the shores of Italy. Having forced a passage into the Propontis, or sea of Marmora, they landed on the island of Cyzicus, and reduced to ruins the ancient city of the same name. Pushing at length through the Hellespont, and dividing their incursions between the Asiatic and European coasts, they finally anchored their fleet in the port of Piræus, about five miles distant from Athens. An attempt had been made, by an Imperial engineer, to repair the walls which had lain neglected since the conquest of Sylla; but all the efforts of his skill proved ineffectual, for the Barbarians, who supplied by courage their want of science, soon rendered themselves masters of the city of Cecrops. The bravery of the Athenians, indeed, revenged the shame and loss inflicted upon their Country. While the conquerors were occupied with the intemperate joys which usually followed their success, Dexippus collected a body of soldiers, and making a sudden attack upon the Gothic flotilla, which was but slenderly guarded, succeeded in burning it to ashes. This exploit, though little regarded at the moment, contributed very materially to the ultimate failure of the expedition. The Barbarians, in the mean time, it is true, incensed at being cut off from the means of retreat, gave vent to their wrath in more extended devastations. The smoke of burning cities rose in every part of Greece. Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and Sparta, once so powerful and warlike, were not able to meet the invaders in the field, nor even to defend their fortifications. The havoc of fire and sword spread from the remotest islands of the

Ægean to the shores of the Adriatic; and it was not until this ferocious enemy had advanced within sight of Italy, that Gallienus allowed himself to be awakened from his dream of security.*

The appearance of a Roman army first alarmed and afterwards divided the Gothic hordes. Having lost their ships, some of them attempted to return homeward through Mæsinia and across the Danube; while others, weary of adventures or unwilling to engage in unequal war, entered into alliance with Gallienus and abandoned the national confederacy. We are not without suspicion, that in the works of the several analysts and compilers from which we collect our materials, we have been condemned to read in various forms more than one account of the same campaign. The general idea that results from a comparison of their different narratives is, that all the Provinces of Illyricum and Asia Minor, the islands and even the continent of Greece were continually exposed to the ravages of the Gothic and German nations, who poured in upon them both by sea and land; sometimes passing the Danube, sometimes entering by the mouth of that great river, and sometimes crossing the Euxine sea; and in the engagements which they fought were sometimes defeated and sometimes victorious, but were never daunted nor completely destroyed. We find, in particular, that the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was plundered and burnt by those Barbarians; that ancient Ilium, always unfortunate, suffered from them the same calamities which were brought upon it by the Greeks many Ages before; that they sacked the city of Chalcedon also, and reduced it to so deplorable a condition, that, three hundred years after, it still retained marks of their fury; and finally, that all Trajan's conquests beyond the Danube were wrested from the Romans, and became again the property of the Northern tribes.†

The name of Odenatus is, by one of the authors of the Augustan History, connected with the repulse of the Goths. Of this fact there remains no satisfactory evidence; but it admits not of any doubt, that the Sovereign of Palmyra fell soon afterwards by the hand of domestic treason, in which his Queen, Zenobia, was suspected to have had a share. Gallienus made a fruitless attempt to revenge the death of his faithful ally. Heracian, to whom was confided the command of the Syrian Legions, attacked the widow of Odenatus, but, after a sanguinary conflict, he was obliged to return with the shattered remains of a defeated army.‡

Aureolus, meanwhile, who had been left in Italy at the head of a considerable force, assumed the Purple and displayed the standard of rebellion. This intelligence induced Gallienus to leave Illyricum, whence he was soon afterwards followed by his two Generals, Marcian and Claudius, who joined him when engaged in the siege of Milan, into which the usurper had thrown himself. But they entered his camp, not to strengthen his hands nor to promote his interests. The Empire could no longer tolerate the vicious imbecility of a Prince, whose conduct reflected upon it infamy and loss; on which account, the Commanders just named, with Heracian, the Prætorian Præfect, agreed to take away his life, and transfer the Imperial Sceptre to more worthy hands. For this purpose a false alarm was given, that the enemy

Publius Licinius Gallienus Augustus.

From
A. D.
260.
to
268.

Goths repulsed: extent of their ravages.

Murder of Odenatus.

Death of Gallienus.

* Trebell. Poll. in Gallien. c. 6, 7. Aurel. Victor. Eutrop. lib. ix.

† Trebell. Poll. c. 7, 8.

‡ Zosim. lib. i. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 24.

* Trebell. Poll. ubi supra. Aurel. Victor, Epitom. c. 46, 47.

Biography. were about to make a sally, which immediately roused Gallienus from his table or his bed ; when, issuing forth to direct the movement of his troops, he was shot with an arrow aimed at him by a Dalmatian horseman. His brother Valerian, who had been associated with him in the Government, and his son Saloninus, who enjoyed the title of *Cæsar*, soon afterwards fell victims to the popular resentment. The news of his death, indeed, was received at Rome with transports of joy. The Senate and People vied with one another in expressing

their detestation of his memory, and in visiting his crimes upon his family and relations. Hence, the first exercise of authority, on the part of the new Emperor, was directed to the protection of the Tyrant's friends ; a token of clemency which inspired the best hopes relative to the spirit of the ensuing reign, and contrasted most advantageously with the vindictive temper which had stained the ten preceding years with terror and bloodshed.*

Publius
Licinius
Gallienus
Augustus.
From
A. D.
260.
to
268.

MARCUS AURELIUS CLAUDIUS II. AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 268 TO 270.

Biography. CLAUDIUS, being the second of the name who had ascended the Imperial Throne, is usually distinguished by the epithet of *Gothicus*, which he derived from a victory gained over those Barbarians. He is said to have been of Illyrian extraction, and he was certainly one of those whose merits stand higher than their genealogy ; for we find him in the reign of Decius serving in the quality of Tribune, without any other distinction besides that of professional ability and zeal. The means by which he raised himself to the Empire did not escape condemnation ; for in taking away the life of Gallienus, he was forgetful of the obligations which he owed to the House of Valerian, the most active of his patrons. But it has been observed in his defence, that his opposition would not have prevented the catastrophe which he was induced to countenance ; and, moreover, that his participation in this crime was the only stain in his public life. In all other matters he justly deserves the praise that is due to real magnanimity, true patriotism, a strict love of justice, a noble simplicity of manners, bravery and good conduct in war, and a wise and gentle government in peace.*

His defence. The Letter in which he announced his accession to the Throne, was received by the Senators with much delight, and answered with a corresponding enthusiasm. " Claudius Augustus," said they, " we are confident we shall find in you a father, a brother, and a friend : you are a deserving Member of the Senate ; and the Empire acknowledges you for a Head worthy of its greatness." Before he proceeded to Rome, he thought it expedient to determine the pretensions of Aureolus, who still kept possession of Milan, and claimed the allegiance due to the Master of the Roman World. A battle ensued, in which the usurper was defeated and slain. The accounts of his death are indeed various ; but it is agreed on all hands, that if he did not fall in the field, he was despatched immediately afterwards by the victorious soldiers ; who conjectured, perhaps, that such an instance of forward zeal would not prove unacceptable to the Imperial Commander. The sincerity of Claudius has therefore been questioned, when he bewailed the fate of a rival, whose life could not but appear incompatible with his own security and repose. He erected a monu-

ment to commemorate the fame of his companion in arms ; and declared in a Greek epitaph, which is still extant, that he meant to save the unfortunate Aureolus, but was prevented by the troops into whose hands he had fallen. The tomb, if we may confide in the accuracy of Tillemont, continues to distinguish a spot upon the river Adda, between Milan and Bergamo, anciently known by the name of *Pons Aureoli*, and which, in its present appellation of *Pontirolo*, bears an intelligible reference to the event that we have just described.†

Nothing now remained to prevent Claudius from repairing to Rome, to enjoy the congratulations of his subjects, who could not find terms in which to express the joy that his presence every where excited. But the Emperor was too wise to devote much of his time to the laudatory ceremonies which followed his entrance into the Capital. Law had been despised, and justice trampled under the foot of power ; he therefore proceeded without delay to redress injuries which had been already inflicted, and to enact such statutes as might prevent their repetition. He was, however, soon obliged to relinquish that pacific occupation. Tetricus had seized with his rebellious army the Provinces of the West. The centre of the Empire was harassed by the incessant inroads of the Goths ; while Zenobia, in the East, not satisfied with the territory which her husband had possessed, extended her dominions by conquest, and even forced Egypt to acknowledge her power. His attention was directed to these three enemies at once ; but the Scythian invaders, as they were more active than the other two, seemed to demand a more prompt and determined resistance.‡

The return of the Barbarians on the present occasion, has been ascribed to the injudicious levity with which they were treated by the Imperial Lieutenants, when they were dispersed in Illyricum by Gallienus, during his last expedition. Claudius, who at that period commanded in Mæsia or Pannonia, proposed to cut off their scattered bands, and prevent them from crossing the Danube ; but Marcian, who served in the same

Marcus
Aurelius
Claudius II.
Augustus.
From
A. D.
268.
to
270.

New invasion
of
Goths.

* Zosim. lib. i. p. 651. Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* Zonar. lib. xii. c. 24. p. 631.

† Trebell. Poll. *Tripart. Tyrann.* Aurel. Victor.

‡ Zonar. lib. xii. c. 26. p. 635. Trebell. Poll. in *Claud.*

Biography.

From
A. D.
268.
to
270.

They sail to
the Helles-
pont.

Country as his colleague, would not concur in a measure which appeared more cruel than expedient. The facility and impunity with which they were thus allowed to carry away loads of spoil, could not but encourage them to renew their depredations; and the successor of Gallienus, accordingly, had no sooner mounted the Throne than he received information that a confederacy of the Gothic Tribes had invaded the Empire, to the amount of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, and two thousand ships.*

Embarking at the mouth of the Niester, anciently called the Tyrus, they sailed southward along the coast, committing ravages as they proceeded upon such towns as lay within a convenient distance, until at length they reached the Thracian Bosphorus. Being repulsed at Cyzicus and Byzantium, they steered for the gulf of Thessalonica. That city was exposed to the miseries of a siege; but neither it nor Cassandrea, which was likewise beleaguered, fell into the hands of the enemy. No place of consequence, indeed, except Athens, was subjected to the horror and disgrace of actual capture; but, while the main body of the army was employed in investing the greater towns, the fleet supplied the means of inflicting much distress upon the shores of Thessaly and of Greece, the Islands of Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, and upon all the maritime parts of Pamphylia.†

Are defeated
by Claudius.

The Goths were still before Thessalonica when Claudius appeared in Greece. Intimidated by his military reputation not less than by the formidable armament which he had under his command, they raised the siege and retired into the Northern parts of Macedonia. The Emperor followed in their steps towards the Danube, beyond which they had meant to continue their retreat; and it was not before they reached Naissus, in Servia, that he could overtake their fugitive hordes. There a battle ensued which was long and obstinately disputed, until victory at length declared in favour of the Romans. Fifty thousand of the enemy were slain, and the rest resumed their flight; but Claudius was now resolved to make an example of the vanquished Barbarians, and to visit them with so severe a chastisement, that the remembrance of it might for a time confine them to their woods and marshes. He therefore renewed his pursuit and brought them again to action. The Goths rallied their scattered forces, constructed a rampart of their waggons, and received with determined bravery the onset of the victors. After a desperate conflict, success once more attended the Imperial arms; while such of the enemy as survived, finding their retreat entirely cut off, fell back upon Macedonia, in the hope, perhaps, of reaching their fleet on the coast. Claudius, by means of a rapid movement effected by his cavalry, threw himself between them and the sea; the infantry, at the same time, pressing upon their rear, and allowing them no leisure for repose or for consultation. But even in the deplorable circumstances to which they were now reduced, the fierceness and valour of the Barbarians rendered them extremely formidable to the conquerors.

And almost
extermini-
nated.

They rushed upon the Roman foot with such fury, that they threw them into disorder, cut a considerable body of them in pieces, and probably would have secured a complete victory, had not the horsemen, informed of the danger with which the Legions were surrounded, retraced their steps and appeared in the field of battle. The fate of the Goths was now inevitable. A succession of defeats had greatly thinned their numbers; the ablest of their leaders had fallen; their baggage and provisions were taken or destroyed, and a powerful enemy occupied the ground over which they had meditated to effect their escape. Unable to hazard another engagement, or even to continue longer together, they resolved to seek for safety amid the passes of Mount Hæmus; where famine and disease consummated in a short time the process of destruction which the sword of Claudius had commenced. A Letter from the Emperor to Brorheus, the Governor of Illyricum, describes the extent of his victory, and of the loss sustained by the Gothic warriors. "We have destroyed three hundred and twenty thousand Goths, and sunk two thousand ships. The rivers are covered with bucklers, and the shores with large swords and small lances. The plains are hid under heaps of slain. Every road is stained with blood. We have taken so many female prisoners, that every Soldier in our army can claim two or three to serve as slaves."^a

Marcus
Aurelius
Claudius II.
Augustus.

From
A. D.
268.
to
270.

The flotilla, in the meantime, sought the coast of Macedonia, in order to rejoin the army which had taken shelter in that Province. But the army no longer existed, either to protect or to cooperate with the more fortunate marauders, who had filled their ships with the spoils of Greece and of Asia. In the uncertainty which prevailed respecting the lot of their countrymen, the soldiers landed, with the view of sharing their triumphs or of alleviating their misfortunes; a resolution which only tended to accomplish the entire ruin of their cause by land as well as by sea. Their vessels, abandoned by those who had been left to protect them, were burned or sunk; while the crews, unable to penetrate into an enemy's country, where every thing opposed them, were obliged to disperse and throw themselves on the mercy of the inhabitants. An epidemic sickness, which tracked the progress of this sanguinary war, relieved the greater number from the restraints of captivity; and it was remarked, that after the lapse of a single winter, only a very few of the invading host remained, to mourn the loss of their friends, or to attest the triumph of their enemies.†

Death of
Claudius

But the same disease which proved fatal to so many Goths did not spare their conqueror. Claudius was seized with its worst symptoms, at Sirnium, in the month of March in the year 270, where he soon afterwards expired, amid the unfeigned lamentations of the whole army. During his illness he is said to have convened the principal Officers, Civil as well as military, and in their presence to have recommended Aurelian, one of his Generals, as the most deserving of the Throne, and the best qualified to execute the great design which he himself had been permitted only to undertake.

* Zonar. lib. i. p. 652.

† Trebell. Poll. in Claud. Zosim. lib. i. p. 653. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxi.

^a Zonar. lib. xii. c. 26. p. 635. Aurel. Victor, *Ephr.*

† Zosim. lib. i. p. 653. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 26. p. 635.

LUCIUS DOMITIUS AURELIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 270 TO 275.

AURELIAN, a Soldier of Fortune, owed his elevation to merit and not to birth. His father is said to have been a small farmer at Sirmium, a town in one of the Illyrian Provinces, and to have occupied a piece of ground which belonged to Aurelius, a rich Senator. The future Emperor of Rome entered the army as a private; rose through the successive ranks of Centurion, Tribune, Legionary Prefect, and General; and during the Gothic war, under Claudius, we find him discharging the important office of Commander-in-chief of the Cavalry. He was one of the bravest and most vigorous men of his Age. Devoted from his earliest days to military exercises, he excelled all his companions in horsemanship, in darting the javelin, and in a dexterous use of the sword. Nor was he less distinguished for the regularity of his discipline, and his assiduity in pointing out the way by which others might attain the same honours with himself; he exhorted the young officers to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the Soldier. "Let not any one rob, nor extort, nor injure the property which falls into his hands. Let all learn to be satisfied with their allowances; or, if more be necessary, let them draw it from the blood of their enemies, and not from the tears of their fellow subjects."*

The beginning of his reign suffered a momentary disturbance from the ambition of Quintillus, a brother of the late Emperor. This unfortunate Commander, being left with the charge of a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, was by them raised to the Purple as soon as it was known that Claudius had expired; but, owing the favourable opinion in which he was held to an amiable disposition rather than to splendid talents, he soon confessed himself unequal to dispute the Sovereignty with Aurelian, and accordingly submitted to a voluntary death, after swaying an unhonoured sceptre only seventeen days.†

Aurelian had scarcely received at Rome the confirmation of his title, as Master of the Empire, when intelligence was brought to him that the Goths had again poured a host of invaders into Pannonia. The death of Claudius is supposed to have revived their hopes; and desirous, perhaps, to rescue or to avenge such of their Countrymen as were still enduring the pains of captivity in the Roman Provinces, they ventured once more on the chances of war. Aurelian put himself at the head of his Legions in Illyricum, and advanced in search of the plunderers. A bloody and most obstinate battle took place, which was terminated only by the approach of night; and when the dawn of the following day enabled each Commander to estimate his loss, both parties were more willing to enter into a Treaty than to renew so dreadful a conflict. Peace was concluded on terms mutually advantageous. The Goths were allowed to retire beyond the Danube without molestation, and to occupy the Province of Dacia, now conceded to

them by the Romans; while, in return, they bound themselves to supply to the latter two thousand cavalry to serve under the Imperial Generals, and to give a certain number of young men and maidens, the children of their principal men, as hostages of the due performance of the Treaty. The youths Aurelian trained in the exercise of arms, and near his own person; to the damsels he gave a liberal education; and by bestowing them in marriage on some of his most deserving Officers, he gradually introduced between the two nations the closest and most endearing connections.*

But the Empire soon received a greater shock from a confederacy of the German nations on the upper Danube. An army, consisting of forty thousand horse and double that number of infantry, made an incursion within the Rætian border, and even menaced the Northern parts of Italy. A slight advantage gained over one of the Tribes by Aurelian, induced the former to propose terms of Peace; but as the power of Rome was not yet sufficiently humbled to receive conditions from Barbarian Ambassadors, the war was renewed with increased animosity and vigour. The Emperor, not content with the prospect of driving back the invaders, determined to imitate the manœuvre of Claudius; and, by preventing their retreat, destroy them in a body. With this view, he conducted his army through the mountain passes, and occupied a strong position between the *Alpen* and their native Country; so that, had the frontiers of Italy been protected by a competent strength, it is very probable that his design would have been crowned with entire success. But no sooner did the Germans find that their march towards the Danube was obstructed, than they turned their faces once more to the South, forced the barriers of the Italian States, and at length encamped their army in the plains of Milan.

Aurelian posted to the relief of his Country, carrying with him a chosen Body of auxiliaries, the Vandal cavalry, and all the Praetorian Guards, who had served in the wars of Mæsia and Pannonia. He found the enemy near Placentia, and prepared to attack them on the following day. But more intent, it should seem, in pursuing his own designs than in guarding against those of the enemy, he allowed himself to fall into a snare which was spread for him, and lost, in a hopeless fight, the greater part of his army. So great was the consternation produced by this disaster, that every one saw in it the approaching dissolution of the Empire. The Sibylline Books were consulted, Processions were ordered, and Sacrifices were offered up, to avert the vengeance of Heaven, and to postpone the ruin of the Imperial City. A second battle was fought with Germans better auspices near *Faro* in Umbria; and a third with still greater effect, near Pavia, or in the plain of the ancient *Ticinum*.†

Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Augustus.

From A. D. 270. to 275.

Invasion by German Tribes.

And defeat of the Romans.

* Vopisc. in *Aurel.* c. 3. Eutrop. lib. ix. Aurel. Victor, *de Caesaribus*; et Aurel. Victor, *Epi.*
† Vopisc. in *Aurel.* 17. Eutrop.

* Zonar. lib. xii. c. 27. p. 636. Zosim. lib. i. p. 655. Dexipp. *Leg.* p. 7. Amm. Marcel. lib. xvii.
† Vopisc. in *Aurel. passim.* Aurel. Victor, *Epi.*

Biography.

From
A. D.
270.
to
275.
Walls of
Rome re-
paired.

The alarm excited in the Capital by the German invasion, suggested to Aurelian the expediency of repairing the walls and renewing the fortifications. From the days of Hannibal five hundred years had elapsed, during which Rome had not had occasion to dread any foreign enemy. Confiding her safety to the arms of her soldiers and to the vigilance of her frontier camps, she had allowed her ancient walls to crumble down, and her battlements to become level with the earth. The Emperor could not conceal from himself, that in the present great change of circumstances, the courage of his people required assistance from the Arts of the mechanic and the engineer; on which account he proceeded to surround the City with a fence more than twenty miles in length, and constructed with such skill and materials as could resist the sudden attack of a Barbarian army. The popular estimate is, indeed, considerably higher; and Vopiscus does not hesitate to assert, that the walls begun by Aurelian and finished by Probus, extended to fifty thousand paces. But how extensive soever they may have been, it was at best a melancholy labour, inasmuch as the fortification of the Capital betrayed the decline of the Empire, and pointed to the coming of those evil days when savage strength should overcome for a time the Arts and policy of civilized Europe.*

War with
Tetricus.

But the patriotic cares of Aurelian were not confined to Italy. It has been already mentioned, that Spain, Britain, and Gaul, were in the hands of Tetricus, who appears to have succeeded without opposition to the power of Posthumus in those Countries: and the East, which had been neglected since the fall of Gallienus, now acknowledged the Sovereignty of the ambitious Zenobia. It remains doubtful to which of the two former Provinces the Emperor first directed his attention. Eutropius and Eusebius relate that he began by subduing his rival beyond the Alps; while Trebellius Pollio, Vopiscus, and the two authors who are known under the common name of Aurelius Victor, assert that he gave precedence, in his scheme of conquest, to the heroic Queen of Palmyra. As convenience seems to require that we should follow the authority of the former, we shall adopt the arrangement of Eutropius, without minutely inquiring into the grounds upon which it rests.†

He betrays
his troops.

Tetricus, it would appear, had, during five or six years, exercised in Gaul a reluctant and ungrateful Sovereignty, the slave of the Legions rather than their master, and, at once, the organ and the victim of their licentiousness. Disgusted with a situation from which he had no direct means of extricating himself, he entered into a secret correspondence with Aurelian, whom he entreated to resume, with a competent force, the Government of the Western Provinces. Tetricus, affecting to aim at the Imperial Crown, induced his soldiers to take the field in that cause. They obeyed, but it was only to be delivered into the hands of the Emperor; for no sooner had the two armies engaged near Chalons, on the river Marne, than the Commander of the rebels passed over to the enemy and left them to their fate. The Gallic Legions, though disordered and alarmed by the unexpected treachery of their Chief, defended themselves with the greatest

valour, till they were nearly all cut in pieces. The Franks and other auxiliaries, who had served under the Roman standard since the usurpation of Posthumus, finding that the arms of Aurelian could no longer be opposed, retired beyond the Rhine, and left the Transalpine Kingdoms to enjoy an unbroken tranquillity.*

His successes in Gaul enabled Aurelian to carry an undivided power against Zenobia, who, availing herself of the distractions of the Empire, had already established her sway from the Euphrates to the Nile. Historians have delighted to dwell on the personal attractions and the high mental endowments of this Syrian Princess. Claiming a descent from the Grecian Kings of Egypt, she is said to have equalled the Ptolemies in learning, and surpassed Cleopatra in beauty. The gravest writers disdain not to extol her dark expressive eyes, and her teeth of pearly whiteness, her melodious voice and her fine complexion. It is of more importance to relate, that the superior faculties which she derived from Nature were improved by study and sharpened by constant exercise; that she had a fine perception of the excellencies of Poetical and Historical composition; and that she possessed a perfect knowledge of the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages.†

The death of Odenatus put an end to the authority which Palmyra enjoyed as a favoured Province of the Empire, and as a reward for the valuable services of her chief. But Zenobia, having tasted the pleasure of absolute rule, refused to surrender the delegated power which her husband had employed so beneficially. She set Gallienus and the Senate at defiance, and even worsted an army which they had sent to compel her to submission. Claudius, whose whole strength was required against the Goths, connived at the ambiguous policy of the Eastern Queen; and regarding her defence of the Syrian frontiers from the incursions of the Persians as a sufficient compensation for the want of entire allegiance, he did not disturb the tranquillity of her reign. Aurelian, however, when he found that she had added to her native dominions, not only the fertile Kingdom of Egypt, but also the Provinces of Bithynia and Cappadocia, could no longer allow her pretensions to pass unquestioned.‡

It appears to have been in the second year after his accession, that this Emperor assumed the command of the Asiatic Legions. His march through Illyricum was distinguished by several advantages over the Sæthian Tribes, which, under various names, still continued to harass the Northern borders of the Empire. At his approach, Bithynia resumed its obedience, and Ancyra, the Capital of Galatia, opened its gates without resistance. Tyana, the birth place of Apollonius, preferred the hazard of a siege; and when it was betrayed into the hands of Aurelian, by the perfidy of one of the inhabitants, he spared it for the sake of the Philosopher with whose name it was associated in the annals of Literature. Zenobia soon perceived that she must fight for her independence in Syria and not in Asia Minor. She advanced to Antioch; but having sustained a repulse from the Roman cavalry, she retired towards the Desert, and concentrated her forces at Emesa. Aurelian pursued the broken Palmyrenians

Lucius
Domitius
Aurelianus
Augustus.
From
A. D.
270.
to
275.
Character
of Zenobia.

She asserts
her inde-
pendence.

Aurelian de-
clares war
against her.

* Vopisc. in Aurel. Zosim. lib. i. p. 655. Aurel. Victor, *Epit. de Vita et Mores*.

† Trebell. Poll. in *Trigint. Tyrans*. Vopisc. in Aurel. Eutrop. lib. ix. Euseb. in *Chron.* Aurel. Victor, *de Caesaribus*; et Aurel. Victor, *Epit.*

* Zosim. lib. i. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 27. p. 636. Aurel. Victor, in *Aurel.*

† Trebell. Poll. in *Trigint. Tyrans*. Vopisc. in Aurel. Zosim. lib. i. c. 27. Trebell. Poll. Vopisc. Aurel. Victor.

Biography. till he completed their discomfiture under the walls of that City, and compelled their Sovereign to take refuge in her Capital. The strength of the fortifications, and the ample stores of provisions and ammunition with which she had supplied the garrison, gave her reason to hope that she could hold out till famine or the climate should drive the victors from the depth of the wilderness which surrounded her seat of Government.*

The great probabilities The siege of Palmyra is one of the most interesting events that mark the History of the declining Empire. In the eyes of Aurelian it appeared an object of not less difficulty than importance. The Roman People, said he, may speak with contempt of the war which I am now waging against a woman. They are ignorant both of the character and of the power of Zenobia. It is impossible to enumerate her warlike preparations, of stones, of arrows, and of every species of missile weapon. The walls are provided with formidable engines, and artificial fires are thrown from every assailable point. The fear of punishment has armed her with a desperate courage; but still I trust for success to the protecting Deities of Rome, who have hitherto been favourable to all my undertakings.†

See of Palmyra. Unwilling, at the same time, to incur the manifold hazards inseparable from a protracted siege in such a region, the Emperor wrote to Zenobia with the view of inducing her to surrender. Her answer was firm and indignant. She reminded him of the resolute conduct of Cleopatra; threatened him with the vengeance of the Persians, the Saracens, and the Armeians; and even taunted him with the losses which he had recently sustained at the hands of the roving Arabs. But her allies were less zealous than she expected; her provisions were at length exhausted; and after all her resources had been called into action and failed, she was obliged to yield to the fatal necessity of relinquishing her proud City to the resentment of a powerful Conqueror. Attempting to make her escape to the Persians, on the back of a swift dromedary, she was taken prisoner by a body of Roman horse, who received notice of her flight. When brought into the presence of the Emperor, he upbraided her with the folly and ingratitude of her rebellion; to which charge she replied with an air of dignified flattery, that she was not ashamed to acknowledge a master in Aurelian, because his courage and wisdom were worthy of his station; but as to Gallienus and others of the same class, she could not refrain from holding them in contempt.‡

The capture of Zenobia decided the fate of Palmyra. It is asserted by Zosimus, that before she left the city, she exhorted the garrison to hold out until she should return with a reinforcement from the Persians. But no sooner was it known that she was prisoner in the camp of the Romans, than the inhabitants, despairing of relief, entreated the clemency of the conqueror, and declared their readiness to deliver up the city into his hands. Aurelian listened to the voice of policy rather than to that of revenge; he granted to them the life and liberty which they implored, and contented himself with a portion of their wealth, the silks and precious stones which they obtained from the remoter Asia, and the arms, horses, and camels, in which their

soldiers placed their strength and their pride. Leaving the defence of the place to six hundred bowmen, he returned to Emesa; where he spent some time in distributing rewards and punishments, according to the services he had received, or the injuries which he had sustained from the subjects of Zenobia. On this occasion, the celebrated Longinus fell a victim to the weakness of his mistress, and to the severe policy of the victor. The Queen of Palmyra has been accused of purchasing life at the expense of her fame and friends. To avoid the disgrace of inflicting the penalty of treason upon a woman, Aurelian selected from among her counsellors fit objects upon whom to vent his anger, and to assert the rights of an offended Sovereign. But the fame of Longinus, it has been observed, will survive that of the Princess who betrayed, and of the Tyrant who condemned him. Genius and learning were incapable of moving a fierce, unlettered soldier, but they had served to elevate and harmonize the soul of Longinus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed the executioners, pitying his unhappy mistress, and bestowing comfort on his afflicted friends.*

But the miseries of Palmyra were not yet accomplished. The Roman Emperor had scarcely reached Illyricum, whither he was called by a renewed incursion of the Goths, when the fickle Syrians once more revolted, and displayed on their walls the standard of rebellion. Listening to the advice of Apseus, they fell upon the garrison, all of whom, with their Commander Sandarion, they cruelly put to death; after which they proclaimed as *Augustus* a relative of their Queen, who is known in the varying histories of the times, by the names of Achilleus and of Antiochus. Stimulated by a just resentment, Aurelian returned to Palmyra, rejected the submission of the rebels, and forthwith delivered up the town to military execution. Torrents of blood were shed; the Temples were robbed of their ornaments, and the other public edifices of their magnificence and splendour; and, upon the whole, so great was the devastation, that the City of Palm Trees never afterwards recovered entirely from its ruined condition. Justinian, indeed, after the lapse of a long period, repaired its fortifications, to serve as a barrier against the inroads of the Saracens; but the Grecian architecture and classical taste which adorned the reign of Odenatus and his immediate successor, appear not to have revived in the beginning of the VIth century.†

The Imperial arms were equally successful in Egypt under the command of Probus, who afterwards ascended the Throne, as well as under the personal direction of Aurelian himself, who went thither to subdue the disaffection of Firmus, a wealthy citizen of Alexandria. Entitled by so many victories to the honours of a Triumph, the Emperor repaired to Rome, where the people were impatient to witness the gratifying spectacle of that gorgeous procession. Vopiscus exhausts all the powers of language in describing the objects which invited the public applause and admiration. Three Royal chariots graced its splendour. The first was that of Odenatus, shining with gold, silver, and precious stones. Another, equally superb, had been given to Aurelian by the King of Persia. The third was made for Zenobia, who in the height of her prosperity, when she flattered herself with thoughts of becoming mistress

Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Augustus.

From A. D. 270. to

275.

Execution of Longinus.

Insurrection at Palmyra

It is accused by the Romans.

Aurelian celebrates a Triumph.

* Zosim. lib. i. p. 655—657. Aurel. Victor, *Epit.*

† Vopisc. in *Aurel.* c. 26.

‡ Trebell. Poll. in *Trigint. Tyr.* Zosim. lib. i. p. 657.

* Vopisc. in *Aurel.* Zosim. lib. i. Trebell. Poll. in *Trigint. Tyr.*

† Zosim. lib. i. Vopisc. in *Aurel.* Trebell. Poll. in *Trigint. Tyr.*

Biography, of Rome, intended it for her triumphant entry into that city; little anticipating that it would be her fate to follow the wheels of the same car, a vanquished and hopeless captive. A fourth vehicle appeared, drawn by four stags, and described as having belonged to a King of the Goths; a deceitful token of victory over a People to whom had been recently conceded the important Province of Dacia. The line of prisoners, which was long and various, was closed by Tetricus and Zenobia, both magnificently attired. The former wore the Imperial robe of purple over a rich Gaulish dress; and was accompanied by his son, upon whom he had conferred the title of *Cæsar*. The Queen of Palmyra was so loaded with diamonds, jewels, and other ornaments, that she could scarcely support their weight. Her sons and daughters, arrayed with equal splendour, attended her on either side; and last of all advanced the Emperor himself, elevated in the Gothic car, surrounded by his troops in the most brilliant uniforms, and followed by all the higher Orders of the Roman State.*

This sacrifice to the vanity of Aurelian soothed his resentment against the rebellious Governors of Gaul and Palmyra. Tetricus was restored to his rank as a Roman Senator, and even appointed to an office of trust and emolument; while Zenobia, who had consented to undergo the indignity from which Cleopatra shrank to a violent death, was provided with a comfortable establishment at Tibur, about twenty miles from the Capital, where she spent the remainder of her days in affluence and repose. There the Syrian Queen is said to have sunk into the Roman matron; her son was associated with the Emperor in honour or authority, and her daughters married into noble families, whose descendants preserved her name during the two succeeding centuries.†

Insurrection
suppressed
at Rome.

Having vanquished the foes of the Empire abroad, Aurelian seems to have contemplated reformation at home; a duty which at all times requires a delicate hand, and which, during a period of faction and revolt, was particularly ill suited to one that had been accustomed only to wield the sword. An insurrection in the City, said to have been excited by certain individuals who had profited by the adulteration of the coin, employed his vigilance and a large body of his troops; and it was not subdued until after he had lost seven thousand men, belonging to those hardy Legions which usually encamped in Dacia, and along the other frontier Provinces of the Danube. Perhaps this act of rebellion was occasioned by the severities which the Emperor was wont to inflict upon his people under the name of Justice. Carrying into the administration of Civil affairs the same rigid adherence to Law which marked his conduct towards the army, he frequently sullied his good intentions by indiscriminate and excessive punishment. No Order of the State was exempted from his suspicions and violence. The noblest families of the Capital felt the weight of his jealousy or resentment: the prisons were crowded with illustrious victims,

and the hand of the executioner was fatigued with the daily duties of his office.*

Conscious that he was better qualified to guide the valour of his Legions in the field, than to employ the wisdom of his counsellors in the Senate, he listened without reluctance to a rumour which announced an approaching commotion in Gaul. The rapidity of his movements disconcerted the designs of the disaffected; and hence the months which he had intended to devote to the fatigues of a campaign were more profitably employed in repairing a City on the Loire, which, under the modern name of *Orleans*, still reflects, though somewhat indistinctly, the honours and care bestowed upon it by Aurelian.

His labours beyond the Alps were succeeded by an expedition into Illyricum, whence he once more expelled the Barbarians by whom it was infested. It is doubtful whether it was on this occasion or at a former period, that he relinquished to the Gothic Tribes the Province of Dacia, originally conquered by Trajan, and settled the inhabitants of it in a part of Mæsia, to which the latter gave the appellation of the Country which they had been induced to leave. Having accomplished this arrangement, he prepared to march into Asia, either to oppose the schemes of Varananes, who was then on the Throne of Persia, or to punish the subjects of that Prince for their base treatment of Valerian, and for their confederacy with Zenobia. But the hand of treason was about to frustrate all his endeavours for the peace and stability of the Empire. Mæsthus, one of his Secretaries, whom he had reproved, incited by revenge or by the fear of a greater punishment, formed a conspiracy against his life; and while the Emperor was waiting a favourable wind to transport his army from Thrace into Asia Minor, he was attacked and slain by an officer of rank, who consented to act the part of an assassin.†

It was the remark of a Ruler who succeeded him on the Throne, that Aurelian deserved esteem for his qualities as a soldier, rather than for his personal dispositions, which were rigid and severe.‡ It was to him as a General and not as an Emperor, that Rome owed her gratitude; and we, accordingly, find that the Historians most partial to his memory, are compelled to modify all their eulogies, by acknowledging that he was an utter stranger to compassion, and that he too often permitted the claims of stern justice to triumph over those of pity and forgiveness. To the Senators his pride was not less offensive than his cruelty. Ignorant or impatient of the restraints of Civil institutions, he scorned to hold his power by any other title than that of the sword; and under this false impression, he persisted in governing by right of conquest, a Country which he found it necessary to subdue before he could save it.

* Vopisc. in *Aurel.* 36, 37, 39. *Aurel. Victor.* *Calpurn. Eclage.* l. 60.

* Zonar. lib. xii. c. 27. p. 636. Trebell. Poll. in *Trigint. Tyr.* 24, 25, 30. *Aurel. Victor.* *Eutrop.* lib. ix.

† Vopisc. in *Aurel.* Trebell. Poll. in *Trigint. Tyr.* *Aurel. Victor.* *Eutrop.*

‡ Zosim. lib. i. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 27. p. 636. *Eutrop.* lib. ix. *Aurel. Victor.* de *Constantinis*; et *Aurel. Victor.* *Epit.*

‡ Vopisc. in *Aurel.* 44. *Diocletianum frequenter dixisse, Aurelianum magis ducem esse debuisse quam Principem.*

Lælius
Domitius
Aurelianus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
270.
to
275.
Affairs of
Gaul.

Dacia sur-
rendered to
the Goths.

Assassina-
tion of
Aurelian.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS TACITUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM SEPTEMBER, A. D. 275, TO APRIL, A. D. 276.

Biography.
From
A. D.
173.
to
276.
The Army
elects the
Emperor.

THE death of Aurelian so much enraged the Army, that the Soldiers were more intent for a time on bringing his murderers to condign punishment, than on providing a successor. Even after they had recovered from the first paroxysm of wrath, they hesitated whether they should immediately exercise the right which long custom had placed in their hands, or wait for the advice and concurrence of the Senate, in choosing a Head for the Empire. Upon a short deliberation they adopted the latter alternative, and resolved to write, or to send a deputation, to Rome. Their message to the venerable Body which they addressed, after bewailing the loss which they had sustained, and condemning the crime by which it had been effected, proceeded to give assurance that none of those by whose fault or misfortune it had been brought about, should be allowed to ascend the Throne; and finally, to crave their assistance in selecting a Prince worthy to fill the place of Aurelian. The Senators, long unused to such deference, knew not how to act. Unwilling to incur responsibility, they at length resolved to abide by the judgment of the Legions; who could not fail, they insinuated, to nominate from among the most meritorious of their Officers some one who might realize the intentions of their late Chief, and thereby secure the interests of the Commonwealth in the East as well as in the West. But the Army, actuated by a very uncommon degree of moderation, renewed their request to the Civil authorities, to supply them with a General and Ruler; and it was not until this reciprocal compliment had been urged and rejected three times, that the Senators agreed to assemble and discharge their duty to the Empire. Meanwhile, six or seven months had insensibly passed away; an amazing period, it has been remarked, of tranquil anarchy, during which the Roman World remained without a Sovereign, without an usurper, and without a sedition.*

Tacitus
described
Emperors.

On the twenty-fifth of September, 275, the Senate was convoked to exercise once more the valuable prerogative which the Constitution of Rome had invested their Order. The individual whom they elected, inherited the name and virtues of Tacitus, the celebrated Historian, and was, besides, respected for his wisdom, his experience in business, and his mild benevolence. This venerable Legislator had already attained his seventy-fifth year, a circumstance which he urged with a great show of reason, for declining the honour which was now assigned to him. But his objection was repelled by the most flattering encomiums on his understanding and prudence, as also by a retrospect of the evils which had oppressed the Empire, arising from the youth of several of its Sovereigns, Nero, Commodus, and Heliogabalus. The election was confirmed by acclamation, both among the Citizens and Soldiers; and Claudius Tacitus, accordingly, at an age when men in general long to throw off the burden of public life, found himself charged with the government of the most

powerful Monarchy in the world, menaced by foreign enemies, and torn by domestic factions.*

It was the wisdom not less than the inclination of this aged Emperor, that induced him to leave much of the supreme power in the hands from which he received it. He encouraged the Senate to resume their wonted authority; to appoint Proconsuls to all the Provinces; and to exercise all the other privileges which had been conferred upon them by Augustus. His moderation and simplicity were not affected by the change of his condition; the only expense which he permitted to himself, was the encouragement which he bestowed on the Fine Arts; and the only personal indulgence which he would not resign, were reading and conversation with literary men. He took great pains to preserve the writings of his ancestor, the Historian of Rome: for which purpose he gave orders that every Library should possess that author's works, and that, to render this object more practicable, ten copies of them should be transcribed every year in one of the Public Offices. It is to be lamented that so much anxiety should have been, expended comparatively, in vain; and that the instruction which a Roman Emperor valued so highly, should in a great measure be denied to the modern scholar.†

Having obtained the approbation of the Citizens, he departed from the Capital to show himself to the army in Thrace. The usual largesses secured his popularity among the soldiers; and the reverence which he found still subsisting for the memory of Aurelian, dictated the punishment of certain chiefs of the conspiracy which had taken away his life. But his attention was soon withdrawn from the investigation of past delinquencies to meet an urgent danger. When the late Emperor was making preparations to invade Persia, he had negotiated with a Scythian tribe, the *Alani*, to reinforce his ranks with a detachment of their best troops. The Barbarians, faithful to their engagement, arrived on the Roman frontiers with a strong body of cavalry; but before they made their appearance Aurelian was dead, and the Persian war suspended: in which circumstances, the Gothic auxiliaries, impatient of repose, and disappointed of their pay, soon turned their arms against the unfortunate Provincials. They overran Pontus, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, before Tacitus could show his readiness to satisfy their claims or to punish their aggressions. Upon receiving the stipulated reward, the greater number retired peaceably into their deserts; while those who refused to listen to terms were subdued at the point of the sword.‡

But the triumphs and reign of this venerable Sovereign were not of long duration. It is said that he fell a victim to the jealousy of certain officers of rank, who were offended at the undue promotion of his brother; or to the angry passions of the private men, who

Marcus
Claudius
Tacitus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
275.
to
276.

His encourage-
ment of
the Arts.

Interruption of
the Alani.

Death of
Tacitus.

* Vopisc. in *Tacit.* c. 1. Aurel Victor, *Epit.*

* Vopisc. *Florian.* c. 5, 6.

† Vopisc.

‡ Vopisc. *Zonin.* lib. i. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 27, p. 637.

Biography. despised his pacific genius and literary habits. But it is not less probable, that he sank under the fatigues of the campaign and the severity of the climate, to both of which the pursuits of his later years had rendered

From
A. D.
275.
to
276.

him a stranger. It is clear, at all events, that he died at Tyana in Cappadocia, after having swayed the Sceptre of the Roman Empire about two hundred days.*

Marcus
Claudius
Tacitus.
Augustus.

MARCUS AURELIUS PROBUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 276 to 282.

Biography. THIS virtuous Prince was a native of Pannonia, where, like the parents of Claudius and Aurelian, his father appears to have filled the station and discharged the duties of a small occupier of land. The young Probus entered the army, it is supposed, in the rank of a private soldier; but, his merits having struck the discerning eye of Valerian, he obtained immediate preferment, and afterwards advanced so rapidly in his profession, that, before he reached the customary age, he was by the positive command of the same Emperor invested with the office of Military Tribune. This increase of power only served to display in a larger field his great talent for war, and to point him out as worthy of still higher promotion. At length he was placed at the head of the third Legion, an honour which Valerian himself once enjoyed; on which occasion, the latter acknowledged that the quickest returns of favour were slow in comparison with the brilliant career of victory which he had pursued, and promised that he would soon commit to his hands a much more important trust than he had hitherto discharged.*

When Aurelian ascended the Throne, he found in Probus an able and faithful General. He employed him to reconquer Egypt from the arms of Zenobia, while he in person conducted his Legions against the Lieutenants of that Queen in the heart of Syria, and on the banks of the Euphrates. Tacitus, in like manner, whose age and habits disqualified him for the more active scenes of war, appointed him Commander-in-chief of all the Eastern Provinces, with a great increase of emolument, the promise of the Consulship, and even the hope of a Triumph. "I have been created Emperor," said that unfortunate Senator in a letter to Probus, "with the consent of the army; but it is not to be concealed that the Republic must rest more upon your shoulders than upon mine."†

It is not, therefore, in any degree surprising that when, by the insurrection in Cappadocia, the Empire was deprived of a Head, the army of the East should have proclaimed their General the successor of Tacitus. The troops in Asia Minor, indeed, who beheld in their Commander, Florianus, a near relation of the Sovereign whose life they had taken away, were induced to raise him to the Throne; but the Legions of Syria, more powerful than the other, and, at the same time, better assured of the approbation of the Senate, persevered in their choice, and resolved to enforce the concurrence of their brethren in arms. Probus, it is said, yielded with reluctance to the arduous of his soldiers. He accused

them with acting precipitately, in electing a Chief who had no desire to enjoy supreme power, and who possessed not those qualities which were best fitted to ensure popular applause. In a Letter to the Prætorian Prefect, too, he declared that he had never wished for the Empire, and had even accepted it with great unwillingness; but, he added, it is no longer permitted me to resign an office which exposes me to the utmost danger and odium; I must continue to act the part which the soldiers have imposed upon me.†

The election of two Emperors necessarily produced a temporary commotion in all the Provinces beyond the Adriatic. It is even said that Rome and the West acknowledged Florianus, while Syria, Egypt, and the neighbouring countries declared for his rival; but it is manifest, from the position of the two armies, that the fate of the Empire, and of the hostile competitors, could only be determined at a distance from the Capital. The former, impatient of the opposition with which he was threatened, left the frontiers, which he had been appointed to guard, and advanced into Cilicia, with the view of giving battle to the Syrian Legions. Probus, on the other hand, who knew that the climate would soon procure for him a bloodless triumph, satisfied himself for a time with watching the movements of his adversary; when finding that disease and disaffection were at length making rapid progress through his ranks, he attacked him with vigour at the head of a chosen body of troops, and deprived him at once of Empire and of life.

This victory having placed Probus on an undisputed Throne, he forthwith addressed the Senate in a Letter full of duty and respect. "Nothing could be more suitable to the dignity of the Roman name than the conduct which, Conscript Fathers, you pursued last year, when your clemency gave to the world a Head chosen from among yourselves; for you are the legal Sovereigns of the Empire, and the power which you derive from your ancestors, ought to descend to your posterity. Happy would it have been for Florianus, had he waited for your decision, and not arrogated to himself the supreme authority as a private inheritance to which he might succeed as a matter of right! Since he thought proper to have recourse to arms, it became necessary to oppose him in the field. The victorious soldiers, who insisted upon punishing his usurpation with death, have conferred upon me the title of *Augustus*. But to You it belongs to determine whether I am worthy of the

Marcus
Aurelius
Probus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
276.
to
282.

Defeat and
death of
Florianus.

Probus
writes to
the Senate.

* Vopisc. c. 3, 9. Aurel. Victor, *Epit.*

† Vopisc. c. 9. Jul. de *Cæsaribus*.

* Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* Aurel. Victor, de *Cæsaribus*. Florian. c. 2, 3. Zosim. lib. i.

† Zosim. lib. i. Eutrop. lib. ix. Vopisc. in *Prob.* c. 7.

Empire. and by your judgment on this head I shall regulate my conduct.*

From A. D. 276. to 282. His conduct confirmed by our laws.
When this respectful Epistle was read in the Senate, the election of the Eastern army was ratified by the Members with the loudest acclamations. A decree was immediately passed to confirm in the hand of Probus the sceptre which he seemed willing to relinquish, and to confer upon him all the several branches of the Imperial dignity; the names of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, the Proconsular command, the Tribunian power, the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, the title of Father of his Country, and the privilege of making three motions in the Senate in the same day; a mode of investiture, it has been remarked, which, though it seemed to multiply the authority of the Emperor, expressed the Constitution of the ancient Republic.

In Constitutional Government.
That Probus was sincere in the deference which he thus paid to the Senate, is placed beyond doubt by the general tenour of his whole reign. On all occasions he confined himself to military affairs, and confided to the illustrious body now named, the full and unfettered administration of the Civil government. Indeed, he not only preserved entire the privileges of the Senatorial Order, but even enlarged them to an extent fully equal to the Constitution established by Augustus. By a declaration addressed to that assembly, he ordered that all appeals from inferior Courts of justice, throughout the whole Empire, should be submitted to their judgment. He likewise restored to them the power of appointing the Proconsuls of such Provinces as belonged to the jurisdiction of the People; and also insisted that the Civil Magistrates even of those Provinces which were under the immediate direction of the Emperor, should consent to receive their commissions from the Senate.†

Provinces of Gaul.
The first exercise of power on the part of the new Monarch, was to punish those individuals who had been most active in the mutiny which led to the fall of his predecessor. But the restless spirit of the Barbarians, by whom the Empire was surrounded, soon called him to a service more congenial to his warlike character. Gaul, ever since the death of Aurelian, had been infested by the usual inroads of Franks, Burgundians, and other Northern nations, who, not content with plundering the country, as formerly, seized upon the principal towns, and manifested every where an undisguised resolution to invest themselves with a permanent occupation of the land.

Great reputation for his exploits.
Marching against the several hordes in their respective settlements, he succeeded, after a bloody campaign, in driving them across the Rhine, and in restoring tranquillity to the Gallic Provinces. Four hundred thousand of the invaders are reported to have fallen the victims of their avarice or rashness. Vopiscus adds, that the Roman Emperor, not satisfied with having delivered his territories from an enemy so active and rapacious, followed them into their own fortresses, and displayed the terror of his power on the banks of the Neckar and of the Elbe. To teach them the value of peace, he resolved to leave upon their minds a deep impression of the horrors and devastation which accompany an unsuccessful war. With his views he continued the pursuit and the slaughter, until nine of the Barbarian Kings threw themselves at his feet and implored

his mercy: and so complete was his success, that he hesitated for a moment whether he should leave them in possession of their rude Independence, or subject their whole Country to the condition of a Roman Province. The latter object, he was aware, could not be obtained without inducing or compelling the natives to relinquish their arms; a concession which, he knew, they would not make, as long as there was a marsh or a forest in their rear to protect their scattered remains. He therefore thought it more expedient to limit the price of the peace which they sought to the restitution of the effects and captives which they had carried away from the Provinces; obliging the Chiefs to punish such of their people as might refuse to comply with those terms to the full and literal extent. In addition, he imposed upon them an annual tribute of corn and cattle, for the use of the garrison, which he might find it necessary to establish along their frontier, as well as to reimburse the Empire for the expense and loss occasioned by the war. Lastly, he demanded from them a contingent of sixteen thousand men, chosen from among the bravest of their youths, to serve in the Roman armies. These he took care so to distribute in distant Provinces, and in separate corps, that not more than fifty or sixty individuals were under the same standard; observing that, though it might be wise to recruit the ranks of the Legions from the Barbarians, it was a species of aid which ought to be felt but not seen.*

To ensure a continuance of the tranquillity which he had thus enforced, he established a line of forts and other military stations from the Rhine to the Danube. About the reign of Hadrian, when that mode of defence began to be practised, these garrisons were connected, and covered by a strong entrenchment of trees and palisades. In the place of so rude a bulwark, Probus built a stone wall of a considerable height, and fortified it by towers at convenient distances. From the neighbourhood of Nieustadt and Ratisbon on the Danube, it stretched across hills, vallies, rivers, and morasses, as far as Wimpfen on the Neckar, and at length terminated on the banks of the Rhine, after a winding course of nearly two hundred miles. This important barrier, uniting the two mighty streams which protected the Roman Provinces in Europe, seemed to fill up the vacant space through which the Northern Barbarians could penetrate into the heart of the Empire. But it has been well observed, that the experience of the world from China to Britain, has exposed the vain attempt of fortifying an extensive tract of country. The fate of the wall which Probus erected confirms the truth of this remark; for in a few years after his death, it was overthrown by the *Alamanni*, and its scattered ruins, still visible in our times, serve only to excite the wonder, or amuse the superstition, of the German peasant.†

To the wise policy of Probus has been ascribed a practice, the general adoption of which at a later period, might have conferred an important benefit on the Empire; that, namely, of replenishing the border lands exhausted by incessant war, with colonies drawn from the more crowded countries of the Barbarians, strengthened by such Roman soldiers as chose to accept retirement, and a portion of the richest soil. It was not unusual to dispose of captives in the manner now described. Zosimus relates, that most of the prisoners

Marcus Aurelius Probus Augustus.

From A. D. 276. to 282.

He builds a wall from the Danube to the Rhine.

His plans of colonization.

* Vopisc. in *Prob.* c. 11—13.

† Zosim. lib. i. p. 663. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 29. p. 637

* Vopisc. in *Prob.* c. 13—15. Zosim. lib. i. p. 664. Aurel. Victor, *et* Vict. *Epit.*

† Vopisc. *ubi* *supra*, Zosim. lib. i. Hieron. *Chron.* Eutrop. lib. ix.

Biography.

From
A. D.
276.
to
289.

Voyage of
the Bas-
tarnæ.

taken from the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Lygians, were transported into Britain; and hence it has been conjectured, that Wandlesburg, in Cambridge-shire, owes its name to a body of Vandals who were placed in that neighbourhood, during the reign of which we are now recapitulating the events. Many of the wandering tribes, too, consented to occupy settlements on the Rhine and the Danube; and we are told by Vopiscus, that a hundred thousand *Bastarnæ* cheerfully accepted an establishment in Thrace, and finally contracted the habits and feelings of Roman subjects, with whom they became insensibly identified, But Probus was not so successful in all his attempts at colonization, and an interesting narrative is preserved respecting a party of Franks, who had been carried into Pontus with the view of strengthening that frontier against the attacks of the *Alani*. Having got possession of some ships stationed at a port in the Euxine, they made their escape through the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and, entering the *Ægean* sea, they landed from time to time on the coasts of Asia and Greece, to supply their wants, or to gratify their revenge. Upon reaching the Island of Sicily they attacked Syracuse with so much fury, that the inhabitants were unable to save either their lives or property. After this exploit they directed their course to Carthage, where they met with a check from a fleet sent out to oppose them; but their vessels not being materially injured, they still kept the sea, and turned their faces towards the shores of Spain. Passing the columns of Hercules they found themselves in the Atlantic Ocean; where, veering to the right, they at length touched the coast of Gaul, and finally completed their astonishing voyage by disembarking at the mouth of the Rhine.*

Probus sub-
duces the
Isaurians.

In the course of the following year Probus conducted his victorious soldiers into Illyricum, where the peace of the Empire had been again disturbed by the incursions of the Scythian tribes. He strengthened in his progress Eastward the important line of the Rhetian frontier; and, after a short delay, advancing upon the Barbarians in Pannonia, he drove them back, even without the necessity of coming to a general action. Victory attended his steps wherever he went; and the various Gothic nations, awed into submission by the terror of his name, immediately acknowledged their subjection, and relinquished the fruits of their plunder. He met, indeed, with more resolute enemies in Asia Minor. The Isaurians, long noted as the boldest of robbers by sea as well as by land, set at defiance the power of the Roman Emperor; but being sensible that they could not encounter the discipline of his Legions in the field, they shut themselves up in a strong fort, built on the top of a steep and lofty precipice. The siege to which this measure gave rise, was rendered remarkable by many instances of desperate courage, disgraced indeed with circumstances of minute horror, and the most barbarous cruelty. It is enough to relate, that the skill of the Roman engineers prevailed over the resistance of savage fury and despair. Probus expelled the marauders from their rocks and caverns; and with the view of improving the character of the inhabitants, he settled a number of his veteran soldiers as occupants of the soil, on condition that their sons should hold themselves bound to engage in the public service, and

to abstain from the piratical habits which had so long proved the shame of Isauria. This precaution, however, like all other political arrangements that oppose the natural bent of an uncivilized people, was soon found unavailing; and accordingly in a few years, the hardy Tribes whom Probus subdued, could boast of increasing numbers, and of unshackled independence, throughout all the rugged mountains which their ancestors had possessed.*

It had been a main object with this enlightened Emperor ever since he ascended the Throne, to strengthen the foundations of the Civil authority, and thereby to withdraw the minds of the soldiers from the recollection of the dangerous privilege which they had so long exercised, in the nomination of their Sovereigns. But his example was not approved by the Legions in the remoter Provinces, who had ceased for several generations to reverence any other Government besides that which was administered in their camp. We find, accordingly, that when Probus marched into the West, to repel the incursions of the Germanic hordes which had taken possession of Gaul, the armies of the East raised their Commander, Saturninus, to the rank of *Augustus*. This unfortunate Chief, who trembled at the distinction which his men had determined to force upon him, bewailed in eloquent language the miserable alternative to which he was reduced. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "the public loses this day the services of one who has laboured not unsuccessfully for the promotion of her interests; and the step which I have now been induced to take, cancels all my claims upon the gratitude of my Countrymen. You know not," said he to those around him, "the misery of Sovereign power. Swords are suspended over our necks; spears and darts are pointed against our persons. We dread our very Guards; we distrust our dearest companions. In raising me to the Imperial dignity, you have doomed me to an inevitable death; and in such circumstances there is only one consolation, the certainty that I cannot perish alone."†

The disaffection of the East was suppressed at small expense of blood, but not before Saturninus had paid the forfeit of his treason. It is said that Probus wished to save his rival from the fury of the soldiers, and that he had even entreated him to put confidence in his clemency, should the fortune of war decide against him in the field. But, in the unhappy state to which the Empire was reduced by the ascendancy of the military power, it was never deemed expedient, either by the victors or the vanquished, to spare the life of a defeated usurper.

The success which crowned the Imperial arms in Syria, did not prevent a similar disturbance in Gaul. Proculus, who commanded in that country, assumed the Purple, and prepared to maintain his pretensions at the head of his troops; but he was so ill supported by the Germans, whom he had attempted to gain over to his cause, that his resistance to the superior genius of Probus was equally short and ineffectual. The fate of this adventurer did not, however, deter Bononus, the Admiral of a small fleet which the Romans maintained upon the Rhine, from likewise withdrawing his allegiance. The war which ensued appears to have been

Marcus
Aurelius
Probus
Augustus.
From
A. D.
276.
to
282.

The army
the East
elects Satur-
ninus Em-
peror.

His defeat
and death.

Insurrec-
tion of
Proculus,

And Bono-
nus.

* Zonar. lib. xii. c. 29. p. 637. Eutrop. Aurel. Victor. Zosim. lib. i. Vopisc. in *Prob.*

* Vopisc. in *Prob.* c. 16.
† Vopisc. in *Prob.* c. 18; in *Saturin. passim*, Zosim. lib. i. Zonar. lib. xii.

Biography.
From
A. D.
276.
to
282.

Egyptian
war.

Separation
with Persia.

Triumph
of Probus.

vigorously conducted on both sides. Several battles were fought with various success; but the fortune of the Emperor at length resumed its wanted ascendancy, and compelled the faithless Lieutenant to take refuge among the Barbarians, from whom, it is said, he derived his birth. There he is reported to have delivered himself from his apprehensions by having recourse to a voluntary death, and to have thereby terminated those insurrections in Gaul, which so frequently disturbed the government of Probus.*

We find in Vopiscus and Zosimus an obscure narrative relating to an expedition into Egypt, conducted by two of the Imperial Generals. Firmus, during the preceding reign, had displayed the standard of rebellion; and it would seem, that aided by the arms of a native Tribe, the *Blemmyes*, his troops still kept possession of certain cities, and among the rest, Coptos and Ptolemais. On this occasion they were reduced by the Lieutenants of Probus, who, to attest their victory, and grace the Triumph of their master, carried as captives to Rome a considerable number of the people just named, whose singular appearance, it is added, excited in the Capital a great degree of curiosity and astonishment.†

In connection with this enterprise, the Augustan Historian relates, that the King of Persia was so much offended or alarmed at the proceedings of the Roman Emperor, that he resolved to take the field. An embassy sent by the former, found Probus already encamped in the mountains of Armenia. He received the representatives of the Persian Monarch with studied simplicity; and charged them with an answer to their master which only served still further to increase his fears. But we must not conceal, that the accompaniments which adorn the narrative of this interview, correspond rather to the luxuriant fancy of a Rhetorician than to the dignity of such a character as that of Probus. We cannot believe that he would put any confidence in the impression likely to be made upon the minds of a formal, stately people, by seeing him seated on the grass, and eating pea-soup and pickled pork for his dinner: or that he would pull off his cap to show his bald head, and assure the ambassadors that if the King their Sovereign did not, before the sun should set, endeavour to repair the wrongs which he had done to the Romans, he should see, before the end of the month, all the land in the Kingdom of Persia laid as bare as his head. At all events, it is certain that no hostilities ensued; whence we must conclude, that if the conference now mentioned took place at all, it was attended with a favourable result.‡

The return of Probus to Rome, after having subdued the Barbarians, and quashed the various insurrections which had shaken the faith of the Provinces, afforded an opportunity for conferring upon him the greatest of all national honours, the solemnity of a regular Triumph. This splendid spectacle was conducted with a degree of magnificence suitable to the merits of a patriot and a conqueror; and the People who had so lately admired the trophies of Aurelian, beheld, with equal delight, the greatness of their Country reflected in the proud caval-

cade which surrounded the car of Probus. Among the vanquished, whose humiliation ministered to the pride of the Romans, were the Germans and the *Blemmyes*; nations which at that period occupied the extreme boundaries of North and South in the Roman World.*

But this idle show was permitted by the Emperor, rather to gratify the spectators than to soothe his own ambition. Bred a soldier from his earliest days, he felt that his enjoyments as well as his fame were connected with the labours of the Camp; for which reason, he had no sooner complied with the established usages of Rome, than he resumed his place at the head of the Legions stationed beyond the frontier on the Danube and the Euxine. It is supposed that his ultimate object was to retaliate upon the Persians the injuries and disgrace which they had inflicted upon his Countrymen in the person of the unhappy Valerian; but, in the meantime, he thought proper to employ his troops in such public works as might at once enforce his plans of discipline, and add to the wealth and beauty of the Provinces. On this principle, while he commanded in Egypt, he built Temples, Bridges, Porticoes, and Palaces, improved the navigation of the Nile, and even increased the productiveness of the rich soil for which that country is distinguished. From similar motives he instructed his soldiers to cover with luxuriant vineyards the hills of Gaul and Pannonia; and not satisfied with such moderate undertakings, he resolved to drain an extensive tract of land near his native Sirmium, and thereby to convert a stagnant marsh into a beautiful plain, fitted for all the uses of agriculture. The warriors of Italy could not consent to endure the unremitting toil of Pannonian peasants; and irritated by some expressions which the Emperor had employed, either to urge their labour or subdue their pride, they threw down their spades and grasped their swords. Probus fled towards a tower, which he had constructed as well perched for safety as for surveying the progress of his works; but, before he could reach it, the soldiers plunged their swords into his body, and terminated the reign of one of the best Princes that had occupied the Throne of the Cæsars.

It would, indeed, be difficult to name among the Sovereigns of Rome, one more distinguished than the Emperor Probus. Victorious throughout his whole life, he added to his military talents the more valuable qualities of benevolence and integrity. Equal to Aurelian as a warrior, he was milder and more gentle in his disposition; as moderate, perhaps, as Marcus Aurelius, he possessed greater abilities as a commander, and exercised a clearer judgment in promoting the interest of the Republic. In a reign of six years he built or repaired seventy cities; while he could number among his pupils some of the best Generals, and most excellent Princes that supported the might of the declining Empire. His death was deeply lamented by the Senate and People of Rome, and even the soldiers who took away his life laboured to perpetuate, by an honourable monument, the memory of his virtues, his talents, and his success.

Marcus
Aurelius
Probus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
276.
to
282.

His public
Works.

He is assassinated.

His virtues.

Hic Probus Imperator, et verè probus nites est.

*Victor omnium gratum Barbarorum;
Victor etiam Tyrannorum.* Vopisc. in Prob. c. 21.

* Vopisc. in Prob. c. 19

* Vopisc. in Prob. c. 18; et in *Probus*. Aurel. Victor, *Epit.*
† Vopisc. in Prob. c. 17. Zosim. lib. i. For a marvellous description of the *Blemmyes*, see Play, v. 8, where they are described to be a headless people, carrying their mouths and eyes on their breasts.

‡ Vopisc. in Prob. *Synes.* p. 10-19.

M. AURELIUS CARUS AUGUSTUS; M. AURELIUS CARINUS AUGUSTUS; AND M. AURELIUS NUMERIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 282 TO 285.

Biography.

From
A. D.
282.
to
285.

Accession of
Carus. Sus-
picions en-
tertained
against him.

Doubts as
to the place
of his birth.

Letter to the
Senate.

THE sceptre which had been wrested from the hands of Probus was immediately placed in those of Carus; a Prince whose character and motives do not enjoy that favourable light in the page of History to which his actions appear to have entitled him. The manner in which the late Emperor was assassinated, might have protected his principal Officers from the charge of premeditation; but we find, notwithstanding, that the Praetorian Prefect who succeeded him on the Throne, and who exercised the severest justice on his murderers, did not escape the suspicion of being accessory to a crime to which he owed so great an advantage. Zonaras, indeed, goes so far as to affirm, that Carus was named to the Empire before Probus was put to death. Vopiscus, however, who had better means of information, relates, that it was not until the soldiers had consummated their mutiny in the blood of their victorious Chief, that they cast their eyes on the Prefect, as the most deserving of the Purple.*

A certain degree of doubt still remains respecting the birth-place of the Emperor Carus: but, upon comparing the statements of different authors, we may conclude that he was born in Illyricum, of parents, one of whom at least, could boast of Roman extraction. On the same ground we may rest our belief that he was educated in the Capital, and had even attained to some degree of literary reputation, before he turned the full bent of his talents to the profession of arms. After discharging the usual Offices which led to the higher ranks of the State, he is supposed to have been honoured with the Consulship; but, as his name does not appear in any of the regular lists, we must infer that he was appointed to succeed some one who had died before the end of his year. There exists more satisfactory evidence that he was Proconsul of Cilicia. Vopiscus has preserved a Letter written by Carus, while he held that office, to his Lieutenant, Junius; in which he is pleased to make an allusion to the noble lineage of his own family, and to pay a compliment to his own prudence and virtue, while he explains the duties, and magnifies the responsibility of him whom he had chosen to share the load of his anxieties.†

Upon ascending the Throne, he thought it enough that he announced to the Senate his acceptance of the arduous appointment conferred upon him by the Legions. He congratulated them that an Emperor had been chosen from their own Order, and even from among the freemen of their own city: and, reflecting upon the barbarous origin of Claudius Aurelianus, and Probus, he added, that he would endeavour so to administer the Government, that they should not have occasion to make comparisons unfavourable to their own blood.‡

The safety of the Republic soon called him into the field. The death of Probus had given courage to the Barbarians, who renewed their predatory incursions into Illyricum and Thrace. The Persians, too, who had yielded to the menaces of that warlike Emperor, assumed once more a threatening attitude, and excited the fears of the Syrian Provinces. Carus, who was not less a General than a Statesman, longed to signalize his arms against those ancient enemies of Rome, and accordingly made preparations for entering upon the war with speed and effect. But before he committed the fortunes of the Empire to the decision of battle, he raised his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, to the rank of *Augustus*: instructing the one to take the command of the Legions in Gaul, and conducting the other to the Sarmatian frontier, which was already wasted by bands of plunderers.*

His success against the Gothic Tribes was complete and decisive. Sixteen thousand of their slain covered the field of battle; while twenty thousand captives rewarded the valour and discipline of the Romans with whom they had ventured to engage. Leaving a sufficient force to prevent the renewal of invasion, Carus led his troops against the Persians; whom, being either taken by surprise or distracted by varying counsels, he subdued with equal ease and rapidity. He reconquered all Mesopotamia, and even took Seleucia and Ctesiphon; but, when making arrangements to pursue the vanquished enemy beyond the Tigris, his death checked for a time the career of the Roman armies. This occurred under circumstances so extremely mysterious, as to leave much room for doubt whether it was the result of disease, of accident, or of violence. A Letter written by Calpurnius, one of his Secretaries, to the Prefect of Rome, describes the occurrence in the following words. "Carus, our beloved Sovereign, was confined by sickness, when a dreadful storm arose in the camp, attended with such furious thunder and lightning as struck the whole army with terror. The darkness which overspread the sky was so thick, that we could no longer distinguish what was going forward; in the midst of which, after a tremendous clap of thunder, some one uttered a cry that the Emperor was dead. It was discovered that the attendants of the Prince, stupefied with grief for the loss of their master, had set fire to the Royal tent; a circumstance which gave rise to the report that he was killed by the lightning, though from the strictest investigation there is reason to believe that his death was the natural effect of his disorder."†

The obscure language of this Epistle gives some countenance to the suspicion, that Carus, like the first

M. Aurelius
Carus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
282.
to
285.

Prepares for
war against
the Sarmatians and
Persians.

His victories
in Illyricum
and Persia.

Death of
Carus.

Conjectures
as to its
cause.

* Zonar. lib. xii. c. 30. p. 638. Vopisc. de Car. c. 6.
† Vopisc. in Car. c. 4. Eutrop. lib. ix. Aurel. Victor, Epit.
Vopisc. c. 4, 5. Zonar. lib. xii.

* Vopisc. in Car. c. 7, 8. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 30. p. 638. Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus. Eutrop. lib. ix.
† Vopisc. in Car. c. 8.

Biography.

From
A. D.
282.
to
285.Numerianus
prisoned,
and released
from Persia.

Sovereign of Rome, may have fallen a victim to the anger or ambition of his Generals, rather than to the fury of the elements. The event has been confidently ascribed to the treachery of Arrius Aper, the Prætorian Præfect, who was afterwards charged, upon similar grounds, with the murder of Numerianus; and yet, it is but justice to mention, that most of the Historians who lived nearest the period in question, Vopiscus, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Hieronimus, Rufus, and Festus, have attributed the demise of the Emperor to a natural cause.*

The vacancy which ensued was soon supplied by the younger son of Carus, whose accession was applauded by the unanimous voice of the soldiers. The rights of the elder brother, who already occupied the Throne of the West, were at the same time recognised by the Army in Mesopotamia; who, influenced by hopes which the good fortune of their late Chief had inspired, and by apprehensions which were but too justly entertained respecting the selfish views of some of their leaders, were content that the Imperial Purple in this instance should be inherited without dispute. But the Roman Public expected that the successor of Carus would pursue the path of victory which his father had opened for him, and, without allowing the Persians to recover from their panic, would advance into the country which still remained unconquered. The superstition of the Legions, however, opposed their farther progress towards the East. The line in which the city of Ctesiphon forms the main position, was long regarded as the boundary determined by Fate to the Roman Empire; it was, therefore, esteemed impious to brave the will of Heaven by crossing the Tigris; while the manner of the late Emperor's death was viewed as a manifestation that the Gods were resolved to vindicate their authority over the affairs of Man. The young Prince, accordingly, whatever might be his private wishes, found it necessary to listen to the entreaties of his soldiers, and to desist from the prosecution of a war, which, in their judgment, had ceased to be auspicious.†

Italians
arrive at
Chalcedon.

In compliance with an impression which could not be either wisely or effectually resisted, Numerianus began his march towards Syria; leaving the Persians at a loss to account for a retreat, which appeared to be undertaken in contempt of all the probabilities of war. Having passed through the various Provinces of Asia Minor, the camp, at the end of eight months, was pitched near Chalcedon, on the shores of the Bosphorus. The health of the young Emperor being materially injured by the climate of the East, or the unusual fatigues of a campaign, he was carried, during a great part of the retreat, in a covered litter; and when the army reached the Western boundary of Asia, the Imperial equipage was sent forward under a suitable escort, with the intention, perhaps, of securing for the patient the repose and medical assistance which could be best enjoyed in the Capital. The Imperial tent was guarded by the Prætorians with the strictest vigilance; and during many weeks that the Emperor was invisible to the troops at large, all orders were issued by the Præfect, Arrius Aper, who professed to communicate the will of his master.‡

* Eutrop. lib. ix. Vopisc. in Car. c. 8. Aurel. Victor, de Cæsaribus; et Aurel. Victor, Epit. Hieron. Chron. in ann.
† Vopisc. c. 9. Eutrop. lib. ix. Amm. lib. xli. c. 30.
‡ Vopisc. in Numerian. c. 12. Zonar. lib. xli. Aurel. Victor, Epit.

At length the separation of the Court from the Camp began to excite suspicions regarding the fidelity of Aper. The Soldiers insisted upon seeing the person of their Prince, concerning whose fate so many rumours were already in circulation; and they had no sooner broke into his tent than they found that Numerianus had been sometime dead. The studied concealment which had so long marked the conduct of the Prætorian Præfect was held as indisputable evidence of his guilt; and he was accordingly seized, thrown into chains, and reserved for a public trial, in the presence of the whole army. To accomplish the purposes of justice or of revenge, Diocletian was elected Emperor; who, ascending a tribunal which was erected in the middle of the camp, gave orders that Arrius Aper should be brought before him. Desirous, in the first place, to purify himself from any suspicion which might attach to his unexpected elevation, he lifted up his eyes to the Sun, and calling to witness that all-seeing orb, he declared that he was entirely innocent of the death of Numerianus. Then pointing to Aper he exclaimed, "behold the author of the crime;" and without allowing the accused an opportunity to justify his conduct, he plunged his sword into his breast.*

Vopiscus adds to his narrative by recording a prediction, which, in his opinion, accounts for the fact that Diocletian choose to execute with his own hand the sentence of death upon the unfortunate Præfect; for no one, says he, was ever more master of himself, or less subject to those bursts of passion, which anticipate reflection, and drive men to act before they have time to think. He had not been long in the army, when happening to be quartered at Tongres in Gaul, a Druidess remarked that he was extremely economical in his personal expenses, and even reproached him with it. I will be more generous, he replied, when I am Emperor. Your joke is not without foundation, rejoined the Priestess, for you shall be Emperor, but not until you have killed a Boar. This Prophecy made a deep impression on the mind of the young soldier. Observing that the Imperial authority was often conferred upon men of low extraction, he permitted himself to cherish in secret the hope of one day obtaining it; and, taking the words of the Druidess in their literal acceptation, he frequently engaged in field sports with the view of realizing the condition on which he was fated to ascend the Throne. But it was not until Arrius Aper appeared before him as a criminal, that the mysterious language of the Gallic female revealed its true import to his understanding; to verify which, and to secure the splendid rank which fortune had placed within his reach, he consented to become, in his own person, the instrument for avenging the cause of Numerian. No other motive, he is said to have afterwards declared, could have induced him to mark his accession to the Throne with an action so truly questionable; and which might have justly excited the suspicion, that in taking away the life of the Præfect, he was resolved to gratify a vindictive or sanguinary temper.†

While these things came to pass in the East, Carinus employed his time in repressing sedition in Gaul, or in displaying his vices and luxury in the Capital. Nature formed him with a mind and a body equal to all the enterprise and fatigues of war; and it is not denied,

M. Aurelius
Carinus
Augustus, and
M. Aurelius
Numerianus
Augustus.From
A. D.
282.
to
285.
Election of
Diocletian.A prophecy
respecting
him.Carinus
renders
himself an
object of
contempt
and hatred.

* Vopisc. in Numerian. c. 13, 14.

† Vopisc. ubi supra, c. 14. Eutrop. lib. ix. Aurel. Victor.

Biography. even by his greatest enemies, that when the emergencies of the Empire required his presence in the field, he showed the best qualities both of a General and a soldier. But he disgraced the season of Peace by the most contemptible vices and the fiercest cruelty. He banished or put to death the counsellors whom his father had placed around him to guide his inexperience; and he punished with the meanest revenge certain insults which his pride had sustained at the hands of his companions and school-fellows, who had not had sufficient penetration to discover that he was destined to fill a Throne. He raised a door-keeper to be Governor of Rome; and, in the place of the Prætorian Præfect, whom he murdered, he appointed Matronianus, one of the ministers of his infamous pleasures. Regarding with the bitterest hatred every one who might remember his former obscurity, or condemn his present conduct, he studiously selected his favourites, and even the officers of his Government, from the very dregs of the people. In a word, he is described as having equalled, during his short reign, the worst follies of Heliogabalus, and the darkest cruelties of Domitian.*

It was in September, 284, that Diocletian was raised to the Empire, and thereby constituted the rival of Carinus. The winter appears to have passed in preparation for the contest, which in the ensuing Spring was to decide the fate of one or other of these Commanders; and we find, accordingly, that when the army of the East began their march through Illyricum towards Italy, the troops under Carinus advanced to meet them before they could pass the Rætian Alps. After various skirmishes attended with alternate success, a general action took place in Mœsia, in which the ability of the Western Emperor and the valour of his troops were on the point of obtaining a signal triumph, when a Tribune, whom he had injured, encouraged by others who had suffered similar wrongs, stabbed him to the heart. Thus, the baseness of his character, which had created in the breasts of those who could best defend his Throne a deep feeling of hatred, terror, and revenge, snatched him away at once from life and from victory; affording a memorable example, that in no rank or station can the most brilliant talents atone for the want of integrity, justice, and temperance.

M. Aurelius Carinus Augustus.

From A. D. 282. to 285.

Gains a victory over Diocletian, but is assassinated.

CAIUS VALERIUS DIOCLETIANUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 285 TO 305.

Biography. The lineage of Diocletian has been traced by the Historians of Rome, to a mean family in Dalmatia. His father appears to have been originally a slave in the house of Anulinus, a wealthy Senator, by whom, even after he had obtained his freedom, he continued to be employed in the capacity of a Scribe. The servile name of the future Emperor was Diocles, derived from the town or village of Dioclia, wherein his mother was born. It is supposed to have been first improved into Diocles, in which form it is sometimes found, and finally into the more sonorous appellation of Diocletianus, which pleased the ears of the Romans and the taste of their master.†

Rise in the army and election to the Throne. Having at an early age embraced the profession of arms, he rose fast in rank as well as in reputation under several successive Princes. The school of Probus supplied him with the best maxims and the most striking examples of military excellence; and the young soldier profited so well by the advantages which he enjoyed in the Imperial camp, that he was included in the list which Vopiscus has preserved of the distinguished Generals who were formed by the discipline of the warlike Pannonian. In the course of promotion we can trace his rise as Governor of Mœsia, as Consul, and at length as Commander of the domestic Guards; that confidential body of troops which had superseded the Prætorians in the duty of the Palace, and been intrusted with the personal safety and repose of the Head of the Government. We have seen, too, that when Numerian died on his return from the Persian

war, the unanimous voice of the army called to the Throne the son of the slave of Anulinus.*

The election of Diocletian was amply justified by the wisdom and moderation with which he began his reign. Although he had been successfully opposed in the field by the Legions under Carinus, he buried his resentment in the grave of that Emperor; and so far was he from punishing by death or deprivation those leaders who had fought against him under the banners of their lawful Prince, that he rewarded their fidelity and talents by taking them into his own service. He honoured with his confidence Aristobulus the principal Minister of the House of Carus, and requested him to continue in the Office of which he had discharged the duties so well. The same indulgence was shown to other men of rank; inasmuch that Aurelius Victor describes the astonishment of the Roman People at beholding a Civil war brought to an end, without the usual accompaniments of forfeiture, exile, and the most sanguinary executions. We were accustomed, said he, to praise those Princes who in such circumstances set moderate bounds to confiscation, banishment, and death; but History presents no instance of a similar contest being terminated without the loss in any case of fortune, dignity, or life.†

The extent of the Empire and the activity of its Barbarian enemies left to the new Sovereign very little time for repose. In the East, the Persians, emboldened by the retreat of Numerianus, had already recovered all their conquests in Mesopotamia, and were about to enter Syria and the neighbouring Provinces. The

Caius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus.

From A. D. 285. to 305.

His moderation and wisdom in government.

Repulses the Barbarian invaders in the West and East.

* Vopisc. in Carin. c. 15—17. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 36. p. 638. † Eutrop. lib. ix.

* Vopisc. in Probo. Aurel. Victor, de Caesaribus. Victor, Epit. † Aurel. Victor.

Geography.
From
L. D.
285.
to
305.

Gauls and Britons, in the West, were stimulated into rebellion by the intrigues of their ambitious Chiefs, or by the deep feeling of oppression to which the peasantry had long been subjected. The Germans, too, accustomed to the enjoyments which spring from a rich soil and a fine climate, could not, without unremitting vigilance, be restrained from crossing the Rhine, and extending their occasional settlements as far as the Alps and the Pyrenees. On the authority of certain medals we are warranted to conclude, that the first year of Diocletian's reign was signalized by some advantages, gained by his Lieutenants over the Barbarians of the Continent as well as those of Britain; but, although the honour of victory was reflected upon the head of the Emperor, it is manifest that he had no share in the labour by which it was obtained, because he spent the winter which immediately followed his accession at his favourite residence of Nicomedia.*

History.
Maximian
to Diocle-
tian.

The urgency of affairs suggested to Diocletian the expediency of nominating a colleague in the Government, who might share with him the various toils incident to a state of war. He selected from among the Commanders who had distinguished themselves in the Eastern campaign Maximianus, a bold and successful soldier; whose qualities, fitting him rather for the field than for the cabinet, would supply the want which the Emperor is supposed to have felt in his own character, without interfering with the more secret movements of the great political machine. The deficiency to which we have just alluded in the successor of Carinus, respected military courage; for though it is difficult to conceive, that he who acquired and preserved the esteem of Aurelian, Probus, and Carus, could be chargeable with cowardice, it is, nevertheless, admitted that he did not possess that daring impetuosity which rushes into danger without measuring its extent, and which seems to value enterprise in proportion to its hazard. Indeed, he himself appears to have estimated at a much higher rate the wisdom of the statesman than the valour of the soldier; and no sooner, accordingly, was he clothed with the Purple, than he made known by the line of policy upon which he entered, that his labours for the welfare of the Empire were to bear a greater resemblance to the thoughtful administration of Augustus, than to the brilliant reigns of those warlike Princes who succeeded Gallienus.†

History and
Director of
Maximian.

Maximianus was born near Sirrium, in Pannonia, of parents who belonged to the lowest class in society, and who could not bestow upon their son any of the advantages of education. He was so ignorant, indeed, that, after he ascended the Throne, a Panegyrist who compared his exploits to those of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus, ventured to lavish upon him the ambiguous compliment that he had surpassed heroes with whose names he was probably unacquainted. Bred amid the toils and perils of war he exhibited much personal bravery, with the rough and honest frankness which is generated in the camp. His rise in military honours did not compensate the want of that early discipline which forms the manners to the mould of social life; for, even when in the Palace of the Cæsars, he betrayed the fierce, the licentious, and, sometimes, cruel disposition of the Illyrian peasant. He aspired to nothing higher than the fame of an able General. Under

Aurelian and Probus he had distinguished himself on every frontier of the Empire; and though his talents were better fitted for executing the commands of a superior, than for regulating the movements of an extensive campaign, he was nevertheless capable, by his valour, constancy, and experience, of conducting the most arduous undertakings. He was formed by nature to be a fit instrument in the hand of Diocletian. In war he led the armies of Rome to certain victory; and at home he was ever ready to exercise those necessary severities which policy from time to time required, but from which the mild or timid character of his colleague habitually recoiled. It was the object of the latter to establish a reputation for clemency and gentleness; and, accordingly, while he employed the stern hand of Maximianus to inflict punishment or to gratify revenge, he usually contrived to interpose his influence in order to save such victims as he had no wish to sacrifice, and to moderate the rage which he himself had either kindled or impelled. But, notwithstanding the difference of their characters, the two Emperors cultivated on the Throne the friendship which they had contracted in the camp; and the harmony which prevailed in the maxims by which the Country was governed, soon diffused itself through all the subordinate departments of the State. The bold and turbulent spirit of the one submitted to the more enlightened genius of the other; and, although the popular voice was accustomed to recognise in the two masters of the Empire an emblem of the Golden and the Iron Age, the administration of affairs was conducted with not less success than unanimity. With an allusion, perhaps, to their respective qualities of intellectual and physical strength, they assumed the titles of *Jovius* and *Herculeus*; intimating, that while the one was prepared to direct, the other was ready to perform.*

It was at Nicomedia that Maximianus was invested with the name and power of *Augustus*; immediately after which he was charged with the management of the war against the rebellious peasantry of Gaul. The class of persons here mentioned are described by the name of *Bagaudæ*, a term which is understood to denote an insurgent or tumultuary assemblage. Oppressed by the extortion and tyranny of the Nobles, the occupiers of the land had been occasionally driven to arms, in order to vindicate their rights or to defend their property; and, on the present emergency, they appear to have listened to the counsels of Hellianus and Amandus, two ambitious Chiefs, who employed their resentment with the view of accomplishing certain objects of their own. But undisciplined rustics could not long withstand the valour of the Legions under such a Commander as Maximianus. They were defeated in several battles, reduced once more to submission, and saw their leaders, who had assumed the Purple, obliged to seek safety in flight. Having restored tranquillity in the Southern Provinces, the new Augustus advanced towards the Rhine, where he gained a succession of victories over the Franks, the Burgundians, and the *Alemanni*, who had as usual seized the moment of suspense or weakness to renew their depredations within the limits of the Empire. He pursued them across the river; carried fire and sword into their country; and compelled the proudest of these Barba-

Caius
Valerius
Diocletianus
Augustus.
From
A. D.
285,
to
305.

* *Panegy. Vet. Aurel. Victor. Estorp. lib. ix.*
† *Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. 7—9. Zonar. lib. xii. c. 31. p. 640*
Victor, Epit. Aurel. Victor, de Cesaribus.

* *Panegy. Vet. in Max. Victor, Epit. Estorp. lib. ix. Aurel. Victor, de Cesaribus.*

Biography.

From
A. D.
285,
to
305.
War with
the Franks
and defection
of
Carausius,
who assumes
the Purple in
Britain.

rians to sue for compassion, and consent to hold their lands at the pleasure of the Roman Emperor.*

But the Franks, although unequal to their powerful enemies in the field, maintained their superiority on the ocean. Emboldened by the successful enterprise which they completed in the reign of Probus, when they performed a voyage from the Euxine to the mouths of the Rhine and the Elbe, they had learned to put confidence in the sea; and having equipped numerous vessels of a light structure and convenient size, they were constantly seen hovering along the coasts of Gaul, Britain, and Spain, and ready to retaliate upon the defenceless inhabitants the losses which their countrymen suffered from the invading Legions. To check the incursions of these pirates, Maximian resolved to form a navy; and fixing upon a port in the English Channel, as the most suitable station for his fleet he intrusted the care of it to Carausius, an experienced sailor, who undertook to watch the movements of the Northern freebooters. But it soon appeared that the interests of the Roman Admiral were at variance with his duty. Accustomed, perhaps, to the practices which he was now appointed to suppress, he connived at the ravages of the Saxon adventurers, that he might participate the more largely in their plunder. His increasing wealth was regarded as a proof of his guilt; and the Emperor, accordingly, gave instructions to some confidential agent to supersede the Admiral in the command of the fleet, and to put him to death. But the suspicions of Carausius anticipated the designs of his master. Dreading the punishment that awaited him, he sailed into Britain; where, having gained the troops which were stationed to defend that island, he assumed the Imperial title and authority, and defied at once the resentment and the arms of his offended Sovereign. He even formed an alliance with the Saxons and Franks, whose active squadrons, joined to his own, commanded the seas which separate Albion from the Continent. Retaining possession of Boulogne, the original seat of his power, he spread the terror of invasion from the Rhine to the promontory of Calpe; and so firmly established did his government in a short time become, that Diocletian and Maximian judged it expedient to resign into his hands the Sovereignty which he had usurped, and to acknowledge him as one of the Roman Emperors. A medal struck by Carausius, to commemorate this event, represents him in conjunction with his two colleagues, and bears for its legend the *PAX TRUUM AUGUSTORUM*. His administration in Britain was more remarkable for vigour than for either wisdom or clemency. He chastised, indeed, the Caledonians on the Northern border, and even rebuilt the wall of Severus; but, at the same time, he oppressed the subjects of the Empire by cruel exactions, and during six or seven years set an example to his troops of every species of tyranny and licentiousness.†

Successes of
Diocletian
in the East.

While Maximianus was carrying on a doubtful war with the rebellious Carausius on the Western limits of the Roman World, his colleague is said to have been more successfully employed against the Persians in the East, and the Barbarians in Thrace and Asia Minor. If we may trust to the authority of the Panegyrist, Mamerinus and Eumenes, Diocletian, in the interval now mentioned, gained victories in Africa, over the Sara-

ens; in Pannonia, over the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Quadi, the Jugonithi, and the Carpians; and in Rhaetia, over the more active and warlike *Alemanni*. The two Emperors, in the winter of the year 290, had an interview at Milan, the object of which has not been transmitted to our times; but it was on this occasion that the first of the orators just named, while celebrating the concord which prevailed between the *Augusti*, took an opportunity of specifying their respective triumphs. "The laurels," said he, "which Diocletian gathered in the East, in Rhaetia, and Pannonia, afforded to you, Maximianus, the most heart-felt joy; while, on the other hand, the defeat of the seditious Tribes in Gaul, the conquest of Germany, and the successful termination of the war with the Saxon pirates, gratified the most ardent wishes of Diocletian." It may be questioned, indeed, whether this eulogy does not belong to a period somewhat later than the fifth year of their reign, and, consequently, whether the laurels gained by the Imperial Commander in Syria, were not those which crowned his arms when he replaced Tiberiades, the Armenian Prince, upon the Throne of his fathers.*

But whatever obscurity may attach to the Chronology of the above events, it is manifest that the peace which they procured was not of long duration. The restless spirit of the Germans and Goths impelled them to new adventures; the Asiatic nations, at variance with one another, agreed in their hatred or jealousy of Rome; and the Maritime tribes who inhabited the extreme boundaries of the West, were becoming every day more formidable to the Provincials of Gaul, and even to the numerous cities beyond the Pyrenees. It, therefore, occurred to the wisdom of Diocletian, that the Empire, exposed to be assailed on every side, ought on every side to be protected by a separate army, under a leader invested with supreme power. With this view, as well as to prevent the wanton exercise of the elective privilege so long assumed by the Legions, he determined once more to divide his jurisdiction, and to confer on two Generals, who were each to enjoy the title of *Cæsar*, an equal share of the Sovereign authority. Galerius, surnamed the *Herdman*, and Constantius, who from some peculiarity in his complexion had acquired the denomination of *Chlorus*, were the two individuals appointed to enjoy the subordinate honours of the Imperial Purple.†

The former of these Chiefs was born at Dacia, and could not boast a descent any higher than that of Diocletian, nor a more liberal education than that which had been enjoyed by Maximianus. Like the latter, his early youth was spent in tending cattle, and like him, too, he was rough in his manners, impetuous, and blood-thirsty. The birth of Constantius was less obscure, and his character was much more amiable. His mother was a niece of the Emperor Claudius, and his father held an eminent rank among the Nobles of Illyricum. Trained to arms from his childhood he rose to high promotion under Aurelian and Probus, whose interests he strengthened by several brilliant exploits against the enemies of the Empire; and when Carus mounted the Throne, his services were acknowledged by his being appointed to the important Government of Dalmatia. To cement still more firmly the bonds or

Cæsar
Valerius
Diocletianus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
285,
to
305.

Constantianus
and Gale-
rius appointed
Cæsars.

Lineage
of these
Comman-
ders.

* Panegy. Vet. ii. 4; vi. 8. Eutrop. lib. ix.
† Panegy. Vet. ii. 7—9. Eutrop. lib. ix. Aurel. Victor.

* Eumenes in Panegy. Vet. Mamerin. Panegy. in Marini
† Eutrop. Lactant. de Mort. Pers.

Empire.
From
A. D.
293.
to
305.
They are
slayed by
the Em-
perors.

this political union, each Emperor adopted one of the Cæsars as his son; Diocletian fixing his choice upon Galerius, and Maximian upon Constantius. In order to be more closely engrafted into the Imperial families, each of the new Sovereigns accepted a wife at the hand of his adopted father: nor was the circumstance that they were both previously married, allowed to prove a bar to this domestic arrangement, for Constantius was desired to repudiate Helena, the mother of the famous Constantine, to make way for Theodora, the step-daughter of Maximian, while Galerius performed a similar act to qualify him to become the husband of Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian. It has been noticed by a contemporary Annalist, that each Emperor, in exercising the rights of adoption, selected the Cæsar whose character was most opposed to his own; as if it had been intended, that in both cases the defects of the elder Princes should be compensated by the qualities of the younger, and that, by combining in the same Administration a variety of endowments, the balance of the Constitution might be the better preserved. It has been thought further worthy of remark, that the rank of Constantius and Galerius was not settled according to the dignity of their adopted fathers; on the contrary, the preeminence was given to the former of these Commanders, although the Emperor into whose family he was introduced uniformly acknowledged the precedence of his elder colleague.*

But
government
and office.

But, whatever might be their respective claims on the homage of the Roman people, it is sufficiently manifest, that the Empire was now provided with four Rulers, all of whom might be regarded as independent Sovereigns. Every one of them had his Court, his Officers of State, and even a Pretorian Prefect; who, in his turn, had Lieutenants appointed in the different Provinces of the general government. Galerius received from Diocletian the charge of Illyricum, Thrace, and Macedonia; while he himself retained the command of Greece, Egypt, and the rich Countries of Asia from the Ægean to the Euphrates. The other Emperor assumed for his peculiar department the defence of Italy and the African Colonies; having intrusted to the warlike vigilance of Constantius the protection of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. This distribution has been held by Historians rather as a simple partition of official care, than as an actual division of territorial Sovereignty; or, if each was independent within his own jurisdiction, all of them were bound to afford mutual assistance to their colleagues, as well by counsel as by arms. The Cæsars, in their exalted rank, confessed the superior Majesty of the Emperors; and the three younger Princes invariably acknowledged, by their gratitude and obedience, the common parent of their fortunes. The suspicious jealousy of power found not any place among them; and the singular happiness of their union has been compared to a concert of music, the harmony of which is regulated and maintained by the skilful hand of the leader.†

Ton.

It was on the Calends of March, in the year 292, that the Cæsars were installed into their high office. Diocletian, having assembled the Legions at a short distance from Nicomedia, recommended to them his adopted son, and in their presence invested him with

the Purple. The same honour is supposed to have been conferred upon Constantius by the second Augustus, in one of the cities of Italy or Gaul, on which occasion both the young Princes were addressed as Emperors and Fathers of their country, and clothed with the Tribunitian power, the High-Priesthood, and all the other attributes of Sovereign authority.*

Constantius was no sooner nominated to his Government, than he made preparations for recovering Britain from the hands of the usurper. By reducing Boulogne, which continued in the power of Carausius, he diminished greatly the maritime strength of his antagonist, and acquired, at the same time, the means of building a fleet which he intended for the invasion of his Insular Kingdom. But the equipment of a sufficient number of ships to accomplish such an object, occupied the mechanics of Gaul nearly three years; in the course of which, the colleague of Maximian employed his troops in strengthening the defences of the Rhine against the Franks, whose daring spirit he repressed in several bloody engagements.†

When every thing was ready for a descent upon Britain, the news arrived that Carausius had fallen the victim of treason, and left the Government to Allectus, his Prime Minister, who was accused of effecting his destruction. The assassin having assumed the Purple, and thereby declared himself an enemy to Rome, the expedition was only delayed until such means were adopted as could not fail to render its object most complete. A squadron, which had been fitted at the mouth of the Seine, put to sea under Asclepiodatus, and reached without opposition a port on the coast of Kent or Sussex; while the remainder of the armament, conducted by Constantius in person, threatened the Capital and the fruitful shores of the Thames. When the former landed his troops he burned the transports, resolving to conquer or die in the Province which he had undertaken to recover; and, accordingly, Allectus had no sooner marched against him, than he put an end to the war and to the life of the usurper, by gaining a speedy and decisive victory. The approach of the Cæsar, therefore, bore a greater resemblance to a Triumph than to the advance of a hostile army. He was welcomed with acclamations from crowds of obedient subjects, who seemed to regret their long separation from the Empire, and who now prepared to celebrate an event which, after a rebellion of ten years, placed them once more under the protection of the Imperial Sceptre.‡

Constantius is said to have used his victory with the mildness and clemency. Far from confounding the unhappy natives with their tyrannical oppressors, he studied rather how to compensate to the former the losses which they had sustained during the successive usurpations. He restored property to those from whom it had been unjustly taken away; placed the whole Country under the protection of equal laws; and granted pardon to all who expressed contrition for their offences against the parent State. The year 296 is distinguished by the Historians of Rome, as the period when Britain was completely recovered by the arms and wise counsels of the father of Constantine.§

Some years elapsed during which no event of pecu-

Caius
Valerius
Diocletianus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
285.
to
305.
Constantius
takes
Boulogne.

Death of
Carausius,
and recovery
of Britain.

Mildness of
the con-
queror.

* Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. 52. Aurel.

† Euseb. in Cæsar. Aurel. Victor.

• Lactant. c. 19.

• Euseb. Panegyr. in Constant. August.

† Eutrop. lib. ix. Aurel. Victor. Euseb. Panegyr. in Constant.

§ Euseb. Panegyr.

Biography.

From
A. D.
285.
to
305.

His success
against the
German
Tribes.

liar magnitude arrests the attention of the reader. Galerius appears to have maintained a chain of positions along the Danube, which the diminished courage of the Barbarians seldom urged them to attack. The duty of Constantius, who had returned from Britain to Gaul, was much more active but not less successful. Not content with repelling the various hordes of Germans from the banks of the Rhine he pursued them into their own territory, and even planted his victorious Eagles on the Ems and Weser. Pursuing the policy which had been suggested by Probus, he conducted large bodies of such prisoners as preferred slavery to death, from the forests and bogs of the North, and settled them in those very districts of Gaul which they had wasted by their inroads. They were usually employed as shepherds and hinds, but were denied the use of arms, except when necessity called for their aid in the public service. Lands were sometimes granted to the more deserving, if willing to adopt the manners and to court the protection of the Romans; and on this principle the Emperors conceded extensive privileges to the *Carpi*, *Basarnae*, and *Sarmatians*, who soon afterwards showed themselves willing to forget the servile tenure in which their possessions were held.

Insurrection
in Africa
and Egypt.

While the Empire enjoyed tranquillity in the North and West, an insurrection broke out almost at the same moment in Egypt and Africa. In the latter country five Moorish nations, who are known to the Latin Historians by the name of *Quinguentiani*, issued from their wilderness and attacked the Provincials along the coast. Maximianus hurried to the scene of action, where he quickly drove back the savages into their desert, overran the greater part of Mauritania, and deprived them of certain strongholds in the mountains, whither they were wont to repair for refuge and the concealment of their plunder. Another exploit of the Emperor is fixed at the same period, but it is extremely doubtful whether it does not relate to the same occurrence. We are informed that an officer, called Julian, had assumed the Purple at Carthage; but we know not if he was encouraged to his rebellion by the presence of the Moorish invaders; or whether he had seduced the Roman garrison from their allegiance to favour his pretensions; or, finally, whether the disaffection of the troops had not compelled him to take the title of Sovereign and lead them into the field. The result is clearly narrated. Julian was defeated; upon which, despairing of mercy from the hands of the enraged Maximian, he stabbed himself with a dagger, and immediately leaped into a pile of flames.*

To suppress the disturbance in Egypt, where another Pretender had placed himself on the Throne, Diocletian resumed his arms, which appear to have been for some time laid aside. He opened the campaign by the siege of Alexandria; which he endeavoured to reduce by cutting off the aqueducts which conveyed the waters of the Nile into every quarter of that immense city, and by rendering his camp impregnable to every sally which the despair of the inhabitants might urge them to attempt. At the end of eight months, the resources as well as the courage of the garrison being exhausted, they resolved to throw themselves upon the mercy of the Emperor, who, irritated by their seditious and wavering temper, refused to exempt from military execution Achilles, the author of the rebellion, and the

principal accomplices of his guilt. The city, at length, was taken by storm, when an indiscriminate slaughter ensued of all ranks and ages; and those who fell not by the sword were condemned to the severer punishment of poverty and of exile. The magnificence of Alexandria was given up to the fury and rapacity of the soldiers, who had not learned to respect either its origin or its antiquities. Coptos and Busiris shared the same fate; being, by the orders of Diocletian, reduced and levelled with the ground. Extending his arms to the borders of Ethiopia, he inflicted a suitable chastisement upon the *Blennymes*; who, though by themselves an insignificant enemy, had, since the days of Firmus, ever shown the utmost readiness to aid the rebellious and the disaffected in the remoter parts of Egypt. To prevent their irruptions for the future, the Emperor invited a tribe of Nubians to take possession of an extensive range of country, above the Cataracts of the Nile, on condition that they should defend the frontiers of the lower Provinces against those Barbarians, with whom it was unworthy of the Legions to wage a regular war.*

The enemies of Diocletian have asserted, that in his Egyptian campaign he was not satisfied with the death of a rival who had dared to assume the Imperial ensigns, and with the ruin of all who had placed themselves under his banners, but that he directed his hostility against Science, and interdicted the most ingenious and interesting pursuits of Philosophy. He caused, says an Historian of the middle Ages, the most diligent inquiry to be made for all the ancient books which treated of the wonderful Art of producing gold and silver, and without remorse committed them to the flames; apprehensive lest the riches which the Egyptians should thereby procure, might inspire them with the resolution of rebelling against the Empire. But even were we to admit the fact now stated, the motive assigned for the conduct of the Emperor must appear exceedingly absurd. The wealth of a Province naturally flows into the treasury of the dominant State; and the precious metals of Egypt, accordingly, must soon have added to the power and magnificence of Rome. We may therefore conclude, that Diocletian proscribed Alchemy as a vain and pernicious imagination, fitted rather to dissipate gold than to create it; though it is still more probable that the accusation with which he is charged by a Monkish Writer originated in the malignity of a later age.†

We come now to record one of the most important events in the reign of Diocletian, his successful war against the Persians. Several reasons concurred at this time to induce the Romans to take up arms against their ancient enemies. They had not yet forgotten the indignity inflicted upon the Empire in the person of Valerian; the sudden retreat of Numerianus was still recent; and the King of Armenia, whose family had long held their crown under the protection of the Roman People, was again expelled from his country, and forced to seek an asylum in a foreign land. In the year 296 Narses was on the Throne of Persia; who, after crushing a rebellion at home, had carried his arms against Tiridates, the son of Chosroes, added Armenia, as we have just related, to his vast dominions, and was now, after the example of Sapor, his

Cains
Valerius
Diocletianus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
285.
to
305

Supposed
severity of
Diocletian.

He enters
into a war
with the
Persians.

* Aurel. Victor, de *Constantinis*. Eutrop. lib. ix. Euseb. Chron. in *ann.* Oros. lib. vii. c. 25.

† Join. Aubloch. *opud* Vales.

* Zosim. lib. i. *Panegy.* Vet. iv. 11.

Biography. warlike ancestor, preparing to stretch the limits of his sovereignty to the farthest parts of Asia Minor.*

The Emperor placed his head-quarters at the city of Antioch, whence he intended to direct the movements of his army. The immediate command of the Legions was intrusted to Galerius, whose duty on the Illyrian frontiers was in the meantime transferred to an Officer of inferior rank; when, equally confident in their strength and in the goodness of their cause, the two powerful hosts advanced to meet each other in the plains of Mesopotamia. Orosius narrates, that the Romans were three times worsted before they could be induced to yield ground; but the last action appears to have been so decisive, that only the scattered remains of their troops reached Antioch after a disgraceful flight. The young King of Armenia was in the battle, where, unsubdued by misfortune, he signalized his valour against the inveterate foes of his House. He was pursued as far as the Euphrates, on a wounded horse which could carry him no farther; but rather than surrender to the Persians, from whom he had reason to apprehend the most unworthy treatment, he plunged into the river, and at length reached in safety the opposite bank.†

Diocletian was greatly offended at the failure of Galerius; who, it should seem, was carried by the impetuosity of his temper to attack the enemy with an inadequate force, and on ground highly disadvantageous to the Roman infantry. He accordingly received the vanquished Caesar with the strongest expressions of indignation, and even compelled him to walk a considerable way by the side of his chariot before he would vouchsafe to answer his entreaties, that he might be supplied with another opportunity to retrieve his character, and avenge the cause of the Empire on the squadrons of Narses. Having drawn reinforcements from the hardy cohorts which served on the Danube, and strengthened his ranks by a large body of Gothic auxiliaries, who were taken into the Imperial pay, Galerius once more crossed the Euphrates, and waited the approach of his antagonist.

Taught by experience, he avoided the level plains on which he had found the Persian cavalry so formidable, and directed his march along the confines of Armenia, a hilly country, the inhabitants of which afforded him, at the same time, both supplies and intelligence. The enemy, elated by their recent success, had begun to despise the Romans and to neglect the safety of their own camp, whereupon Galerius, who had carefully examined their position, resolved to attack them in the night with his whole forces. The assault proved decisive. The army of Narses, consisting chiefly of horsemen, was thrown into confusion and totally routed: the King himself was wounded and compelled to continue his retreat into the deserts of Media; leaving in the hands of the conquerors his wife his children, and sisters, with all the wealth usually to be found in the tent of a Persian Monarch. The character of the Roman Caesar did not, indeed, present many points of resemblance to that of the renowned son of Philip; but on the present occasion he revived, in favour of his female captives, the generosity which has been so justly praised in the conduct of Alexander

towards the wife and daughter of Darius. He protected them from rapine and violence, conveyed them and their attendants to a place of safety, and commanded that they should be treated with the respect which became their sex and dignity.*

The vanquished Persians, upon finding that Diocletian was advancing from Antioch to follow up the victory which his son had just achieved, had immediate recourse to negotiation. Their Ambassadors, having arrived at the camp of Galerius, represented to the Romans that Peace was now become desirable to both Countries, and that the prolongation of the unfortunate war in which they were engaged could not fail to be productive of the greatest calamities, not only to themselves but to the Human race at large. Apharban, the principal speaker, represented the rival Empires as the two eyes of the world, and deplored on that ground the extinction of either. He also reminded the victor of the uncertainty and change which attached to all mortal grandeur, and besought him to exercise that moderation which became the Prince of a great People, and of which the Persians on similar occasions had given so many striking proofs. Galerius could no longer restrain his impatience. "Ill does it become you," he exclaimed, "to expatiate on the vicissitudes of Fortune, and on the forbearance which we ought to practise to one another; you, who, after obtaining by fraud the possession of an Emperor's person, kept him in the most painful captivity till the day of his death! Think of the clemency which you showed to Valerian, and then consider what you have a right to exact at our hands. But, he continued, it is not the practice of the Romans to trample on a beaten enemy; and, by the compassion which we are willing to bestow upon the supplicating Persians, we shall make manifest to the world that the soldiers of the West are not more gallant in the field of battle than merciful in the hour of victory.†

The unreflecting ambition of Galerius pointed, it was thought, to the complete and final subjugation of the Persian Empire, which he was desirous to add as a Province to that of Rome. But the mind of Diocletian, influenced by the wise maxims of Augustus and by the experience of Trajan, was disposed to pursue a more moderate policy; to humble the subjects of Narses, and strip them of a large portion of their territory, and thereby to deprive them of the means of renewing their incursions beyond the Euphrates. With this view he sent Sicorius Probus, one of his Secretaries, to explain to the Persian Court the terms on which Peace might be obtained. In the first place the Envoy was instructed to demand the entire relinquishment of Mesopotamia, the occasion of so many wars and disputes, and the cession to Rome of all the countries which extended from that Province to the Aboras, or Araxes, a stream which falls into the Tigris. The tract of land thus acquired, including Carduena, Arzarena, and Zaldicene, was of great value to Diocletian, because it formed a strong barrier on the Eastern limits of the Empire, and increased at the same time the number of his allies from among the hardiest and most warlike tribes of Asia. It was likewise stipulated that Armenia, upon being restored to Tiridates, should have

Caius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus.

From A. D. 285, to 305.

The Persians sue for Peace.

Galerius pour a decouvert son arriere.

* Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiil. Oros. lib. vii. c. 25. Zonar. lib. xlii. c. 31. p. 640.

† Mos. Choren. Armen. Hist. lib. ii. c. 76.

* Aurel. Victor. Pet. Pat. in Legat. Sex. Rufin.

† Aurel. Victor, Pet. Pat. in Legat. Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiil. Eutrop. lib. ix.

Biography. Its limits extended as far as Sintha, a fortress in Media, and be regarded as under the special protection of the Romans. The Kings of Iberia were, in like manner, relieved from their vassalage to the Persian Crown, and placed in a state of dependence on the Imperial Government; and as the people of that country had long been accustomed to the use of arms, and occupied the range of mountains which divides Asia Minor from the plains of Sarmatia, they proved to their new masters a powerful defence against the inroad of Barbarians still more ferocious than themselves. The last article of the Treaty respected the neutrality of Nisibis, as an emporium of merchandise for the mutual convenience of the two Empires; an arrangement which, although it appears to have promised the greatest advantages to Narses, was, nevertheless, the only condition of the Peace to which he thought proper, or was permitted, to make any objections.*

It continued It was in the year 297 that Diocletian effected the tranquility of the East, after which nearly half a century elapsed before the Persians ventured again to make an appeal to arms. This happy result was secured not less by the valour of the Legions than by the wisdom of the Emperor; who employed his victorious troops in strengthening the frontier, along the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Araxes, by a line of garrisons and several fortified towns. He bestowed particular care on the defences of Circesium, an important city in Mesopotamia, built at the junction of the first and last of the rivers now mentioned: by which means he rendered the chances of war so unfavourable to the enemy, that it was not until the Thrones of Rome, Persia, and Armenia were occupied by new Sovereigns, that any attempt was made to disturb the repose which Diocletian had established on so firm a basis.

Triumph of During the five or six years which followed the Persian campaign, the Emperor devoted his attention to the Arts of Peace, and particularly to the extension and embellishment of his Eastern Capital. Feeling none of the attachments inspired by birth to the land or to the city in which the Cæsars had first erected the Imperial Throne, he is supposed not to have visited Rome from the period when his election was confirmed by the Senate, till, after a reign of twenty years, he repaired thither to celebrate the Triumph which had been decreed to him and his colleague Maximianus. It was in the year 303, that he consented to commemorate his accession to power, and his victories over the enemies of the Empire, by taking a share in the pageantry which was wont to reward the most important services of Roman Generals. Unaccustomed to such spectacles, he acted his part in the splendid procession, rather as a matter of duty than of inclination or pride; displaying even on this occasion his characteristic regard to economy, and showing himself more desirous to maintain decorum than to kindle the feelings of gratulation and delight. His trophies were, indeed, drawn from the remotest parts of the earth, and testified the increasing boundaries of Roman dominion in the West as well as in the East. Persia and the British Isles, Africa and the Forests of Germany, the Rhine, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Thames supplied their respective tokens of subjugation, and added to the interest and magnificence of his Triumph. But Diocletian was not a Roman, and could

not take a share in the sentiments which prevailed every where around him. His austere manners and parsimonious habits provoked the sarcasm of the populace; who, comparing the restricted splendour of his Games with the recollection or description of those more brilliant exhibitions which had been given by Aurelian and Probus, conceived that their privileges had been violated and their wishes despised. This military pageant, however, has obtained in the eyes of posterity a distinction and an interest which it could not possess at the time; it was the last Triumph ever witnessed in the streets of Rome. The city of Romulus soon afterwards lost the honour of being the seat of Government; and the successors of Constantine did not long retain those warlike virtues, which used to adorn the Capital of the Empire with the trophies of vanquished Nations and tributary Provinces.*

Disgusted with the licentiousness of the people, Diocletian made immediate preparations for returning to Nicomedia, his favourite residence. He set out about the middle of December, careless of the severe weather which he must encounter in the mountainous district through which he had to pass; or ignorant, perhaps, of the effects which it was likely to produce upon a constitution diminished in its vigour by fatigue and anxiety. On his journey he fell into an alarming illness, from which he never completely recovered. The following winter he was confined to the palace; and when, in the month of March 305, he showed himself to his People, he was so pale and wasted by disease that he could scarcely be recognised by those to whom his person was the most familiar. In these circumstances he adopted a resolution, the motives of which cannot now be fully ascertained, to resign the cares of government, and to retire into the peaceful seclusion of private life. Lactantius ascribes this determination to the intriguing impatience of Galerius, who longed to exchange the subordinate rank of *Cæsar* for the full honours of *Augustus*, and who, with this view, urged his benefactor to vacate the Imperial office and dignities. But it is not necessary to descend into the depths of State policy, in search of reasons for a measure which appears to have been dictated by convenience and inclination. Nay, the very principle which had originally suggested to Diocletian the division of power and the increase of Sovereign Commanders, must now have demonstrated the expediency of confiding the Government to younger minds and more vigorous hands; and there can be little doubt, that before he left Rome he exacted of Maximianus a promise to imitate his example in this respect, and to transfer the weight of Public affairs to their adopted sons, and to such assistants as they might choose to appoint.†

But whatever might be the motives which induced Diocletian to divest himself of the Purple, he performed the ceremony of abdication with much solemnity and decorum. Having assembled the Army and People in a spacious plain about three miles from Nicomedia, he ascended a lofty throne, and in a speech full of affection and dignity, declared his intention and explained his future purposes: immediately after which he stepped into a covered chariot, passed through the city which he had rendered fit to be the Capital of a great Empire, and proceeded forthwith to Salona, a pleasant village

Cæsar
Valerius
Diocletianus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
285.
to
305.

Diocletian
returns to
Nicomedia,
and deter-
mines to re-
sign the
Empire.

He realizes
his purpose.

* Euseb. in *Chron.* Eutrop. lib. ix. c. 27. Lactant. de *Mort.* Pers. c. 38.

† Aurel. Victor.

* Pet. Pat. in *Legul.* Eutrop. lib. ix.

Biography.
From
A. D.
285,
to
305.

Reflections
on his plan of
Government

in his native Province Dalmatia, where he had resolved to spend the remainder of his life. Maximianus, on the same day, executed a similar resolution at Milan, now become the place of his usual abode. In this act of self-denial, so much at variance with his natural love of power, he yielded to the ascendancy which his wiser colleague had acquired over him, and immediately retired to a villa in Lucania, in search of that enjoyment which he had associated with his dreams of repose, but which neither his temper nor his habits were calculated to find amidst the scenes of tranquillity.*

Dioctetian lived eight or nine years after his abdication; but as he never again mingled in the affairs of Government, we may be permitted, at this stage of the narrative, to make a few remarks on the manner, the spirit, and the general objects of his Administration; the most remarkable that occurs between the era of Augustus and that of Constantine. If we consider his origin, as an Illyrian peasant, and an unlettered soldier of Fortune, the wise and comprehensive scheme which he devised for the maintenance of Civil subordination as well as of Military discipline, throughout the Empire, will appear truly astonishing. He saw, at the first glance, that the conquests of Rome had become much too extensive to be secured by a single executive authority, however active and intelligent; and remembering that the Emperor was, properly speaking, nothing more than the Commander-in-chief, he resolved to raise to that dignity three individuals, besides himself, who might exercise, in their several Provinces, the Imperial power, modified only by an obligation to support the unity of the Empire, and to act upon a recognised and uniform system of politics. By this judicious measure he removed at once the jealousy and the power of the different armies, all of whom were found to covet the honour of being led by the Sovereign, and who, to gratify their vanity or their avarice, were constantly setting up their favourite Chiefs as rival masters of the Roman State, the alternate tyrants and victims of military licentiousness. He divided the Empire into four great Provinces, in every one of which there were a supreme Head, an Imperial camp, and officers and guards suitable to the rank of such a Commander; while the fidelity of each army was secured, or, at least, its disaffection was rendered impotent, by the terror of the three others, which, under their respective Emperor or Cæsar, were immediately marched against it. Hence we are enabled to explain why Dioctetian sat twenty-one years on the Throne of Augustus, and retired at length into an honourable repose, leaving the theatre of the world to his younger and more active associates. During his long reign, there was no insurrection to shake the foundations of the Monarchy, or even to wrest the sceptre from the hands of any one of his colleagues, however unfortunate or unpopular. The Constitution was so equally balanced, that an exercise of strength in one quarter was uniformly compensated by corresponding vigour in some other; so that the four Sovereigns who wielded the energies of Europe and of Asia, found it their interest not less than their duty to confine their ambition within the limits of their several Governments. In short, he adjusted so exactly the elements of Civil and Military power, distributed them with so much wisdom, and opposed them to each other in portions so well calculated to check every tendency to excess, that he converted the instruments of sedition

and anarchy into the means of national security and confidence.

It was with a similar view that he diminished the number of the Prætorian Guards, those insolent and formidable soldiers who had so frequently assumed the right of giving away the Imperial diadem, and supplied their place by two faithful Legions of his own countrymen, who, under the titles of *Jovian* and *Herculean*, were appointed to perform the service of the Imperial household. Regarding the Senate, too, which since the days of Probus had recovered a part of its original influence, as an obstacle to the exercise of the simple despotism which he wished to establish in the person of the Emperors, he resolved to annihilate the power of that venerable Order, by transferring the seat of Government to a distance from Rome. The plan which Constantine realized had its origin in the profound policy of Dioctetian; and, in truth, before the son of Constantius ascended the Throne of the Cæsars, the foundations of the Eastern Empire were laid in the maxims which had prevailed since the death of Carinus. It has been judiciously observed, that as long as the Emperors resided in the ancient Capital, though the Senate might be oppressed it could not be entirely neglected. The successors of Augustus exercised the power of dictating whatever laws their wisdom or caprice might suggest; but those laws were ratified by the sanction of that Assembly. The model of ancient freedom was preserved in its deliberations and decrees; and wise Princes, who respected the prejudices of the Roman People, were in some measure obliged to assume the language and behaviour suitable to the General and first Magistrate of the Republic. In the Armies and in the Provinces they displayed the dignity of Monarchs; and when they fixed their residence at a distance from the Capital, they for ever laid aside the dissimulation which Augustus had recommended to those who were to inherit his power. In the exercise of the legislative as well as the executive authority, the Sovereign advised with his Ministers instead of the great Council of the Nation. The name of the Senate was mentioned with honour till the last period of the Empire; the vanity of its Members was still flattered with honorary distinctions; but the Assembly which had so long been the source, and so long the instrument of power, was respectfully suffered to sink into oblivion.*

It is, perhaps, a useless speculation to inquire whether the Roman Commonwealth still retained, in the time of Probus, a sufficient tincture of its original spirit and purity to have enabled it to throw off the corrupt taint which it had derived from its long association with arbitrary rule; and whether the Senators could have resumed so much of their ancient authority as to have checked the insubordination of the armies, and extended once more the Civil power of the Consul over that of the Military Commander. But, whatever may be the opinion entertained on the point now stated, there can be no doubt that the progress of despotism was accelerated at Rome, by the practice of nominating the first Magistrate of the State the principal officer of the Legions: for, although the term of command was short, and the General descended into the Citizen as soon as the hour of danger was past, the People were thereby accustomed to see the laws, civil and military, executed by the same person, and to obey in Peace the

Caius
Valerius
Dioctetianus
Augustus.
From
A. D.
285,
to
305.

Inquiry
whether the
Republic
could have
been re-
stored.

* Panegy. Vet. vii. 15.

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. xiii.

Biography.
From
A. D.
285.
to
305.

authority at which they were accustomed to tremble in War. It was, accordingly, to be expected, that the individual who found himself placed permanently at the head of the army, would soon forget the origin and nature of the power with which he was intrusted. The Civil offices of Consul, Proconsul, Censor, and of Tribune, by the union of which it had been formed, might, no doubt, remind him of its Republican extraction; but as all military jurisdiction is necessarily despotic, and must be exercised with a very slight respect to personal freedom or abstract rights, the Government of Rome could not fail to become arbitrary, as soon as the Commander-in-chief ceased to be elective. Had Probus thought fit to relinquish the prerogative conferred upon Augustus, and resigned his office at the end of the first year after his elevation to the Empire, he might have restored the Senate to vigour, and the Constitution to the activity of its first principles. The title which he bore, it is true, denoted originally no higher rank than that of General of the Roman armies; but it had, long prior to his accession, assumed a more lofty import, and was felt to convey the unlimited authority of the most powerful of all Princes, a Military Sovereign. It is probable, therefore, that before the reign of the Emperor just named, the influence of custom had become too strong for that of a mere speculative reverence for ancient institutions; and that the Sword had too long triumphed over the Gown to permit the existence of a rational hope pointed towards the restoration of Public liberty.

His pomp
and manners
of Eastern
Sovereignty.

Diocletian did not attempt to imitate the example of his Pannonian predecessor, nor to amuse the Romans with the exhibition of a phantom which he had no intention to clothe with reality. He saw that the time was come when all the power of the State must be concentrated in the Emperor, and when those who commanded the Legions must direct the general affairs of the Government at home and abroad. With this view he, perhaps, judged wisely, when he resolved to withdraw the exercise of such power from the eyes of the Senate, and to establish in a part of the Empire where magnificent titles and unrestricted authority were more familiar, his new system of honours and of administration. On the confines of Asia he deemed it expedient to adopt the dress and to inculcate the manners of Eastern nations. Laying aside the military cloak of Purple, which alone distinguished the Imperial Commander from the other Officers with whom he served, he assumed the more splendid robes of the Persian Court. He adopted also a diadem, that ornament so much detested by the Romans as the ensign of Royalty, and the use of which had been considered as the most desperate act of the madness of Caligula. Multiplied forms and ceremonies obstructed access to the gates of the Palace; and when a subject was at length admitted into the Imperial presence, it was expected that he should fall prostrate on the ground, and adore, according to the Oriental fashion, the divinity of his lord and master. The general character and subsequent conduct of Diocletian will not allow us to ascribe to mere personal vanity the ostentation which he established at Nicomedia. He flattered himself, it has been supposed, that the sight of so much splendour and luxury would subdue the imagination of the multitude; that the Monarch would thereby be protected from the rude license of the People and of the soldiers; and that habits of submission would

insensibly be productive of sentiments of veneration.*

The support of such an establishment necessarily implied the existence of a regular system of taxation. We find, accordingly, that the reign of Diocletian is distinguished in the Annals of Rome as a season of severe oppression, and of multiplied grievances. In former times the state of an Emperor did not require a permanent revenue of great amount; and, if we except the occasional extravagance of Nero, and of two or three similar characters, we shall find that the Romans had no cause to complain that their wealth was squandered on the pleasures or magnificence even of the most tyrannical Princes. A life spent in a camp, and frequently in the presence of an active enemy, presented few temptations to indulge in expensive show or sensual enjoyments. But when the more luxurious and majestic system of Diocletian was established, the Romans beheld four Sovereigns in different parts of the Empire, contending with each other for the vain superiority of pomp and grandeur; multiplying the number of their servants and officers beyond all example; and crowding every department of the State with dependents, who at once encouraged and imitated their profusion. Deploring the misery which resulted from such a condition of things, Lactantius asserts, that those who were maintained upon the public taxes, exceeded those who contributed to them, and hence that the Provinces were oppressed by the weight of imposts and every other species of exaction. It is admitted, indeed, even by those Historians who condemn this Emperor for giving birth to a scheme so pernicious to the Commonwealth, that the evil, during his reign, was confined within the bounds of moderation; that the Revenue was managed with prudence and economy; that after all the expenses of the Government were discharged, there still remained in the Imperial treasury a sum which could be spared for the ornaments of peace, or for the exigences of war; and, consequently, that he merited the reproach of fixing a bad precedent, rather than of exercising an actual oppression.

But the character of Diocletian may be most distinctly appreciated, from the tranquil resolution with which he descended from the throne and retired into the privacy of domestic life. When the impatient and ambitious spirit of Maximianus attempted to place him once more on the theatre of public affairs, he replied, that if he had an opportunity to show to his colleague the excellent kitchen garden which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he would no longer urge him to relinquish the enjoyment of an undisturbed repose for the uneasy distinctions of Imperial greatness.† His remarks, also, on the difficulty of governing will prove that he had studied to perform his duty as a ruler, and, moreover, that his success had not, on all occasions, corresponded to the sincerity of his endeavours. They have been preserved by Vopiscus, whose father, we are assured, heard them from the lips of the Emperor himself. "Often, said Diocletian, do four or five individuals combine to deceive their Sovereign, and to tell him things which have no foundation in fact. The Prince, shut up in his Palace,

Caius
Valerius
Diocletianus
Augustus.
From
A. D.
285.
to
305.
Taxation.

Moderation
of Diocle-
tian.

His remarks
on the diffi-
culty of go-
verning &c]

* Aurel. Victor. Eutrop. lib. ix. c. 26. *Panegy. Feti. Lactant. de Mort. Pera. c. 39. &c.*

† *Utinam Salomon posset vivere cetera nostra manibus instituta, profecto nunquam satum tentandum judicaret.* Aurel. Victor, *Epit. 54.*

Biography. has no means of arriving at the truth, and is compelled to believe what they are pleased to communicate. Hence, he promotes men who are unfit for the employment with which they are intrusted; and he removes from his service others whose fidelity and worth give them the best claim to his confidence. In short, by the collusion of a few unprincipled courtiers, a benevolent and even a cautious Monarch, animated too with the best intentions, is frequently betrayed and sold; his power is rendered an instrument to effect the worst purposes, and his exertions for the public good are converted into the means of injustice and oppression.*

Character. After this acknowledgment we ought not to be surprised, when we are informed that he was sometimes suspicious, and unwilling to resign himself to the professions of those who were the most ready to offer their services. Being taught by experience the necessity of reserve, he has been charged with timidity and artifice in the conduct of his Government; and although it is admitted that he was singularly fortunate in the choice of the best instruments for effecting his purposes, the Historians of his reign insinuate that his prudence was not always free from insincerity, and that in the selection of his Ministers he was influenced much more by regard to his own interest than by esteem for the character of the individuals whom he promoted. The qualities of his mind are supposed to have presented a considerable resemblance to those of Augustus, the founder of the Empire. Neither of these Princes was a stranger to dissimulation, while both proved excellent rulers, from a certain innate love of peace, as well as from an unusual dexterity in identifying the welfare of the State with their more secret views of personal aggrandizement.†

The few years which he passed at Salona after his resignation of the Throne, were devoted to those pleasures in which a mind unembued with Literature finds the readiest amusement and relaxation. He built, he planted and improved his fields; but the most splendid monument of his taste was the Palace which he erected at Spalatro, a delightful spot about six or seven miles distant from his native village. A modern who has described the ruins of this ancient edifice informs us, that the "soil is dry and fertile, the air pure and wholesome; and though extremely hot during the summer months, the country seldom feels those sultry and noxious winds, to which the coasts of Istria and some parts of Italy are exposed. The views from the Palace are no less beautiful than the soil and climate are inviting. Towards the West lies the fertile shore that stretches along the Adriatic, in which a number of small Islands are scattered in such a manner as to give this part of the sea the appearance of a great lake. On the North side lies the bay which led to the ancient city of Salona; and the country beyond it, appearing in slight, forms a proper contrast to that more extensive prospect of water, which the Adriatic presents both to the South and to the East. Towards the North the view is terminated by high and irregular mountains, situated at a proper distance, and in many places covered with villages, woods, and vineyards." In this favourite retreat Diocletian ended his days in the year 313; not without suspicion of having had recourse to a voluntary death, to which he is said to have been urged by the misfortunes of his family, and the crimes of his former associates.*

Calus
Valerius
Diocletianus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
285.
to
305.
Palace of
Spalatro.

Death of
Diocletian.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS AUGUSTUS.

FROM A. D. 305 TO 306.

Biography. The retirement of Diocletian and Maximianus was immediately followed by the accession of the two *Cæsars*, Constantius and Galerius, to the Imperial Throne. The plan of Government required that the new Emperors should each appoint an assistant, to occupy the second rank in the State, and to command the Legions in their respective Provinces. Galerius, whose ambitious views are said to have extended to the possession of the whole Empire, hastily usurped the privilege of election; and named as *Cæsars*, his own nephew Daza, or Maximinus, and Severus, an officer of rank and ability, but more distinguished, perhaps, for his attachment to his master than for virtue or professional reputation.‡

This arrangement excluded from power the son of Maximianus, who had married a daughter of Galerius, as also the heir of Constantius, the celebrated Constantine, who was at that period resident at Nicomedia, a visitor or a hostage in the hands of Diocletian. The former of these young men was rejected on account of his rough and disrespectful manners, which gave great offence to his father-in-law; the latter was confined to a private station, because it was apprehended that, if once invested with sovereign authority, his aspiring genius could not rest satisfied with any degree under the very highest.

Maximinus could not conceal the reluctance with which he conferred upon Severus the ornaments of his new dignity. But Constantius, whose health was much impaired, and whose temper was naturally calm and pacific, submitted to the decision of his colleague

Constantius
Chlorus
Augustus.

From
A. D.
305.
to
306.

Two new
Cæsars, Se-
verus and
Maximin.

* *Ego a patre meo autici, Diocletianum Principem, jam privatum, curare nihil esse difficultus quam bene imperare, &c.* Vopisc. in *Aurel.* c. 43.

† *Aurel. Victor, Epit. Parum honesta in amicos fides.* Eutrop. lib. x. c. 1, 2.

‡ Eutrop. lib. x. c. 1.

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* *Morte consentit, ut satis patuit, per fornicatorem, Aurel. Victor, Epit.*

Biography. without a murmur. Galerius, therefore, found himself the master of the greater part of the Roman dominions. He governed, in person, Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia Minor; he intrusted to Maximin the important Provinces of Egypt and Syria; while he confided to the command of Severus the whole of Italy as well as that part of Africa which stretches from Cyrene to the Western Ocean. Constantius, on the other hand, saw in the administration of the Civil and military duties connected with Gaul, Spain, and Britain, a sufficient field for the exercise of his talents, his virtues, and his ambition. His age, not less than the rank which he had held under Diocletian, entitled him indeed to the precedence in the Empire, a distinction which does not appear to have been disputed by his more assuming and imperious colleague; but it is manifest, at the same time, that both from the situation of his Government and the limits within which his power was restricted, the successor of Diocletian did not inherit the full share of his authority.

The Empire It has been maintained by several writers, ancient as well as modern, that upon the accession of Constantius and Galerius the Roman Empire was actually divided. But there is no evidence on record that any departure was made, on this occasion, from the principle introduced by Diocletian, or that the distribution of Provinces among the four rulers implied any thing more than a convenient allotment of supreme authority, to be exercised for the benefit of the whole. Whatever might be the scheme contemplated by the intriguing mind of Galerius, his plans for its accomplishment were soon thwarted by the troubles which ensued in the East as well as in the West, and, more especially, by the rising fortunes of Constantine, who ultimately succeeded in reuniting under one Head the extensive dominions of Rome, and in consolidating, once more, in a single hand, the scattered portions of Imperial power.*

Constantine escapes from Nicomedia.

The distinguished person just named was, as we have already mentioned, at the Court of Nicomedia when the late Emperors executed their purpose of retiring from the Throne. His affable disposition, his handsome figure, and above all, his military qualities had recommended him to the Legions and to the people, as a worthy candidate for the vacant office of *Cæsar*. His relationship, besides, to the Sovereign of the West, the acknowledged Head of the Empire, gave to his claims so much the appearance of right, that the elevation of the rude Maximin and of the pliant Severus, was regarded as a positive injury inflicted on the son of Constantius. Such symptoms of popular favour could not fail to exasperate the jealousy of Galerius, and to increase the danger of the young Prince; whose departure, although earnestly solicited by his father, was delayed from time to time under the most frivolous pretences. Permission being at length obtained, Constantine, who suspected the intentions of the tyrant, set out from Nicomedia in the night; and travelling with the utmost speed through Bithynia, Thrace, Dacia, Pannonia, Italy, and Gaul, he arrived on the Western coast of the last named Country, just in time to join the Legions which were about to sail for Britain, to make war upon the Caledonians.†

Having subdued the Northern Barbarians, Constantius returned to York, where he died in the month of July in the year 306. Finding his end drawing near, he announced to the army that he had appointed Constantine the sole heir of his power, and desired that they would honour and obey him as their future Emperor. The troops, who were deeply attached to the cause of their master, took pleasure in complying with his last request; and no sooner did he expire, than they saluted his son by the title of *Augustus*, and prepared to invest him with the Purple. Ambition as well as prudence whispered to Constantine the expediency of accepting the high office to which he was thus invited. He forthwith wrote to Galerius, that death had deprived himself and the Empire of a parent, and that the Legions, actuated by a feeling of strong affection for their late Commander, had substituted in his place the individual who now addressed him, and who, as he had not been able to obtain power in a regular and Constitutional manner, would have been much more gratified to see it bestowed elsewhere. The Emperor of the East received the intelligence with a burst of passion, during which he threatened to cast both the messenger and the letter into the flames; but, when his resentment subsided, he saw the folly of questioning an appointment which he could not annul, and he, accordingly, acknowledged the son of his former colleague Sovereign of all the countries beyond the Alps, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. But he refused to ratify the nomination of the soldiers in so far as it respected the rank which they had bestowed upon Constantine; degrading him to the lowest place among the four Princes of the Empire, and clothing his dependent Severus with the dignity of Augustus.*

But the harmony of the Empire, which the new *Cæsar* was unwilling to disturb, was soon violated by the turbulent ambition of Maxentius, the son of Maximianus, who appears to have fixed his residence at Rome. Galerius, following the example of Diocletian, attempted to humble the Capital, by reducing still further the establishment of Prætorian Guards, by imposing taxes on all classes of the People, and by removing from it the last remains of Republican freedom and even of Imperial grandeur. Five hundred years had passed since the Romans, by their extensive conquests, were relieved from the burden of contributing to the necessities of the State; and they could not now endure with patience the insolence of an Illyrian peasant, who from his Throne on the confines of Asia, presumed to number the descendants of Brutus and of Scipio among the tributaries of his distant Empire. Stimulated by the dissatisfaction which prevailed everywhere around him, as well as by the success of Constantine, who had boldly laid his hand upon the honours which were denied to his birth, Maxentius placed himself at the head of the few Guards who were still allowed to continue embodied, invited the other troops to join his standard, and concluded by openly assuming the Purple.†

It is doubtful whether Maximianus was privy to this conspiracy on the part of his son; but no sooner was the standard of rebellion displayed than he left his retirement, to aid, by his counsel and military experience,

Constantius Chlorus Augustus

From A. D. 305. to 306.

Constantius dies at York and nominates Constantine his heir.

Maxentius seizes the Purple. Oct. 306

Maximian returns power.

* Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. c. 13. Euseb. *lib. 2.*

† Zosim. *lib. ii.* Lactant. *de Mort. Pera.*

* Euseb. *Panegy. Vet. Victor, Epit. Euseb. in Vid. Const. Euseb. Hist. lib. viii. c. 13. Liban. Orat. lib. 2.*

† Lactant. *de Mort. Pera.* c. 25. *Panegy. Vet. in Max. et Const. Zosim. lib. ii. Aurel. Victor, Epit.*

Example. the enemies of Galerius. Imagining that his authority would be more respected were he again seated on the Throne, he readily listened to the suggestion of the Senate, who advised him to resume the power which he had been induced to relinquish, and to wrest from an unworthy minion the sceptre of Italy, and of the African Provinces. In consequence of this resolution,

the Empire beheld six Princes invested with a species of independent sovereignty; some of them inflamed with the most hostile intentions towards the others; and all of them more disposed to pursue objects of personal aggrandizement than to support the unity of system recommended by Diocletian.

Constantine
Chlorus
Augustus.
From
A. D.
305.
to
306.

GALERIUS, MAXIMIANUS, MAXENTIUS, MAXIMINUS, LICINIUS, CONSTANTINUS.

FROM A. D. 306 TO 323.

Example. It is not improbable that Severus was at Milan, or even a still remoter part of his Province, when he received intelligence that Maxentius was in arms, and that Maximianus was again adorned with the insignia of Empire. That he was not at Rome is manifest from the events which took place in the very beginning of the Civil War which immediately ensued; for the Capital was seized and its gates shut against him, before he had time to recover from the consternation into which his mind was thrown by an occurrence at once so alarming and unexpected. Finding himself abandoned by his troops, whom bribery or ancient attachment had drawn over to the ranks of the usurper, he fled to Ravenna; where, it is likely, he meant to resist the impression of his enemies until he should be relieved by Galerius, who was still master of the sea, and at the head of a numerous and veteran army. Maximianus pursued him thither, and began to make preparations for a vigorous assault; but perceiving that the city was strong and well supplied with provisions, he resolved to effect his object rather by stratagem than by the tedious operations of a siege. He instructed certain emissaries, who had found admittance within the walls, to persuade Severus that a conspiracy was formed to betray the town into the hands of the insurgents; and that it would be wiser to accept the terms of an honourable capitulation than to incur the hazard of being delivered up to the rage of an offended conqueror. The plot succeeded; and Severus confided his life to the promises of Maximianus, who assured him that, except the loss of rank, he had nothing to apprehend. But the dangers which beset a captive Prince are proverbially great; and, in the present case, we find that, after the usual expressions of respect and sympathy which console the sufferings of a fallen Monarch, Severus was conducted a prisoner to Rome, where the only kindness which he received was a choice of the easiest means by which he might become his own executioner.*

Example. The death of Severus did not, however, relieve Maximianus and his son from their fears of Galerius, who was already hastening to revenge the catastrophe which he had not been able to prevent. For this reason the aged Emperor crossed the Alps to hold a con-

ference with Constantine, and to induce him to unite his forces with those of Maxentius against their common enemy: on which occasion the Sovereign of Gaul received from the hand of his new ally his daughter as a bride, (to whom he was united with great magnificence at Arles, *Arelatum*), and the Imperial Purple, of which he had been divested by the jealousy of Galerius. This confederacy completely defeated the designs of the Eastern despot; for when he entered Italy he found every town fortified and prepared to dispute his progress, while Constantine with a large army had advanced to the frontier and threatened to cut off his retreat. It does not appear that any general engagement took place; but so great were the losses of the invader by desertion and other casualties, that when he arrived at Narni (*Narnia*), about sixty miles from the Capital, he felt himself reduced to the necessity of proposing terms of accommodation. His offers being rejected with contempt and firmness, he was compelled to give the signal to retire; upon which, he had the mortification to discover that many of the veteran soldiers whom he had brought for the conquest of Italy, abandoned his standard, and refused to employ their arms any longer against the native Country of the Cæsars. It is observed by Lactantius, that if the pursuit had been conducted with spirit, Galerius must have been totally destroyed; but Constantine, more desirous to weaken his enemy than to annihilate him, allowed his scattered Legions to pass unmolested, while Maxentius, elated with present success, thought not of the means of securing his ascendancy. He even permitted the Illyrian fugitives to lay waste the finest parts of the Roman territory, and to carry away the wealth which the inhabitants had refused to contribute for their support; and satisfied that such Barbarians were urging a hasty retreat, he calmly followed their steps through burning villages and desolated fields, without attempting to impede their march or provoke them to battle.*

Before Galerius set out on this unfortunate expedition, he intrusted his friend Licinius with the government of the Sarmatian frontier; and, when he returned, he expressed his gratitude for the faithful services of his Lieutenant by raising him to the first rank in the Empire. It is extremely probable, that his

Galerius,
Maximian,
Maxentius,
Maximinus,
Licinius,
Constantine.
From
A. D.
306.
to
323.

Licinius
raised to the
Empire.
Nov. 307.

* Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. 26. Aurel. Victor, Epit. Zosim. lib. ii. Euseb. in Vit. Const.

* Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. 28. Zosim. lib. ii. l. 2

Biography. object in this arrangement was to provide a successor to Severus, and to place on the Throne of Italy an Emperor devoted to his interests, and with sufficient talent and ambition to protect the honours with which he himself was now invested. In pursuance of these views he confided to his Imperial colleague the command of Dacia and Pannonia; being still determined to punish the usurpation of Maxentius, whom he never acknowledged, and to strip Constantine once more of the Purple, which he had a second time dared to assume. But new difficulties arose whence he least expected them; for no sooner was intelligence conveyed into Syria, that Licinius had been elevated to the station of *Augustus*, than Maximin, disdaining the inferior name of *Cæsar*, boldly challenged an equal title. Unable to oppose the violent resolution of his nephew, Galerius, after trying some expedients which were rejected, agreed to accord to him and to the son of Constantius the highest honours of the State; and thus the Roman world for the first time saw its government in the hands of six Emperors, without unanimity or subordination.*

Plots of Maximianus against Maxentius and Constantine. It was not, therefore, to be expected that men of such opposite characters and views could long act together, or approve the same principles of administration; but, perhaps, the people of Rome were not prepared to witness the first tokens of dissension either in their own immediate neighbourhood, or between a father and his son. Maxentius, unwilling to possess a divided Empire, opposed the interference of Maximianus; who, irritated at the ingratitude, the furious temper, and depraved morals of the other, left his Court and went into Gaul. After failing to excite Constantine to take arms against the Italian Emperor, he is said to have had recourse, for the same purpose, to Galerius his implacable enemy; to whose plans against their common relation he was now very eager to become subservient. It was on this occasion, too, that he used his utmost efforts to prevail upon Diocletian to resume the Purple; who, more pleased with his rural occupations, wisely declined the arduous duties in which his ancient colleague wished him to engage. But, in the East as well as in the West, Maximianus found his character suspected and his schemes pronounced impracticable; wherefore he soon afterwards retired from the dominions of Galerius, and sought a final refuge in the territory of his son-in-law beyond the Alps. He was received with kindness by this politic Prince; who, though he concurred in the expediency of his resigning a rank which had ceased to be accompanied with power, still treated him with the respect due to his age and dignity, permitted him to retain all the magnificence which belonged to his former office, and at every public ceremony gave him the highest place of honour. Maximianus made not a suitable return for such generous usage. Constantine was called to the banks of the Rhine to defend his borders against the Barbarians; an expedition in which he employed only a part of his troops, the remainder of whom he left in the Southern Provinces to watch the movements of his Italian neighbours. The old Emperor, seduced by this opportunity to ascend a Throne, or misled by a rumour that his son-in-law had perished in the field, lavished upon the soldiers an immense treasure which he found in the city of Arles, and once more arrayed

himself in the Sovereign Purple. The speedy return of Constantine disconcerted all his measures and put a period to his life. After a vain attempt to maintain Marseilles in the face of a victorious army, he found that an irrevocable sentence of death was pronounced against him; the mode of executing which being left to his own choice, gave rise to a report, prevalent among the Historians of the time, that he fled from remorse and despair to an act of voluntary suicide.*

The reign of Galerius did not extend much more than a year beyond that of Maximianus. The disorderly course of life which he pursued was visited with a severe punishment in the form of a loathsome and incurable disease, which terminated his days, in the month of May, 311, at Sardica, the capital of Dacia, his native country. The character of this Prince, though stained with many foul passions, appeared to some advantage as long as he held the subordinate station of *Cæsar*, and acknowledged the superior wisdom and virtues of Diocletian. His administration, after he attained the rank of *Augustus*, was not distinguished either by success in war, or by those studies and improvements which confer an ornament on Peace. It is asserted, indeed, that he spent the few years which he survived after his Italian campaign, in clearing from wood an extensive district in Pannonia, and in rescuing from the waters of the lake Pelso a fertile plain in the same Provinces, to which in honour of his wife he gave the name of *Valeria*; but the destructive hand of time has long effaced the patriotic labours of Galerius, and the Danube has again converted the fine fields which he had prepared for the plough, into a useless and deformed marsh.†

The death of the Eastern Emperor was regarded by Maximian and Licinius as a signal to collect their forces, with the intention of disputing or of dividing the dominions which had been under his personal government. An amicable distribution prevented an appeal to the sword. It was agreed that the former should receive, in addition to Syria and Egypt, the rich Provinces of Asia Minor; and that the latter should be established master of all the territory bounded by the Hellespont, the Danube, and the Adriatic. The narrow straits which connect the Black Sea and the Mediterranean constituted the mutual limits of their Empire; the shores of which were soon covered with camps and fortifications, affording thereby the most striking evidence that Europe and Asia, though parts of one great Political Body, were no longer under one Head, nor devoted to one interest. A secret Treaty is said to have speedily united the views of Constantine and Licinius; while Maxentius in Italy, and Maximin in Syria, resolved to consult their security by entering into a similar league.‡

It is not a little remarkable, that although Constantine, Licinius, and Maximin recognised one another's title to the rank of *Augustus*, they unanimously refused this honour to Maxentius, who possessed the ancient seat of Government and the important Provinces of Italy and Africa. On the other hand, it is true, the Italian Emperor considered himself as the only Sovereign Prince, and described his three colleagues as merely his

Galerius.
Maximian
Maxentius
Maximianus
Licinius
Constantine.

From A. D. 306. to 323
Death of Galerius, May, 311.

Maximian and Licinius divide his dominions.

Maxentius prepares to attack Constantine.

* Eutrop. lib. x. Aurel. Victor, *Epist.* Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. x.

• Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 32. Euseb. *in Panegyric. Vet. lib. vii.* c. 14. Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 29. Zosim. lib. ii. † Aurel. Victor, c. 40. Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 33. ‡ Euseb. lib. ix. c. 6, 10. Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* c. 36. Zosim. lib. ii.

Death of Maximianus

Biography. Lieutenants, appointed to defend the frontiers against the Barbarians of the East and of the North. His proximity to Constantine, whom he regarded with equal hatred and suspicion, soon involved the Western parts of the Empire in war. He affected to bewail the death of his father, who had fallen a victim to the just resentment of that Emperor, and to be seriously offended upon hearing that his titles had been erased and his statues thrown down by the same authority. He therefore gave orders to inflict a severe retaliation upon all the statues which had been erected to Constantine in any part of Italy or Africa; and openly avowing his pretensions to the undivided Monarchy of the West, he prepared a large army to invade the Gallic Provinces by the way of the Rhetian Alps. His forces, drawn from Italy and Africa, are said to have amounted to nearly two hundred thousand men, including about twenty thousand cavalry in heavy armour. Constantine did not remain long ignorant of these formidable preparations; for the Senate, apprehensive that Maxentius, should he prove victorious, would employ his success to rivet their chains more closely, sent ambassadors to conjure him, in the name of the Roman People, to deliver their Country from a detested tyrant. This appeal to his generosity coincided with the views of his ambition; and accordingly, without weighing the reasons which were urged by the more timid of his Generals against an enterprise so full of hazard, he resolved to anticipate the movements of his enemy, and to carry the war at once into the heart of his dominions.*

History.
From
A. D.
306.
to
323.

At the head of ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse the Sovereign of Gaul entered the passes of the Alps, through which he marched his squadrons with so much expedition, that he was ready to pour down upon the plains of Italy before Maxentius had received information of his departure from the banks of the Rhine. Susa, a place of some strength at the foot of Mount Cenis, manifested a disposition to check his progress; but Constantine, too sensible of the value of time, in such circumstances, to have recourse to the tedious forms of a regular siege, resolved to reduce it by an immediate assault. Accordingly, applying fire to the gates and scaling-ladders to the walls, he led his veterans to the charge, who soon compelled the inhabitants to submit at discretion. From thence he directed his steps towards Turin; in the neighbourhood of which he found a powerful army assembled, and prepared to give him battle. Its principal strength consisted in a large body of heavy horse, equipped after the manner of Eastern nations, and disciplined according to the mode of warfare practised in Egypt and Syria. The experience of Constantine suggested a method of attack which rendered their massive armour not only useless, but positively injurious and destructive: and, having defeated the cavalry, he obtained, at less expense of bloodshed, a complete triumph over the raw levies which the Lieutenants of Maxentius had drawn into the field. The fugitives sought refuge in Turin; but the citizens having declared for the conqueror, shut their gates, and beheld with satisfaction the slaughter of those mercenaries, whose arms the tyrant had threatened to use for the entire subjugation of the Western Empire. This example was immediately followed by almost all the cities between the

Alps and the Po; which were willing to regard the son of Constantine rather as the friend of Roman Liberty, than as the ambitious rival of a Prince whom he had resolved to expel from the Throne.*

The Generals of Maxentius made a second attempt near Brescia to drive back the invader; but their troops being inferior both in skill and bravery to the Gallic Legions, they found it necessary to retreat under the walls of Verona. Ruscus Pompeianus, an officer of great reputation, commanded the Province of Venetia, and discharged, at the same time, the duties of Imperial Lieutenant. Confiding in the strength of the fortifications, he threw himself with a powerful garrison into the city; hoping by that expedient to employ the activity of Constantine until a large army, under Maxentius in person, should advance from Rome to crush the assailant. But Ruscus soon had reason to apprehend that Verona would fall before the Emperor could reach the banks of the Adige; for which cause he retired privately from the town, and employed his utmost zeal in raising such a force as might be sufficient to meet Constantine in the field, or, at least, compel him to raise the siege. The Sovereign of Gaul was not intimidated by this unexpected movement; but leaving a part of his army to occupy the attention of the garrison, he placed himself at the head of those cohorts on whose valour and attachment he could principally depend, and advanced to anticipate the designs of Pompeianus. A furious battle ensued, which terminated in the complete discomfiture of the Italians, who had to bewail their brave commander among the number of the slain, and to blush for the greater portion of their soldiers, who surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Verona immediately opened her gates to the conqueror; Aquileia and Modena invited him to take possession of their territory; and no obstacle now remained to retard his progress until he should arrive on the borders of the Tiber.†

Maxentius, still detained in Rome by its pleasures and amusements, was at length roused to a sense of his danger; and urged by the clamours and reproaches of the people, he consented to lead forth the Prætorians and such other troops as could be raised on that emergency, to make one vigorous effort for the defence of his Capital. It was with no small pleasure that Constantine, upon reaching a place called the Red Rocks, (*Sara Rubra*), within nine miles of the city, saw the army of his antagonist drawn up in order of battle, along the Eastern bank of the river; which, at once, protected their rear and cut off their retreat. The troops on both sides, actuated by the strongest passions, and seeing before them only the simple alternative of victory or of inevitable destruction, prepared for the combat with a cool and unalterable determination. The Prætorians, in particular, who had provoked the indignation of Constantine, looked for no mercy at his hands, and accordingly opened their breasts to the most powerful emotions of revenge and despair. But these feelings were of little avail when opposed by the steady valour of practised soldiers. The persevering efforts of the Guards procured for them nothing more than an honourable death; the praise of covering with their dead bodies the ground which they had occupied before the commencement of the fight. The other troops of Maxentius sought safety by rushing into the deep and

Maxentius,
Maximinus,
Constantine,
Licinius.

From
A. D.
306.
to
323.

His further
successes.

Final vic-
tory near
Rome.

* Zosim. lib. ii. Zonar. lib. xiii. Panegyrg. Vet. ix. x.

* Panegyrg. Vet. ix. 3, 10, 11.

† Panegyrg. Vet. ix.

Biography.

From
A. D.
306.
to
323.

rapid current of the Tiber; while he himself, attempting to return into the city over the Milvian bridge, was forced by the crowd of runaways into the water, where he was immediately drowned or crushed to death. His head presented to the people on the top of a spear, convinced them that their deliverance from a hated despot was now achieved, and prepared them to receive with acclamations of loyalty and gratitude, a hero who equalled in the rapidity of his conquests the first and greatest of the Cæsars.*

Policy of Constantine.

Constantine used his victory with moderation and clemency. He, indeed, put to death the two sons of the tyrant, but when the voice of the people called for a greater number of victims, he loudly condemned the sanguinary disposition which he had resolved not to gratify. Influenced by prudence rather than by revenge, he abolished for ever the Pretorian Guards whom Maxentius had restored to their wonted privileges and number. He destroyed their camp, which had assumed the form and even the strength of a fortress; taking care to disperse the remainder of that formidable body of troops among the Legions which were stationed on the remotest frontiers. But he carried not his severities any farther. On the contrary, he made haste to pass a general act of oblivion, which secured to his subjects, as well in Italy as in Africa, the full possession of life and property. In return, he received from the Senate the compliment of the first rank among the three Emperors who continued to govern the Roman World; the honour of various Games and Festivals decreed to commemorate his exploits; and, finally, a Triumphal Arch, which the Capital of the Empire had no longer sufficient talent to complete, without stripping of its ornaments an edifice consecrated to the memory of the illustrious Trajan.†

War between Maximian and Licinius.

While the two Emperors of the West were disputing the Sovereignty of Rome, those of the East awaited with deep interest the issue of the conflict; aware that one or both of them would soon become the victim of the conqueror. Before Constantine engaged in the war he secured the friendship of Licinius, to whom he had promised his favourite sister in marriage. Maximian, the Sovereign of Asia, had from similar motives attached himself to the fortunes of Maxentius; whom he aided, however, not by appearing in the field against the armies of Gaul, but by occupying the attention of the Illyrian Emperor on the Eastern frontier of his Provinces. After the conquest of Italy was completed by the victory at the Tiber, Constantine invited his ally to meet him at Milan, where the latter might celebrate his nuptials in a manner suited to his rank as well as to the happy circumstances in which the Empire was now placed.

But the two Princes were not long permitted to enjoy the festivity, by which they had meant to cement the union of their families and of their political interests. An irruption of the Barbarians summoned Constantine to the Rhine, while Licinius received information that Maximian, at the head of a large army, had invaded Bithynia, and threatened to lay waste the richest Provinces of Asia Minor. As this inroad was made in the very depth of winter, the Syrian Legions suffered

greatly from the severity of the more Northern climate into which they were conducted; and, accordingly, before they reached the Thracian Bosphorus, many of the soldiers had sunk under fatigue and cold, and had lost, owing to bad roads and rapid movements, the most valuable part of their heavy baggage. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, Maximian, who had still under his command about seventy thousand veterans, reduced Byzantium before Licinius could collect a sufficient force to hazard a battle. At length the Illyrian cohorts appeared in the field, to the amount of thirty thousand men. An obstinate engagement took place, in which military skill in their leader had to contend against superior numbers aided by discipline and long experience in war. The talents of Licinius finally prevailed over the ignorant impetuosity of his antagonist. Maximian sustained a decisive defeat, and fled in the utmost consternation towards Syria; but stopping at Tarsus, to recruit his army and to watch the movements of the conqueror, he fell a victim either to disease or to violence, in the course of three months, leaving the Provinces of Asia to increase the territories of his victorious rival.*

Constantinus, Licinius.

From
A. D.
306.
to
323.

Death of Maximian.

Cruelty of Licinius.

The success obtained by Licinius was sullied with wanton cruelty, not only towards the family of the vanquished Emperor, but also upon private individuals who had it not in their power to disturb the tranquillity of his reign. He murdered a son of Severus, although chargeable with no other offence than that of being the offspring of a person who had the misfortune to be raised to Sovereign authority. He took away the life of Candidianus the son of Galerius, his own friend and benefactor; and he concluded by putting to an ignominious death Prisca and Valeria the wife and daughter of Diocletian, to whose self-denial he owed his elevation to the Imperial Throne.

War between Constantine and Licinius.

The Roman Empire was now in the hands of two rulers, of whom the one was animated by an insatiable ambition, the other was noted for jealousy and faithlessness. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that before twelve months had elapsed, they were both disposed to make an appeal to arms. It is difficult to ascertain the true cause of the war which ensued; for, in reading the Annals of that interesting period, we have to deplore a total absence of facts, while we see, in every page, the most unequivocal tokens of party spirit, or of personal hatred. Zosimus accuses Constantine of injustice and perfidy; other writers lay the blame on Licinius, who is said to have thrown down the statues of the Western Emperor, and to have given an asylum to certain traitors who had fled from his Court. It admits not of any doubt, however, that towards the end of the year 315 the two Emperors, at the head of their respective armies, met near Cibalæ in Pannonia; where a sanguinary battle was fought, which, after a conflict from the rising to the setting of the sun, terminated in the defeat of Licinius with the loss of twenty thousand men. In his retreat he conferred the dignity of Cæsar on Valens, his General on the Illyrian frontier, and who was esteemed, notwithstanding the sarcasms of the conqueror, an officer of courage and experience.†

Defeat of Licinius.

* Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. 43, 44. Panegyr. Vet. ix. 16; x. 27. Euseb. in Vit. Const. Zosim. lib. ii.

† Panegyr. Vet. ix. 20, 21. Zosim. lib. ii. Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. 44.

* Zosim. lib. ii. Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. 45, 46, 48. Aurel. Victor.

† Lactant. de Mort. Pers. c. 50, 51. Aurel. Victor. Anon. opud Falsc. Zosim. lib. ii.

Biography.
From
A. D.
306
to
323.
New divi-
sion of the
Empire.

This measure gave so much offence to Constantine, that he refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, until the new Sovereign should have been degraded. A second battle accordingly took place, in which Constantine again had the advantage, although not without having sustained a very severe loss both of horse and foot. The fears of Licinius now induced him to consent to the sacrifice of Valens, who appears to have been deprived at once of the Purple and of his life. A Treaty immediately followed without encountering any material obstacle; of which one of the conditions was, that the Emperor of the East should relinquish the Provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Greece, and rest satisfied with the possession of Thrace, Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria. It was likewise agreed on the same occasion, that two sons of Constantine should be declared the *Cæsars* of the West, while the younger Licinius should be exalted to a similar authority in the dominions of his father; a proportion of honours which asserted, on the part of the Roman Chief, the superiority of his arms and power.*

Constantine
enjoys his
true greatness
in Ostia.

The Empire enjoyed a Peace of nearly eight years duration, in the East as well as in the West. This interval was employed by Constantine in enacting laws and establishing institutions; some of which have been described as more deserving of praise on account of their humanity than of their wisdom. Crispus, the eldest son of the Emperor, was stationed in Gaul, where he had occasional opportunities to display his valour and military conduct against the Franks and *Alemanni*, who had not yet been taught to respect the boundaries of Roman power. Similar triumphs crowned the arms of Constantine himself, on the banks of the Danube and in the wilds of Scythia. An obscure warfare is mentioned by Eusebius, who, on this occasion, however, relinquishes the office of an Historian for the pleasure of Rhetorical declamation and personal eulogy. But we may collect from the facts to which he alludes, that most of the Gothic Tribes were reduced to submission, that they acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor, and even consented to augment his Legions with a large body of recruits, drawn from among the bravest and hardiest of their youth.†

Journal of
Civil War.

Finding that the reputation of Licinius for wisdom and clemency, so far from increasing with his years, had now sunk under a load of vice and selfishness, Constantine resolved to deliver the Empire from a domination which had ceased to inspire any other sentiments than those of contempt and abhorrence. Besides, he could no longer endure a partner in the Government, and began to consider that it would be the greatest glory of his reign, to replace the whole Roman World under one sceptre, and to direct its allegiance to one Sovereign. The Eastern Emperor prepared for the contest with a degree of spirit and activity worthy of his better days. He assembled in the plains of Hadrianople an army of a hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, while the Straits of the Hellespont were occupied with his fleet, consisting of nearly four hundred galleys of a large size. Constantine could not muster a force either by land or by sea so numerous and imposing as that now described. He brought

into the field about a hundred and twenty thousand troops, cavalry and infantry; but the ports of Italy, Africa, and Greece, could not supply him with more than two hundred small vessels.‡

The hostile armies, on the third of July in the year 323, came in sight of each other near the banks of the Hebrus, at no great distance from the city of Hadrianople. After various manoeuvres and repeated skirmishes, a general action ensued, when the troops of Licinius were beaten and completely dispersed, and himself compelled to flee for safety to the stronghold of Byzantium. Thirty-four thousand remained dead on the field of battle, and on the following day a still greater number surrendered to the Conqueror as prisoners of war.†

Pursuing his object with the firmness and resolution which marked his character, Constantine immediately laid siege to Byzantium, which was justly regarded as the key of Europe and of Asia. His labours in this arduous undertaking were greatly assisted by the bravery of his son Crispus, who engaged the fleet of Licinius in the narrow seas, forced the passage of the Hellespont, and carried into the camp of the besiegers an ample supply of ammunition and provisions. Apprehensive that the place could not long resist the skill and activity of the assailants, the beaten Emperor contrived to escape from its walls; and conveying with him a mass of treasure and a few faithful officers he determined to raise a fresh army in the Lesser Asia, and to trust his fortune once more to the decision of arms. On this emergency he elevated to the rank of *Cæsar* his Lieutenant Martinianus, in whose zeal and fidelity he had been accustomed to repose the utmost confidence.‡

Constantine did not neglect this last effort on the part of his rival; but, without intermitting the operations of the siege, sent across the straits a large portion of his victorious army. Licinius was at the head of more than fifty thousand men, ill disciplined, indeed, but courageous and devoted to his interests; and knowing that the fate of the Empire depended upon their exertions, they expressed a determination to conquer or die. The decisive conflict took place on the heights of Chrysopolis, a short distance from the city of Chalcedon, where victory was disputed with not less obstinacy than on former occasions. It is doubtful whether Constantine commanded in person against his brother-in-law, in this important action, or whether he had intrusted the conduct of the Legions to one of his sons. Whichever might be the leader, the soldiers of Europe gained a complete triumph over the tumultuary levies of Asia, and confirmed by the superiority of their military character the claims of their master to universal empire. Twenty-five thousand men fell dead around the standards of Licinius: the remainder dispersed through the adjoining Provinces, or yielded themselves to a temporary captivity; while their Imperial leader fled to Nicomedia, rather with the view of gaining some time for negotiation than with the hope of being able to make any effectual resistance.§ He

Constantine,
Licinius.
From
A. D.
306
to
323.
Battle of
Hadrianople

Siege of
Byzantium.

Battle of
Chrysopolis
and defeat
of Licinius.

* Eutrop. lib. x. c. 5.

† Zosim. lib. ii. Anon. apud Vales.

‡ Aurel. Victor. Zosim. lib. ii. Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* Anon. apud Vales.

§ Zosimus, lib. ii. says that Licinius had in the field one hundred and thirty-five thousand men, of whom one hundred thousand were slain or taken prisoners.

* Eutrop. lib. x. Aurel. Victor.

† Panegyric, *Fest.* x. 33. Euseb. in *Vit. Const.*

Biography. employed the intercession of his wife, Constantia, the sister of the conqueror, to obtain a favourable hearing; to whom was given a solemn promise, sanctioned by an oath, that after surrendering Martinianus and relinquishing the Purple, Licinius himself should be permitted to pass the rest of his days in peace and security. The conditions were complied with; and the Emperor of the East, after descending from the Throne to the condition of private life, was sent to Thessalonica, the place chosen for his future residence, where he soon afterwards terminated his miserable existence by an ambiguous death. Zosimus hesitates not to assert, that Constantine ordered him to be strangled; a charge made by Eutropius and repeated by St. Jerome. The younger Licinius was doomed by the jealousy of the victor to undergo a similar fate,

His death
at Thessa-
lonica.

From
A. D.
306.
to
323.

although he had only completed his eleventh year, and had manifested no dispositions but such as were amiable and meritorious.*

The events now stated paved the way for the reünion of the Roman Empire, nearly forty years after the introduction of the new scheme of government by Diocletian, which admitted a plurality of Sovereigns and a corresponding distribution of territory. It was in A. D. 324 that this consummation was effected; and from this date Constantine is to be regarded as sole Emperor of the East and West, as possessing all the power which was bequeathed by Augustus and exercised by the most warlike of his successors.

Constan-
tinus.

From
A. D.
306.
to
323.

* Euseb. in *Vit. Const.* Eutrop. lib. x. c. 6. Aurel. Victor

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

Introductory View of the Principal Sources from which the Knowledge of the IInd and IIIrd Centuries may be derived.

THERE is no portion of Ecclesiastical History more important than that which extends from the termination of the 1st, to the commencement of the 1st century. It was during this interval that the Church, no longer directed by the Apostles, and not as yet established by Civil authority, may be said to have sustained the most severe part of its conflict against the principles, the interests, and the passions, supported by the wealth, the power, and the learning, of the Gentile world.

The spectacle, which it presents, is on all sides fitted to arrest our attention. On the one hand, the situation of the Primitive Christians, their habits, their exertions, their sufferings; the nature and extent of their Literature, and the influence of early associations and opinions; the origin and progress of Heresies, and the silent inroads of internal corruption: on the other hand, the aspect of ancient Polytheism, the causes and circumstances of its opposition, the force of popular prejudice, the effects of Philosophic scepticism; the structure of the Roman Government, its line of policy with regard to Religion, and its efforts to overcome a strange impediment which suddenly crossed and embarrassed its movements; such are the prominent points which, even on a cursory view, cannot fail to awaken the interest of the Historical inquirer.

But it is a subject of deep regret, that the loss of necessary materials precludes the possibility of developing these points with the fullness and precision which their magnitude requires. Beseet by various difficulties, the early Christians had little leisure to consign to writing the results of their experience. Their Works were but few, and of those few some are much impaired, others wholly lost. The most important Ecclesiastical Historian, after the Sacred Writers, is Eusebius, who wrote in the beginning of the 1st century. He declares at the very outset of his narrative, that he was entering on "a desert and untrudged road." The scattered documents which he collected, are compared to distant lights, that serve but to disclose the track which the investigator might with safety pursue. And it is fortunate that Eusebius undertook the task, before

even this faint glimmering had died away. Without his assistance, we should have remained in a great measure in ignorance, not only of many events which occurred in the remote Ages of the Church, but of writers from whose Treatises, then extant, he derived his information. As he is nearly our first, so is he almost our only guide. Where his Work ends, the Histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, begin.* Their researches are therefore confined to later periods, when the state and manners of the Christians had undergone a considerable change. This neglect of the Primitive times may perhaps have arisen from a feeling of veneration for the talents, and of confidence in the fidelity, of Eusebius. Yet, valuable as his collections must unquestionably be deemed, it is to be lamented that, while topics of inferior moment are largely detailed, many subjects, which deserved more ample notice, are but meagrely treated; and that to a want of ease and elegance in his style, he should sometimes have added a want of exactness in his account of facts, and of acuteness in his estimate of evidence. The instances of inaccuracy, which the skill and diligence of modern critics have detected, naturally induce a suspicion that there may still lurk misstatements, which, from the scantiness of remaining records, we are unable to discover. But there is one circumstance which, though some, perhaps, may consider it a defect, we are inclined to reckon as one of his merits. His History is for the most part a series of extracts.† He proposed to himself little more than to glean and bind together such passages as would form a sequence of Ecclesiastical Memoirs. This method, it is true, is jejune and tedious. It is necessarily marked by inequality of language, and awkwardness of manner. But the benefit drawn from it by the modern examiner, fully compensates for such disadvantages. As the fragments of each author are distinct, the credit due to his different relations varies in proportion to the degree of assent which his different authorities deserve. Except where he is obliged to translate, the sentiments of the original writers borrow no new colouring by passing into his narrative. And this advantage is the greater, as it would otherwise have been

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* In the XIVth century, Nicephorus Callistus composed a new Ecclesiastical History of the first Three Centuries; but his work, though not inelegantly written, is too replete with fables to be entitled to consideration.

† Du Pin, *Nouvelle Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclesi.* tom. ii. p. 3.

* Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1.

History. no longer in our power to ascertain if their meaning had been faithfully expressed.

The Christian Apologists.

With the exception of the Historical works of Eusebius, to which may be added a few detached pieces, such as the *Book of the deaths of the Persecutors*, ascribed to Lactantius; or succinct Treatises, such as the Histories of Sulpitius Severus, and Orosius; and lastly, the numerous, but often doubtful and unsatisfactory, *Acts of Martyrs*, our knowledge of the II^d and III^d centuries must be chiefly drawn from indirect sources. Of these by far the most useful are the *Apologies*, presented to the Roman Rulers by eminent Christians, with a view to set forth the superiority of their Religion, and to deprecate the cruelties of their opponents. There are great advantages peculiar to this class of productions. For instance, the Apologists are obliged to advert to the objections and the calumnies of their enemies; they enable us, therefore, to discover the views of the opposite party, and thus lay open the causes to which the difficulties which attended their efforts are to be ascribed. They are, moreover, led to give some description of their habits and discipline, a subject which contemporary writers are most qualified to treat, but most liable to omit. At the same time, such Works are exposed to certain inconveniences. The reader is apt to regard them but as profiles, if we may so express ourselves, which, however correctly they may represent the side-face, convey but an inadequate idea of the entire contour and expression. Apologists, it is usually thought, are naturally disposed rather to select such circumstances as are calculated to produce a favourable impression, than to enlarge on the abuses which may have crept into the Society to which they belong. They may be honest advocates, but they are still advocates. A defence commonly bears this resemblance to a panegyric,—all that is mentioned in it may be true, but all that is true may not be mentioned. Such are the anticipations with which Apologetic works in general are opened. But the Christian Apologists assume a tone as open and manly, as devoid of subtleties and sophisms, as full of earnestness and piety as any unprejudiced examiner can expect. Indeed, they sometimes state the arguments, however subtle, the reports, however revolting, of their adversaries, and that too in the very hour of danger, with far more minuteness, and far more force, than are usually found in controversial writings, even when published in times of security. That their manner is occasionally injudicious, cannot be denied; but this very absence of discretion frequently arises from that simplicity which is a stranger to fraud. A full consciousness of innocence is the pervading feature of their writings. Their greatest fault, in the eyes of the impartial Historian, is the precipitancy with which, in some few instances, they appeal to accounts, which, though current, required more cautious examination. It might, indeed, have been supposed that, as they addressed men whose means of information were necessarily great, and whose power was almost unlimited, they would be particularly guarded on all points, from a conviction that an erroneous assertion could be easily discovered, and, if discovered, would, however unimportant it might be, have at least a tendency to aggravate the evils of which they complained. Yet, it must be confessed, they seem not always to have sufficiently sifted reports* in their defence of a cause, to the excel-

lence of which they were keenly alive. It is the part of a candid writer, to make full allowances for the harassing series of obstacles which often checked investigation in an Age when tyranny leaned hard upon the Christians; but it is due to Truth, to avail ourselves of the rules of sound criticism in weighing the internal credibility of Historical narratives.

Next in importance to the *Apologies* addressed to the Roman Rulers are, we think, the Defences of the Christian Religion, written in answer to the attacks of the Philosophic Gentiles. The remaining Works of the Fathers consist mostly of Treatises against the Heathens, the Jews, or Heretics; on the various Doctrines of the Church, on the different parts of its Discipline; Moral discourses and Commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures. In all these Works there is undoubtedly much Historical information; but it is scattered in a mass of knowledge so vast, so obscure, and frequently so little connected with the direct studies of the Historian, that the task of eliciting and combining every latent fact, and every incidental remark which may cast light on the early Ages of Christianity, is more perhaps than can be expected to be performed by any single individual.

The notices of Christianity during the II^d and III^d centuries found in Pagan Writers are, with a few valuable exceptions, of no considerable importance. Whatever mention of it occurs in the History of Dion Cassius is perhaps to be ascribed to his abridger Xiphilin, who lived as late as the XIth century. The Writers of the *Augustan History* have afforded us but little additional testimony. Of the eminent Philosophers who flourished during that period, Plutarch has been wholly silent on this point; Epictetus, Galen, Marcus Antoninus, and Lucian have left but a few passing sarcasms; and as the direct attacks of Celsus, Hierocles, and Porphyry are lost, the substance of their Works can only be gathered from the answers of their Christian opponents. The silence of some, and the contempt of others, are circumstances which ought to excite regret rather than surprise. The progress of Infant Sects* is seldom considered as presenting those materials for brilliant detail and curious investigation which draw the attention of the Historian, or disturb the abstractions of the Philosopher. It is considered a debasement of their dignity to notice efforts which are expected to fill into the same state of obscurity and insignificance from which they are regarded as having originally sprung. Christianity was esteemed as one of the innumerable varieties of popular delusion, one of the many-coloured garbs with which Superstition, ever versatile, clothes its votaries. Raised, in their own imaginations, far above the influence of prejudice and passion, the Sages cast a transient glance of pity, but not of inquiry, on a race of supposed Enthusiasts, sectaries of a nation for which they entertained unqualified aversion.† And this neglect was increased as they observed that the early Christians were chiefly of humble origin and of inferior acquirements;‡ considering for the most part that all disquisitions on the nature and attributes of the Deity§ were perplexed with doubts

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Remains of the Fathers.

Pagan Writers; reasons of their silence or contempt.

* See Bp. Watson's *Apology for Christianity*, p. 120.

† The contempt which the Romans entertained against the Jews, and the prevalent ignorance respecting their History, are evident from Cic. *pro L. Flac.* § 28; Hor. *Sat.* lib. i. s. v. v. ix.; Pers. *Sat.* v.; Tacit. *Hist.* lib. v.; Martial, *lib. iv.* ep. 4; lib. ii. ep. 90; Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. vi. xvi.; Plut. *Sympos.* &c.

‡ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 48. Arnob. *Diaplat.* adv. *Gent.* lib. i. p. 15, &c.

§ See the instances collected by Grotius, *Proleg.* ad *Stob.* &c.

* Blondel, *Des Soléennes*, &c. p. 3. Duilla, *du Vrai Usage des Pères*, p. 320, &c.

and difficulties, not to be unravelled by the utmost subtilty of which the human intellect is susceptible, their indignation was wound up to the highest degree, when uneducated men seized with confidence on subjects which had for ages eluded the grasp of Philosophy itself.* The assent of the multitude, far from being courted, was despised by all classes of the learned.† An unquenchable pride glared through the veil of their affected humility;‡ This feeling must also have acquired force from the fact, that the scheme of Christianity was presented rather in a popular form, than with systematic nicety.§ In short, it was long before they could bring their minds to submit to the authority of a Religion, which, preaching virtues never urged in the eulogies of Poets, and doctrines never heard in the Schools of Philosophy, opened its arms to receive the weak and ignorant with no less tenderness than the wise and powerful. It is not surprising, therefore, if we find but little mention of Christianity in Writers who examined it at first not at all, and afterwards, superficially.

Each age, we think, the principal channels from which the knowledge of the II^d and III^d centuries may be drawn. In presenting to our readers the result of our inquiries, it is not our object to give circumstantial descriptions, nor to enter into minute discussions; such a plan would not be consistent with the nature of the present work. For accounts so extensive, the reader, who cannot have recourse to the fountain heads, must consult and compare large and elaborate collections: such as those of the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, of Baronius, Pagi, Tillemont, Fleury, Basnage, and other Writers,|| who have dilated on almost every point connected with the subject. Although a wish to supply deficiencies, where we believe them to exist, may have induced us to dwell upon some particular points, our general desire is rather to trace than to fill up the outline, rather to direct to the sources than to exhaust the information which they contain.

11. Diffusion of Christianity; its Extent, Mode, and Consequences.

Of the extensive diffusion of Christianity in the II^d century, the repeated declarations of the Fathers, confirmed by Historical research, afford unequivocal proof. But the various details of this great Moral revolution, the exact periods, modes, instruments, and circumstances of its progress, cannot, in the absence of authentic documents, be developed with accuracy and precision. Although the existence of Christians in the heart of remote and barbarous Countries is sufficiently attested, the names of the disciples who first penetrated into those obscure regions, and the successive steps by which they proceeded to coniliate, to enlighten, and to humanize their rude inhabitants, are almost utterly unknown. Instead of distinct and circumstantial description, the reader will find for the most part little but vague assertion* in ancient, and bold conjecture in modern Writers.

* Min. Fel. c. 5.

† Senec. Ep. xxiix. &c.

‡ Diog. Laert. lib. ii. c. 36, &c.

§ Lactant. Div. Inst. lib. v. c. 1, &c.

|| Much valuable information may also be found in Mosheim's large work, *De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum Commentarii*. See likewise J. le Clerc, *Historia Ecclesiastica durante primorum sæculorum & veteribus monumentis deprecepta*.

* E. g. Justin Martyr asserts, "there is no race of men, whether

Unable to procure correct information, and anxious to admit the truth of statements deemed favourable to their cause, the early Christians seem often to have spoken in a declamatory tone. But their exaggeration arose not from a spirit of deceit. They knew that the successors of the Apostles exerted themselves with indefatigable zeal in proclaiming the Gospel, and that many had distributed their property to the poor, in order that, unshackled by worldly considerations, they might carry the Faith to the most distant nations;† they saw, moreover, the work of conversion advancing rapidly under their own eyes, and they heard of its progress in other Countries from a diversity of sources; hence they stopped not to investigate the origin and to estimate the probability of reports, which, uncontradicted by surrounding appearances, were to them a theme of exultation in their controversial writings, and of encouragement under their severest misfortunes.

Tertullian exclaims, "We are but of yesterday, yet we have filled your Empire,—your cities, your islands, your castles, your Corporate towns, your assemblies, your very camps, your Tribes, your Companies, your Palace, your Senate, your Forum: your Temples alone are left to you."‡ Language, evidently rhetorical, ought not to be examined by the rules of literal interpretation. The Apologist probably meant but to convey the same idea which the Historian would have expressed by the simple assertion, that the Christians were extremely numerous in places both far and near, in situations both Civil and military. At the same time, it must be allowed by any impartial inquirer, that the expressions of Tertullian, though perhaps too strong, could not have been hazarded in an address to persons who had ample opportunities of discovering the truth, had they not been warranted to a certain extent at least, by the apparent state of the place in which they were written. A description, inconsistent with the aspect of things, would have defeated the very purpose for which it was made.

The vast and commodious roads which intersected the whole Roman Empire; the union of different Countries under one Government; the consequent spread of civilisation, and the partial adoption of the Latin language in every district: these were advantages which facilitated the propagation of the Gospel in Countries subject to the Caesars. The absence of these circumstances in remote wilds must be deemed no inconsiderable bar. May we not also reckon among the obstacles to the conversion of the nations of Northern Europe,‡ the influence, not yet perhaps destroyed, of the ancient Bardic system; a system which had inculcated the doctrine of an immortality, corresponding with their habits and

Barbarians or Greeks, or by whatever appellation they may be designated, whether they wander in waggons or dwell in tents, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered up to the Father and Creator of all things, in the name of the crucified Jesus." (*Dialog. cum Tryphon*, p. 341.) Comp. *Iren. Adv. Hæc*. lib. i. c. 11; *Arnob. Adv. Gent.* lib. ii. p. 50; *Lactant. Div. Inst.* lib. v. c. 13.

† *Ruseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 36.

‡ *Apolog.* c. 37. Comp. *ad Scapul.* c. 5; *adv. Judæos.* c. 7. On the testimony of Tertullian, see Mosheim, *de Rob. Christ. ante Const.* M. p. 204; Bishop Kaye, *Lectures on Tertullian*, p. 93.

§ If we would, we think, be an interesting theme to explain the fact, that the diffusion of Christianity among the Tribes of the North was neither so rapid in its progress nor so lasting in its effects as in the more refined portions of the globe, particularly as those circumstances, which Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, lib. xiv. c. 2, 3) considers as most favourable to conversion, may be supposed in this case to have assisted.

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wishes, and productive of an enthusiastic devotion far beyond the powers of the Grecian and Roman Mythologies to excite.

In Britain, the Christian Church appears to have been small and humble.* In Transalpine Gaul, which was converted to the Faith at a later period than other Countries,† the progress of Christianity was comparatively slow; since in the IIIrd century there were but a few Churches, raised by the devotion of an inconsiderable number of Christians,‡ and under the Emperor Decius it was found necessary to send thither seven Missionaries from Rome.§ In Germany, the early state of Christianity is involved in obscurity; it is probable however that the persons who first diffused the knowledge of the Gospel in Gaul, were instrumental in extending its blessings to the contiguous Countries. But a very different scene presents itself as we turn our view to the regions of the East and of the South. Even beyond the Euphrates, Edessa|| was the seat of Christians; and from that river to the shores of Asia Minor, throughout the whole Country, the voice of Revelation had gone forth. In Pontus and Bithynia, in Greece, Thrace and Macedonia, in Rome, at Carthage, in Egypt, the number of Christians was unquestionably great. In fact, there was probably no City of much extent in the Roman Empire, in which some portion of the population had not been converted to Christianity.¶

Mode by
which Chris-
tianity was
diffused.

In considering this wide diffusion of Christianity, we are naturally led to inquire into the peculiar means by which it was effected. That it is to be ascribed to the directing Providence which vouchsafed it to man, no sincere believer will deny. But as the instruments employed, and the feelings addressed, were human, it is not inconsistent, with a full conviction of Divine superintendence, to examine in what manner those instruments acted, and those feelings were affected. With the superficial, the question seems to be resolved by a mere reference, grounded on experience, to the effects of novelty, and to the influence which the hopes and fears of futurity exert on the conduct of man. But, although experience has certainly proved that the love of novelty is not destitute of power, it has also taught us that the force of ancient habits and long cherished opinions retains a far stronger hold on the mind; though it has shown that even the indistinct hopes and fears connected with the idea of the invisible world, occasionally give a sudden impulse to our actions, it has also assured us, that the desire of present ease, and still more the dread of instant pain, when counterbalanced by no motives of immediate interest or ambition, will operate with a degree of resistance which a fixed belief, and an entire consciousness of rectitude can alone surmount. To attribute, therefore, the rapid diffusion of a Religion, essentially hostile to the systems, establishments, customs, manners, and passions of the Gentile world, to the vague and arbitrary action of various irregular humours, is to take at least a very unphilosophical view of the subject.

If we omit the exercise of Miraculous powers, the existence of which after the Apostolical Ages is disputed, (chiefly because the Fathers of the IIrd and IIIrd centuries speak of it only in general language, an instance being seldom specified, and when specified usually relating to the expulsion of Demons,* or to the healing of diseases, in which it is commonly admitted there is more room for mistake than in any other class of Miracles,) we must, doubtless, consider as among the chief causes which, under the assistance of the Holy Spirit, contributed to the conversion of the Heathen, the disgust which Paganism, notwithstanding its splendour, must often have left on the reflecting mind; the disrepute into which Divination and Oracles had fallen; the contrariety and unsatisfactoriness of the systems of Philosophy; the zeal, the fortitude, the affection, the hospitality, the general virtues of the Christians, so peculiar and so remarkable; the union of their well-organized Religious community; the unwearied efforts of their preachers; the circulation of Apologies, pious works, and copies of the Sacred Scripture, (soon, in all probability, translated into Latin,) by which the evidences and the transcendent excellence of Revealed Religion were gradually discovered and appreciated.

It is unfortunate, however, that the ancient converts have not detailed with more minuteness the accidental circumstances which first arrested their attention, and the progress of their thoughts from increasing respect to final conviction. The unparalleled patience of the Christians under sufferings; the improbability that men addicted to vice should submit to the loss of all that is desirable, and deliver themselves voluntarily to the executioner; such was the first circumstance which awakened the curiosity of the philosophic Justin; such the first reasoning which led him to embrace a Religion, of which he himself became subsequently a Martyr.†

But it is not so much the method by which Christianity was spread, nor the numerical state of the early Proselytes, which demands our consideration, as the mental effects which Conversion produced. The change of conduct, as described by the early Christians, is unparalleled in the History of Man: "We," exclaims Justin Martyr, "who formerly rejoiced in licentiousness, now embrace discretion and chastity: we, who resorted to magical arts, now devote ourselves to the unbegotten God, the God of goodness; we, who set our affections upon wealth and possessions, now bring to the common stock all our property, and share it with the indigent; we, who, owing to diversity of customs, would not partake of the same hearth with those of a different race, now, since the appearance of Christ, live together, and pray for our enemies, and endeavour to persuade those who unjustly hate us, that by leading a life conformed to the excellent precepts of Christianity, they may be filled with the good hope of obtaining the same happiness with ourselves from that God, who is Lord above all things.*" In an Age of libertinism, the

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Christian
Church
in the II
and III
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Effects of
the conver-
sion of the
Gentiles.

* Respecting the application for Christian teachers, which, according to Bede, Lucius, a King of Britain, made to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, in the reign of M. Antoninus, see the observations of Moabius, (*de Reb. Christ.* p. 215.)

† Sulpit. Sever. *Hist. Sacr.* lib. ii. c. 32.

‡ Ruinart. *Act. Mart. Sacra.* p. 130.

§ Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* lib. i. c. 28.

|| Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. c. 13.

¶ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. c. 13.

* The expulsion of Demons is considered by the Fathers as a great cause of the conversion of the Gentiles. Iren. tom. ii. c. 37. Tertull. *Apol.* c. 23. Orig. c. *Cels.* lib. ii. p. 20. Lactant. lib. v. c. 27, &c. That there was a strong prejudice in the minds of the learned against this kind of demonstration, may be inferred from Ulpian, lib. viii. de *Tribunal.* in *Digest.* lib. 50. tit. 13. leg. i.; and Marcus Antoninus in *Aled.* p. l.

† *Apol.* ii. c. 12.

* *Apol.* i. c. 14. Comp. Orig. c. *Cels.* lib. iii.; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* lib. iii. c. 26.

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Christian was distinguished by purity. Hatred was transformed into love, and the violence of passion subsided into tenderness and peace. The proud became humble. The contemner submitted to contempt. All felt,* that the Morality of their Religion was a fixed and imperative Rule, and not, like the Ethics of Philosophy,† mere Reasoning, often too vague and imperfect to convince, and always too destitute of authority to command. But this reform was vital: it altered not so much the exterior appearance as the inward heart. The Christians, in general, appear to have affected no peculiarity in habit or diet, and to have refused no profession which was consistent with their Religious creed, and adapted to promote the welfare of Society. They frequented the Forum and the Baths: they were seen in the camp,‡ and at the markets; they followed an agricultural, a mercantile, or a sea-faring life.§

That some Christians fell into extremes in their condemnation of innocent pleasures cannot be denied: but the critical time in which they lived, and the deep importance of being free from all that could be construed into impropriety, or which had any tendency to produce evil, are considerations which ought very much to diminish the severity with which their conduct has been viewed.

But it has been urged as an objection that, among the early Converts, there were persons who had previously been guilty of immoral practices.¶ It ought to be remembered, that the number of such persons was comparatively small. The majority were men of regular habits,‡ whose feelings were naturally drawn by a congenial influence towards a Religion by which their sentiments of virtue were strengthened, refined, and elevated. But that persons who had fallen into sin, at a period of extreme licentiousness, should have sought forgiveness in the bosom of a Church, which, though it emphatically condemned guilt, pointed out Repentance, is, we conceive, a circumstance rather redounding to its honour than deserving of reproach. The nature of Paganism was little adapted to instruct, still less to console. The offender, who had once broken through the fence of his first scruples, felt no moral check to arrest him in his descent through the various stages of crime.** At the same time, he was not exempt from that insatiable feeling of remorse, which, whether it flows from Nature, or from a combination of accidental influences, still clings to the heart from which even Belief has been banished.†† The uneasiness which consumed Tiberius,‡‡ the terrors which disturbed the dreams of Nero,§§ the phantoms of horror which haunted Caracalla,|| were torments which Paganism could not assuage, and which Scep-

ticism could not reason away. Christianity alone offered the remedy: it is not surprising, therefore, if Christianity was chosen. In fact, a mighty change seemed to have come over the hearts and minds of the Gentiles. Thoughts and feelings which, while the possessors reposed beneath the shade of ancient Idolatry, lay shrunk and closed, were warmed and elicited. Strong principles evinced the operation of strong motives. The hopes and fears of futurity—almost as unknown in that Age to the uneducated as to the learned*—worked upon the Christian with all their force and fulness; and the effects were proportionate to the magnitude and activity of the cause.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat here, that the early Converts were not men whose minds, suddenly struck and inflamed, had caught but a partial light on some prominent points, without extending their view over the general nature of Christianity; but men who, before their admission into the Church, had remained during a certain period, the length of which seems sometimes to have been considerable,† in the degree of Catechumens,‡ in order that they might receive a course of gradual instruction on the great Moral truths of Revealed Religion, and give satisfactory proofs of the sincerity of their intentions by the holiness of their lives. And, if afterwards they should fall into guilt, a severe, and often a very protracted penance was required, as a necessary step for the attainment of pardon.§

III. Influence of the Pagan Religion; Causes of the Opposition which Christianity experienced from the Roman Government.

Notwithstanding this view of the state of Christianity, its History, previous to its Civil establishment, is, for the most part, the History of Persecutions: it is necessary therefore to develop the causes of so remarkable a circumstance.

The Pagan Religion, with its rich succession of pageants, had naturally a strong ascendancy over the minds of the unreflecting. Its Priests, its Temples, its Mysteries, its Sacrifices, its magnificent Processions, calling to their aid the varied powers of Music, Painting, and Sculpture, and awakening the different feelings of awe, pleasure, interest, and triumph, conspired with the force of early habits and recollections, to work a very powerful delusion. Attention was diverted from the poverty of its essence to the sumptuousness of its externals. Its meagre system of Ethics, and its cold and gloomy prospects of a dimly shadowed futurity, were forgotten amid a glow of ritual brilliancy, which was designed to kindle intense enthusiasm.

But these were far from being the only means by which Paganism excited that train of emotions which precluded the free action of temperate inquiry. It was the care of the Statesman to implant and cherish the prejudice, which afterwards clung with extreme tenacity to the minds of the populace, that, to their deep respect for the Deities of the Republic, the unexampled success of the Roman arms was to be attributed. The piety of Romulus and of Numa was believed to have laid the foundations of their greatness. The vast extent of the Roman Em-

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Influence of the Polytheistic system.

Greatness of the Romans ascribed to their superior Piety.

* The Christians, as long as they adhered to their Religion, though many suffered for the Faith, were not charged with specific crimes in the courts of justice. (Tertull. *Apol.* c. 44.) So Minucius Felix, *De vestro numero carcer excoelset*: Christianis ibi nullus, nisi aut reus sua Religione aut profugus. c. 35.

† Tertull. *Apol.* c. 42.

‡ On this point, however, the views of different Christians seem to have been different. See Orig. c. *Cels.* lib. viii. p. 427, and the note of Spencer.

§ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 45.

¶ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. c. 16.

** Orig. c. *Cels.* lib. iii. p. 150.

*** *Quis precandi finem possit sibi?* Juv. *Sat.* xiii.

†† Juv. *Sat.* xiii. &c.

‡‡ Tacit. *Ann.* lib. vi. c. 6.

§§ Ibid. lib. xiv.

|| Dio Cassius, lib. lxxvii.

* Cic. *Or. pro Cluent.* § de *Nat. Deor.* lib. ii. c. 2. Juv. *Sat.* ii. 149, &c.

† Orig. c. *Cels.* lib. iii. p. 142, &c.

‡ Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, vol. i.

§ Tertull. de *Pœnit.* Cyprian, de *Laps.* sec. 27.

Scruples on the objection drawn from the admission of persons, formerly criminals, into the Church.

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pire was deemed the recompense of assiduous devotion. "It was," they pompously exclaimed, "by exercising Religious discipline in the camp, and by fortifying the City with Sacred rites, with Vestal Virgins, and the various degrees of a numerous Priesthood, that they had stretched their dominion beyond the paths of the Sun and the limits of the Ocean."¹⁶ And, as Public prosperity was universally ascribed to the favourable agency of the Gods, so were Public calamities considered as visitations of their anger. The influence of these opinions was peculiarly active among the Romans, whose attachment to their Religion was far greater than that of the other nations of the Heathen world. Hence arose that exclusion of Foreign rites, which, though practically modified by Political necessity, was theoretically a part of their Religious system.

Observations on the degree of Religious toleration which existed under the Roman Government

It has been the practice of late Writers to expatiate in terms of the warmest admiration on the unbounded toleration which characterised the Constitution of Rome;¹⁷ yet it is evident from History, that this supposed indulgence was far more circumscribed than its panegyrist has asserted. It was positively forbidden by Law to honour with private worship any other Deity than such as had been incorporated into the Roman Religion by Public authority;¹⁸ and this Law, though it might have been frequently allowed to slumber, was not abrogated at a very distant period from its original enactment. L. Æmilius Paulus, in his Consulship, ordered the Temples of Iris and Serapis, Gods not legally recognised by the Romans, to be destroyed, and, observing the religious fear which checked the People, he himself seized an axe, and struck the first blow against the portals of the sacred edifice. § On several occasions the Senate exerted its power to prevent Religious innovations. || The Consul Posthumus is represented by Livy as alleging in a powerful speech the ancient laws, so often repealed, against worship derived from other Countries, and as declaring that nothing, in the opinion of the wisest Legislators, was more calculated to dissolve the national Religion than the introduction of Foreign rites. ¶ Dion Cassius has transmitted to us a

celebrated Oration, in which Mæcenas endeavours to press on Augustus a conviction of the dangers which he conceives would result from the toleration of new Religions. And even under Tiberius, the Egyptian ceremonies were violently proscribed.

The mistaken opinion of an entire freedom from persecution, may have originated in a wrong inference, drawn from the very remarkable fact, that coexistent with intolerant laws against public deviations from the established rites, was an almost unlimited liberty enjoyed by individuals of expressing private sentiments. On the Stage, and in the works of professed Sceptics, the keenest ridicule against the popular Gods was exercised with perfect impunity.* The sarcastic attacks of Plautus and Terence, as well as the impious sentiments of Seneca the Tragedian, were heard without censure. The philosophic railery of Cicero and of Lucian was indolged in without danger.†

The Christian Religion had therefore to encounter the aversion which the Romans entertained against Foreign Worship; an aversion, indeed, which the enlargement of their Empire had considerably diminished, but which may still be thought not to have been wholly eradicated. But however inclined the ruling powers might have been in other cases to relax their severity, there were several distinctive features in the Christian Religion which soon awakened their apprehension. It was the Religion, not of any particular Nation or City, but of a Sect; and that not merely a recent, but a Proselyting Sect. It admitted no intercommunity of Worship; its existence required the destruction of all other Systems. It was not, like the Religions of Polytheism, a new scion, which might be grafted on the general stock. It was not an attempt to fill up an additional niche in the Pantheon. It was an exclusive, uncompromising Creed, which not merely did not harmonize with any other, but condemned all others. As it demanded undivided allegiance from its followers, so it did not accept proffered coalition with its opponents. The Christians took no pains to conceal their contempt for the Gods and Temples and Ceremonies of Idolatry. The Purple of the Pagan Priesthood, to which the Crowd had been taught to look up with reverence, was, in their eyes, mockery.‡ This spirit, though perhaps not at first fully perceived, was no sooner felt than resisted.§ It was imputed to a strange obliquity of intellect or of will. The ruling maxim of Roman administration was evidently, if Foreign Worships could not be excluded, at least to consolidate them into one great Religious fœderacy; to allow men the free enjoyment of their opinions, but to unite together those opinions by a common principle of accommodation and reciprocal indulgence. The Legislator, who could not bend and mould Christianity into a component part of the Polytheistic structure, put

Of the Christian Church in the IInd and IIIrd Centuries.

Causes to which the opposition made to Christianity must be ascribed.

* Sic imperium unum ultra Saba vias et spacia Oceani limites propagavit, dum exercebat in armis virtutem religionem, dum urbem munivit sacrorum religionibus, castis virginibus, multis honoribus ac nominibus sacerdotum. Min. Felix. Octavianus, p. 51. Ed. 1672.

† Montesquieu, in his Dissertation Sur la Politique des Romains dans la Religion; Voltaire, Dict. Philos. art. Tolérance, Œuvres, tom. xxviii. p. 404; Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, c. 16, &c.

‡ Tertull. Apol. c. 5, &c.

§ Val. Max. lib. i. c. 3. a. 2.

|| In the year v. c. 326, when, in consequence of a severe drought, individuals had resorted to new rites with a view of appeasing the wrath of Heaven, the Senate enjoined the *Ædiles* to suffer no other God and no other form of worship than that which had been sanctioned by Roman usage. (Liv. lib. iv.) In v. c. 541, in the height of the second Punic war, the Senate published a strict decree against certain Religious innovations, which had been introduced. (Liv. lib. xxv.) In v. c. 615 the Prætor, C. Cornelius Hæpius, banished those who attempted to establish the worship of the Sabasian Jupiter, (Valer. Max. lib. i. c. 3.) and in v. c. 701, the Temples of Isis and Serapis were again demolished by order of the Senate. (Dion. lib. xl.) These laws may be found more fully detailed in an article, *Sur le Respect que les Romains avoient pour la Religion. Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxvii. p. 110—125.

¶ Quicquid hoc patrum auctoritate ante negotium et magistratus datum, ut sacra externa fieri velarent; sacrificia vota que foro, circa, arbo probarent; vinctus liberos conculcarentque, omnesque disciplinae sacrificiorum præterquam more Romano abolerent. Judicabant enim prudentissimi viri omnia divini humanique juris, nihil æque discredibile religionis esse, quàm ubi non patriæ, sed externi riti sacrificarentur. (Liv. lib. xxix. c. 16.)

* This was a circumstance which frequently struck the early Christians. Just. Mart. Apol. i. c. 4; Tertull. Apol. c. 46. *Quinimo et Deus vestrorum palam destruit . . . laudantibus rebus, &c.*

† The same licence existed in Ancient Greece; and, by a somewhat similar anomaly, the Church of Rome combined with her former spirit of rigid intolerance the strange permission of exhibiting theatrical pieces, in which the events of Scripture History were represented with irreverent buffoonery.

‡ Sacerdotum honores et purpura despicimus. (Min. Fel. c. 8.)

§ See Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. c. 16. The observation of Voltaire, in accounting for the different treatment which the Jews and the Christians experienced is not without truth. *Les Juifs ne voulaient pas que la statue de Jupiter fût à Jérusalem; mais les Chrétiens ne voulaient pas qu'elle fût au Capitole.* Dict. Philos. art. Tolérance.

History.

it out of the circle of toleration, however capacious, and endeavoured to crush it, before its magnitude was increased. And hence, perhaps, it is, that the Christian was often condemned simply on account of his Profession, when no criminal acts were proved, or even alleged. The Name was a Test. The Magistrate was probably directed to consider it as such, with a view to prevent the ultimate consequences of a System, of which, in particular instances, it would have been difficult to define the mischief. But the sufferer, who felt unable to explain on what principle so singular a deviation from ordinary practice could be grounded, loudly complained of the palpable injustice of passing sentence on him, in consequence of a mere Name, without any judicial inquiry into his character and conduct.* Such, at least, seems to us to be the solution of the anomalous mode of treatment which the Christians experienced.

Christians suspected of disaffection.

But, independently of these apprehensions of the effects of the new Religion, arising from its essential incompatibility with Polytheism, the persons who professed it laboured under suspicions of disaffection to the Civil Government. They refused to adore the Image of the reigning Emperor;† they refused to offer Idolatrous Sacrifices for his safety; they refused to swear by the Genius of Cæsar, and to join in Festivals on the occasion of signal victories. They were sometimes accused of declining to assist in the wars,‡ by which the dangers which encircled the Roman Empire were averted. Doubts were consequently awakened, which were not immediately dispelled by their declarations, however emphatic, that, although they turned with shuddering from profane Rites, yet they cherished fidelity, offered Prayers for the lives and prosperity of their appointed Governors, paid duly all Tributes and Taxes, abstained from factious commotions, and promoted charity and affection among the various members of the Social Body. The accusation made more impression than the defence. It is also probable that the habitual mention of the Kingdom of the Messiah may, by a misapprehension of its meaning, have tended to excite distrust.¶

Xpity meetings.

But nothing was more effectual in rousing the fears of the Roman Rulers than the circumstance, that men, whose principles were already questioned, should hold frequent nocturnal Meetings—Meetings which were expressly prohibited by Law, and always dreaded as the secret schools of dangerous conspiracies. Thus was it the hard lot of the Christians, that they could neither assemble openly, without being exposed to violence, nor privately, without subjecting themselves to suspicion. It was injudicious in them, however, to suffer the alarm to be heightened by adopting the language of unnecessary mystery on the subject of their Sacraments.¶¶

* Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. c. 4. Tertull. *Apol.* c. 3.

† Tertull. *Apol.* c. 33, &c.

‡ Tertullian, in his *Tract de Coronâ*, considers it unlawful for a Christian to be a soldier. This was written after his secession from the Church; but it must be remembered, that the Romans seem not to have distinguished the Orthodox from the Schismatic. The perusal of the conclusion of the VIIIth Book of Origen against Celsus, would, we think, have alone awakened, in a high degree, the fears of the Roman Rulers.

¶ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 38, &c.

¶¶ Justine Martyr (in *Apol.* i. c. 11.) acknowledges that it was suspected to mean a Kingdom on Earth.

¶¶ On the ancient custom of concealing the nature of the Sacraments, see Dingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, b. 1. c. 6.

The feeling of fear or hatred already entertained was considerably increased by the cloud of calumnies in which their conduct was enveloped. Strange reports of disgusting Rites were industriously circulated, and credulously believed. The fury of the lower, and the distrust of the higher Orders, were raised by absurd fictions, which represented the Christians as slaying a new-born infant at their initiation; drinking the blood; tearing asunder the limbs; binding themselves to secrecy; and consummating their deeds of horror in the shades of night, by the uncontrolled indulgence of the most depraved passions.* In vain did the Christian, who avoided the sight of the sanguinary feasts of the Amphitheatre, and who observed the Apostolic precept of abstaining from blood,† express his deepest abhorrence of inventions, which apparently originated in a monstrous perversion of the meaning of the Eucharistic Commemoration of the Death of Christ; in vain did he appeal to the common feelings of mankind, and challenge the minutest investigation of his actions; the progress of falsehood was but slowly repressed, and was attended by many and serious evils. The expressions of affection which the Christians employed were misconstrued.‡ The remembrance of the infamous practices, which kindled the indignation of the Senate against the Bacchanals, inspired the Roman Statesman with a belief, that there was no crime so revolting which might not be committed under the cloak of Religion; and the knowledge of the disgraceful scenes which passed in the secret Ceremonies of the *Bona Dea*, had strengthened the opinion, that whatever was concealed was either improper in itself, or likely to lead to dangerous consequences. Nor would it be discharging the duties which Truth prescribes, to suppress the fact, that some among the Orthodox Christians§ charge the Heretics with impurities as deep, and cruelties as incredible, as the worst accusations of which they themselves complain. If their accounts are false, it must diminish our surprise, that the Pagans should have credited rumours, widely spread, while even Christians recorded calumnies too dreadful to admit of the faintest description: if, on the other hand, their accounts are true, we ought surely to make some allowances for the difficulty which men, unacquainted with the exact nature of the Christian Doctrine, must have found in accurately discriminating which Seets were justly, and which were not justly, entitled to the appellation of Christian,—an appellation assumed by all, whether Catholic or Schismatic. Yet, after all which may be urged in their defence, the obstinacy of the Pagans in receiving reports which they had not investigated, notwithstanding the internal improbability of the pretended facts, notwithstanding the superior means of inquiry which they possessed, notwithstanding the bold challenge of the Apologists to sift thoroughly all charges adduced against their Society, is certainly unjustifiable; and the more so, as, on the supposed truth of these reports, extraordinary cruelties were not unfrequently exercised.

Of the Christian Church in the IInd and IIIrd Centuries.
Observations on the calumnies against the Christians.

* See the description given in Minucius Felix, c. 9, &c.

† The Heathens were aware of this fact. Tertull. *Apol.* c. 8.

‡ Davis, not in Min. Fel. c. 9.

§ Epiphanius. *Heret.* xiviii. c. 14; xxviii. c. 1, &c.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

FROM A. D. 101 TO 211.

History. **ALTHOUGH** we have already briefly adverted to the celebrated Letter* which Pliny, during his residence as Governor in the Province of Pontus and Bithynia, addressed to Trajan, a more minute examination, and an illustration of it by a few additional remarks, will perhaps be the best method of conveying a clear and connected idea of the policy which directed the conduct of the Roman Rulers at the period succeeding the Apostolic Age. The object of Pliny is to ascertain the nature and extent of inquiry and of punishment, which it was necessary to adopt against the followers of the new Religion. He states, that he had never been present at their trials, and that he entertained doubts respecting the mode of proceeding, particularly on the following points; whether difference of age were taken into consideration, or whether the tender and the robust were treated with the same severity; whether pardon were granted on repentance, or a renunciation of Christianity were judged of no avail; whether the mere name of Christian, unconnected with any crime, or the crimes that accompanied the name were the object of punishment.

Inferences drawn from the questions proposed. From these questions it appears to us manifest, that the Christians were then generally known as a separate Body; that judicial proceedings had been instituted against them; that the repeated complaints, which the Apologists make, of being punished for a name only, are neither unfounded, nor extravagant; lastly, that Pliny's design was to suggest to the Emperor certain distinctions, calculated to mitigate the rigour which had been exercised indiscriminately against the various members of the rising Sect.

Edicts against the Christians. It is still doubtful whether any Edict, specifically directed against the Christians, was then in force.† The expressions of Tertullian seem to intimate, that

the laws of Nero, in this particular case, were not abrogated. Nor can the contrary be inferred from the uncertainty of so experienced a lawyer as Pliny, since he himself, in another of his Letters, laments his deficiency on some points of legal knowledge.* It may, however, be reasonably concluded, that these laws, if not formally and entirely annulled, were, in many respects, become of dubious authority, and that the general decrees of the Senate against the introduction of new Deities, though they enabled harsh or unjust Governors to pursue the most vigorous measures, were regarded by milder Rulers as attended with considerable difficulty in their meaning and in their application.

In this state of perplexity, Pliny proceeds to describe the method which he had followed towards all who were brought before him on the charge of being Christians. He put the question, Whether they were members of the Body to which they were accused of belonging? If they answered in the affirmative, he repeated the question a second and a third time, accompanying it with the threat of capital punishment. Such as still persisted in their confession he looked upon as insatuated, and ordered to be led away, to prison or to execution; for the word employed is susceptible of this ambiguity.† "For," he adds, in explanation of the motives which impelled him to the adoption of this course, "I never doubted, that, whatever might be the nature of their confession, stubbornness, at least, and inflexible obstinacy, ought to be punished." This sentence, when considered in connection with his previous avowal of want of acquaintance with the trials of the Christians, throws great light on an investigation of the causes of the contempt and opposition which Christianity experienced from the Philosopher and the Magistrate. Ignorance of the new, and attachment to the old Religion, were the main springs which directed the learned and the powerful. The soft feelings of humanity were repressed by a conviction, that all attempts to endanger the Religious Establishment would necessarily shake the stability of those Civil institutions with which, by a variety of means, it had long

Of the Christian Church in the II^d Century.

From A. D. 101. to 211.

Method pursued by Pliny.

Reasons assigned.

Remarks.

* Plin. lib. x. Ep. 97.

† Mosheim, Lardner, Gibbon, &c., are of opinion, that there were no Edicts in force against the Christians. Bishop Kaye remarks, that the conclusion is erroneous, if any weight is to be attached to the statements of Tertullian, in his first Book *ad Nationes*, c. 7. *Apolog.* c. 1, 5, 37; *ad Scapul.* c. 4. (*Lectures on Tertullian*, p. 115.) With respect to the abrogation of Domitian's laws by the Senate, which Mosheim and Lardner mention, and the belief in which rests upon the authority of Suetonius (*in Dom.* c. 21.) and the writer of the *Treatise de Meritis Persecut.* c. 21, it ought to be remembered, that Trajan restored Domitian's Rescripts, *Epistola missa Domitiani attondam est.* (Plin. lib. x. Ep. 66.) (See Gibbon's *Index Expurgator.* in his *Miscell. Works*, vol. v. p. 560.)

* Ep. 14. lib. vii. wherein he consults Aristo, and gives the reasons of his want of sufficient acquaintance with the *Jus Senatorium*.

† *Perseverantes duci jussu*; that it does not necessarily imply capital punishment is evident from many passages in other Writers, e.g. *Ne mihi in carcere habundandum sit, a Tribunus pectus duci jussimet.* Cic. *de Lege Agrar.* Or. ii. sec. 37.

been united. The great maxim of the Roman Government, in its external relations, and in its internal policy, was to spare the subject, but to enforce subjection. *Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbo.* The progress, however, of Christianity seems not to have suffered that check which the severe proceedings of the Governor were intended to produce. A more natural circumstance was, probably, the result; informations continually multiplied. In consequence of an anonymous accusation, Pliny examined several persons, who denied the profession of Christianity, and who, as a mark of the sincerity of their assertions, repeated an appeal to the Gods, offered supplication with wine and frankincense to the Image of the Emperor, and reviled the name of Christ: "with none of which things," adds the narrator, "as it is reported, can they who are really Christians be induced to comply." These, therefore, were discharged. Others at first confessed themselves Christians, and afterwards recanted. Some, it appears, had renounced the profession three years, some sooner, and others twenty years before; which periods cannot without difficulty be referred to the Persecutions under Domitian, and Nero.

The succeeding part of the Letter contains the favourable account of the Christians which we have already transcribed. This account, it will be observed, was drawn by Pliny from those who had recanted; men who, in all probability, by revealing any impious tenet, if such had existed in the system, or any vicious habit in the professors, of the Religion which they had forsaken, would gladdly have found a justification of their apostasy, satisfactory alike to themselves and to their judges, bringing peace to their consciences and security to their persons. An informer, who had any reason to believe that he was tearing the mask from the hypocrite, and dragging the criminal to light, would have consoled himself with the reflection, that he was justly entitled to the character of a public benefactor. Yet, far from finding any discovery of concealed vice, any detection of subtle intrigue, we have a testimony, recorded by an enemy, and derived from unsuspected witnesses, which affords not merely a refutation of the calumnies, by which the character of the first Christians was assailed, but a strong evidence of their piety and rectitude, their unaffected simplicity and affectionate union.

With a view, moreover, to ascertain the truth of this account, Pliny, as we have already observed, deemed it necessary to examine by torture two maid-servants, who are called Ministers, (perhaps Deaconesses;) he was unable, however, to discover any thing, except, to use his own language, "a wilful and immoderate superstition;" an expression, as may be inferred from the whole tenor of the Epistle, only equivalent to "an obstinate deviation from the established rites, a presumptuous attempt to disturb the Religious harmony of the Heathen world."

In considering the moderation and humanity, by which the general conduct of Pliny was distinguished,

it appears difficult to determine the reason which could induce him to select two females as fit subjects to be tried by the horrors of the rack.* It is most obvious to assign this act of cruelty to a desire of extorting their secret with greater facility, from the natural timidity of the weaker sex. We ought, however, to bear in mind, that the Roman Laws did not allow any persons to be put to the torture except slaves and female servants, whose evidence, unless by this process, was inadmissible.†

It was not, however, his intention to continue these intolerant proceedings. Sensible of the inefficacy of any system of indiscriminate persecution; and anxious, it may be allowed, to yield to the dictates of pity, and to obtain from Imperial authority some definite regulation, which might alleviate the sufferings of the Christians, by silencing the clamours of their informers, he suspended all rigorous measures till the reply of Trajan should relieve his perplexity. To impress on the Emperor's mind a proper sense of the magnitude of the subject, he assures him that persons of all ranks and ages, and of both sexes, were accused, and would still be accused; for the contagion, he adds, of the new superstition had not merely seized cities, but lesser towns, and the open country. The Temples had been almost deserted; the sacred ceremonies had suffered a long intermission; and the victims were for some time without purchasers.

These assertions render it a very probable conjecture that the severity of the Governors, and the exasperation of the populace, were excited and kept alive by the Priests, by the inferior officers of Religion, and, in short, by all to whom the splendid solemnities, or gorgeous structures, which were consecrated to the maintenance of Polytheism, were a source of pleasure, of emolument, and of distinction. Nor would the representations of the Priesthood be received without alarm, even by the Philosophic Sceptic. Regarding the existing Religions as instruments of controul, or incentives to exertion, many of the Sages of Antiquity had no sooner closed their free speculations on the Divinity, than they bent before the senseless objects of popular idolatry which they internally ridiculed.‡ Even the followers of Epicurus, and of Pyrrho, were willing to discharge the sacerdotal offices.§ But the ascendancy of the Priesthood would be particularly great in the mind of Pliny, who was anxious that reverence should be entertained "for the Deities, for ancient glory, even for fables."|| The glowing imagery of Pagan Worship, with its train of varied associations, had taken possession of his ardent fancy. The elegance of his taste lent charms to empty pageantry; and his time was spent in building and in adorning Temples.

* Mosheim adds, *Presbyteris cum Episcopo aut suprà diapos, avaris tempestatis, aut in occultis latibulis.* (*De Heb. Chr.* p. 232.) The assertion is, we think, unwarranted and unjust.

† This was not the case in other Countries. *Dicendum de unitatis Atheniensium, Rhodiorum, ductuorum hominum, apud quos etiam (id quod acerbissimum est) liberi, etque turpiter.* (*Cic. de Part. Ont.* c. 34.) Hence, as Gibbon has remarked, the acquiescence of the Provincials encouraged their Governors to acquire, and perhaps to usurp, a discretionary power of employing the rack to extort from vagrant and plebeian criminals the confession of their guilt, till they insensibly proceeded to confound the distinctions of rank, and to disregard the privileges of Roman Citizens, (see *Decline and Fall*, &c. c. 17.) It may be doubted, however, whether so conscientious a Governor as Pliny would have deviated from the practice of the State and the rule of Civilians.

‡ Orig. c. *Cels.* lib. v. p. 260.

§ Epict. *Diact.* lib. ii. c. 20. *Diog. Laert.* lib. x. sec. 10, &c. *Encyclopædia*, *Sext.* *EMPIRIC.*

|| Ep. 21. lib. viii.

Of the Christian Church in the IInd Century.

From A. D. 101. to 211

State of Christianity in Pontus and Bithynia.

Influence of the Priesthood.

Remarks.

Continued by Mr. Knight.

* It is possible that this additional injunction may have been made in consequence of a singular equivocation, which we may, perhaps, suppose to have been tried before the time of the Valentinians, who argued that they might deny that they were Christians without incurring the penalty denounced in the words of our Saviour, "He who denies Me before men, him will I deny before My Father." (See Bishop Kaye, on *Tertullian*, p. 163.)

† This inquiry was made probably A. D. 104. Domitian perished in the year 96, and Nero in 68, (i. e. 36 years before.) The persons examined were perhaps confused, and not scrupulously exact in the dates.

‡ *Encyclopædia*, *HISTORY*, ch. xxxviii. p. 510. note.

History.

From
A. D.
101.
to
211.

Wide diffusion
of
Christianity.

Reply of
Trajan.

Observations of Tertullian on the Edict, examined.

Genuineness of these Letters.

Another remark must force itself on the most incredulous examiner. The Letter affords an unquestionable proof of the rapid diffusion of Christianity, throughout the Province of Pontus and Bithynia, in the short space of eighty years after the death of its Divine founder. The testimony of Pliny, corroborated as it is by the writings of Lucian,* ought to satisfy us that the expressions, in which the Fathers describe the extent of the Church, though doubtless hyperbolic, were not suggested by the remotest wish to invent and deceive.

Pliny concludes by describing the revival of Pagan Rites, in consequence of his administration, and by expressing a confident hope that if pardon were granted on repentance, the new Sect would lose a considerable number of its adherents. The answer of Trajan is brief and positive. After declaring his approbation of the course pursued by Pliny, and admitting the impossibility of laying down any one rule, calculated for universal application, he directs, that the Christians should not be sought for, but that, if any were brought before the Governor, they should be punished. He was careful to add, that such as denied the profession of Christianity, and confirmed their denial by supplications to the Gods, notwithstanding any former suspicion, should obtain pardon. Moreover, he observes, that an accusation ought in no instance to be admitted, unless signed by the person who presented it; for the sanction of anonymous informations "would be a disgraceful precedent, unworthy of the Age of Trajan." It is in speaking of this Rescript that Tertullian has severely reflected on the anomaly of forbidding the adoption of active measures against the Christians, as if innocent, and yet ordering them to be punished as if guilty. "If," he exclaims, "they deserve condemnation, why should they not be sought for? If they deserve not to be sought for, why should they not be acquitted?"† But, although Trajan, from the nature of existing laws, and the influence of preconceived opinions, might not consider them as guiltless, he might nevertheless regard them as a race of mistaken men, who, in their relation of Citizens, were not likely to endanger the peace and security of Society: while, on the other hand, all encouragement given to informers, a description of men against whom he had published very severe laws, would necessarily open a wide field for malignity, avarice, cruelty, and all the passions which are nourished by Persecution. He considered tacit neglect as less dangerous than rigorous search, but open acquittal as pregnant with the most disastrous consequences to the institutions of the State. Tertullian himself has not reckoned Trajan among the Persecutors,‡ and has acknowledged that the effect of this Edict was in some degree to frustrate the Penal Laws, on which the harsh treatment which the Christians experienced from the Provincial Rulers, was generally grounded.

We have hitherto detailed and commented upon the contents of these Letters on the tacit assumption of their genuineness. As Semler, however, has undertaken to discover in them the traces of imposture, it may be

necessary to state briefly on what grounds their authority has been received. The chief points on which we would insist are the following:—these Letters are not a single, unconnected document, such, for instance, as the *Acts of Pilate*, which might be easily forged, but they form a part of an extensive correspondence, into which important Epistles could not without great difficulty be interpolated; they are found in all manuscripts containing the Xth Book of Epistles,* in which this correspondence is preserved, and some of these manuscripts are of very great antiquity; these Letters, moreover, are quoted by Tertullian, at an early period, when fabrication might have been speedily detected, particularly as it appears from the account of Pliny himself, that his Works were widely circulated;‡ the quotation of Tertullian is renewed without the slightest suspicion by Eusebius, by Jerome, by Orosius, and later writers; lastly, these Letters bear all the internal characters of truth;—they are not sufficiently favourable for a Christian fabricator, they are too favourable for a Pagan; the style, too, and manner of Pliny are so strikingly preserved, that an editor,§ who professes to have spent many years in thoroughly examining and illustrating his Works, declares that he could perceive nothing in this part of them which was not perfectly in character with the rest; they have been, besides, repeatedly sifted and explained by men who possessed the deepest knowledge of languages and antiquities, yet of these examiners none, till the time of Semler, ever ventured to deny their genuineness.¶ In a word, the authority of manuscripts, the testimony of succeeding writers, the consent of commentators, the exceeding difficulty of any interpolation, the absence of a sufficient motive for such an interpolation, the style and subject of the whole,|| must be admitted by the dispassionate examiner, as far overbalancing a few captious objections, such as might be urged against the authenticity of almost any record of antiquity.

The operation of Trajan's Edict ¶ was favourable to the rising Church. Still, it is evident that considerable scope was left to arbitrary Governors for the exercise of those powers, which reduced the Christians to a state of danger and distress. The turbulence and ferocity of the populace, fomented by the artifices of the Priesthood, still displayed itself in those seasons of tumultuous festivity, when the strength of a collected multitude was more sensibly felt, and its desires less commonly

Of the
Christian
Church
in the 11th
Century.

From
A. D.
101.
to
211.

State of
Christianity
under Trajan.

* It is but just to add, that suspicions have been entertained, but without sufficient grounds, against the whole of the Xth Book of Epistles, chiefly because it is found in very few manuscripts.

† E. g. *Bibliopolita Lygdonis case non potestatem: ac tantis libentibus ex literis suis cognovi venditari libellos suos, quibus pergrui manere gratiam, quoniam in urbe collegerant, delector.* (Ep. 11. lib. xi.)

‡ Gierig.

§ They have been examined by Balduinus, in his Commentaries on the Edicts of the Roman Emperors; by J. H. Boshuizen, by Sam. Fetsius, and other writers, commented by Fabricius in his *Biblioth. Lat.* tom. ii. p. 415. Ed. Ernest. For further remarks on these Epistles, see G. J. Vossii in *Ep. Plin. de Christian. Comment.*; and Lardner's *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. v. p. 3—86.

|| The above arguments will be found more fully detailed in Gierig's edition of Pliny the Younger, (tom. ii. 496—519.)

¶ It is hardly necessary to notice a supposed Edict, by which Trajan is said to have put a stop to the Persecution in consequence of a letter (from Tiberian, Governor of the First Palestine, complaining that he was wearied with destroying the Christians, on whom severity had no effect. It is first mentioned by John Malala, a credulous writer of the VIIth century, and, though cited by Seidus, (o. *Trajanus*.) contains undeniable marks of forgery. See Dodwell, in *Disert. Cyprian.* diss. 11. sec. 23, 24.)

* Alexander, the false Prophet, is represented as complaining,—*ἄλλοις ἡμετέρας ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἡγεμονίαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν.* (Pseudo-mat. sec. 25.)

† O sententiam necemque confusam! Negat inquirenda, ut innocentes, et mandata puniendo, ut nocentes. Parci et servari, damnandi et animadvereri! Quid tenetippon, Censoria, circumvenia? Si damnas, cur non et inquiris? si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis? (Apol. c. 2.)

‡ Apol. c. 5.

History.
From
A. D.
101.
to
911.
Accession
of Hadrian.
A. D.
117.

A. D.
126.
Edict

Whether
Hadrian
designed to
revert to
Temple to
Circus?

Effects
of the
religion
of
Antinous.

Result
of the
Jews
under
Bar-
cochebas.

opposed. Tranquillity, for the most part, came or departed according to the ebb or flow of popular feeling.

On the accession of Hadrian, a Prince, whose superstitious addiction to Divination and Magic,* and whose zealous activity in the maintenance of the Pagan ceremonies, may have encouraged the Priests to renew their machinations,—the Christians were assailed by fresh charges, and harassed with increased violence. The public Games became, as usual, scenes of licentiousness inflamed by bigotry. The Civil Authorities were unable to check the progress of an evil, of which they witnessed the extent, and deprecated the consequences. Hence the complaints of Serenus Gracianus, the Proconsul of Asia, and the consequent Edict of the Emperor, addressed to his successor, which we have already noticed.† Though apparently not free from some ambiguity, it was considered, probably from its real effects, as a powerful protection.

Hadrian united an inquisitive disposition‡ with an affable address.§ It is probable, therefore, that this favourable result may have been partly produced by the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides. But however inclined the Emperor might be to shield the Christians from insult and injury, we cannot admit that it was his intention to have built a Temple to Christ, and to have enrolled him among the Gods. No mention of any such design is to be found, where it is most natural to seek it, in the Christian writers of the IInd and IIIrd centuries. The assertion is founded on the single testimony of Lampridius,|| from whom we also learn that Hadrian commanded Temples without Images to be erected in all cities. The origin of the report is thus easily traced; but to suppose that his object was really to introduce Christianity, is to contradict his character, as one who exerted as much diligence in supporting the Religion of Rome, as he expressed contempt for all foreign worship.¶ In the singular Letter, which he wrote from Egypt to Servianus, the state of the Christians is described in a tone of railery.** And, as we are expressly informed by Spartan,†† that he consecrated several Temples to himself, it is not improbable that these buildings were designed for the same purpose, and left unfinished in consequence of his death. From the prevalence of the report, however, we may safely draw one conclusion, that Hadrian was not regarded as being hostile to the professors of Christianity.

It was particularly during the reign of Hadrian, as Eusebius informs us, that the cause of Revealed Truth flourished.‡‡ The deification of Antinous, the Temples erected, Priests appointed, and victims offered, in honour of a depraved favourite, gave the Christians an opportunity of exposing the origin of the Pagan Deities, which seems to have been successfully seized.||||

But, notwithstanding the measures adopted in their favour, the Christians were still in a precarious and often distressful situation. Their apparent identity with the

Jews, who had, not long before, been engaged in a wide and bloody revolt, had exposed them to the retributive excesses of the Roman populace. Their hardships now arose from another quarter, but were accompanied with circumstances of aggravated calamity. The vast numbers, who gathered together under the standard of the daring impostor Barcochebas,* spread terror and desolation in every part of Palestine, and assailed with merciless fury the followers of Christ, as enemies alike to the Liberty and the Religion of their Country.† The visitation of vengeance fell indeed no less rapidly than dreadfully on that infatuated nation, and on the ancient seat of her departed glory;‡ but it came too late to protect numbers, who, amid scenes of slaughter and of torment, amid the cry of rebellion and of blasphemy, unrecorded and unpitied, resigned their lives to preserve the Faith which they had conscientiously embraced. Thus was it the singular unhappy situation of the Christians to be deemed dangerous by the Romans, as men disaffected to their Government, and by the Jews as men attached to it.

The era of a new reign was generally the era of a new Persecution. The salutary operation of Hadrian's Decree ceased in a great measure with his life; the restless spirit of calumny revived, and impiety and Atheism were the reproaches to which the Christians were exposed, even in the reign of the mild, the amiable, the benevolent Antoninus Pius. It was to deprecate this injustice that Justin Martyr addressed to the Emperor an Apology, remarkable for its open and manly language. In consequence, perhaps, of this remonstrance, Antoninus renewed by his sanction the Rescript of Hadrian, and restored comparative tranquillity to the Church. Yet even the Imperial Decree was not sufficient to controul the force of popular exasperation. An earthquake furnished additional matter for insult and barbarity. For calamities, of whatever nature and from whatever cause, storms, or blight, or pestilence, or famine, or commotions, or defeats, were ascribed to the disciples of the new worship.§ "Their enemies," says Tertullian, "call aloud for the blood of the innocent, alleging this vain pretext for their hatred, that they believe the Christians to be the cause of every public misfortune. If the Tiber has overflowed its banks, or the Nile has not overflowed; if heaven has refused its rain; if the earth has quaked; if famine or the plague has spread its ravages, the cry is immediate, 'Away with the Christians to the Lion.'"

In this instance the Emperor is said to have issued

* Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 6. On the revolt of Barcochebas, see Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 68, and *Encyclopædia*, HADRIAN.

† Just. Mart. *Apol.* lib. ii. p. 12.

‡ On the ruins of Jerusalem, Hadrian built *Ælis Capitolina*, from which he excluded the Jews. (Dion Cassius, lib. lxxi. c. xv.) Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. i. Sulpit. Sever. *Hist. Sacr.* lib. ii. c. 31.)

§ Amob. lib. i. in us.

¶ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 40.

In the very beginning of his *Apology*, Arnobius complains of this unjust accusation, that Christianity excited even the depredations of locusts and of vermin. The object of Cyprian's Tract to Demetrian is to prove, that the evils which oppressed the Jews were not the effects of Christianity. Indeed this persuasion continued to increase so strongly, that Augustine undertook his great work *De Civitate Dei*, and Orosius composed his *History*, to remove the objections which it raised. For even after the establishment of Christianity as the Religion of the State, it was charged, in the language of the defenders of Polytheism, with having chased away the Genii of the Roman People, (Symm. pro *Socr. Patr. ap. Prudent.*) and drawn down the indignation of their forefathers, as they bent from their seats above to contemplate the land of their birth and of their fame. (A.)

N 2

Of the
Christian
Church
in the IInd
Century.
From
A. D.
101
to
211.

A. D.
139.
Accession of
Antoninus
Pius.

Public
misfortunes
ascribed to
the influ-
ence of
Christianity

Edict of
Antoninus
Pius.

* Dion Cassius, lib. lxxv. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxv.

† *Encyclopædia*, HADRIAN.

‡ *Cervicatum omnium explorator*. Tertull. *Apol.* c. 5.

§ *In colloquiis etiam hominum civitatis*. Spart. *Adrian.* c. 20.

¶ *In Vit. Alexand. Sever.* c. 43. The story is rejected by Cassiodorus.

¶ *Sacro Romanæ diligentissimi curavit; peregrina contempsit*. Spart. in *Vit. Adrian.* c. 22.

** *Vapac*. in *Vit. Saturnin.* p. 245.

†† *In Vit. Adrian.*

‡‡ Euseb. *Prep.* lib. iv. c. 17.

|||| See *Univ. Hist.* vol. xv. p. 169. note.

History.
From
A. D.
101.
to
211.
Brief ac-
count of this
in and
death of
Peregrinus.

which circumstances, unnatural and distorted, revolt and disquiet the reader, though ever so well disposed to repel captious surmises, it is pleasing to point out some relations, on many parts of which it is impossible to dwell without feeling the influence of Religion.

To this reign* may be referred the death of Peregrinus, an occurrence which has been depicted by the lively pencil of Lucian,† The history of this singular person, succinctly sketched, may serve to throw light on the customs of the ancient Christians. In early youth, if we may credit his hostile Biographer, he was guilty of vices which endangered his safety. He is even accused of having murdered his father, in order to obtain more speedily his inheritance; and it is reported, that in consequence of the notoriety of the crime, he was induced to fly his Country. In the course of his wanderings, whilst in Palestine, he embraced or affected to embrace the Christian Religion. The reputation which he acquired in the new Sect, who were either ignorant of his former character, or satisfied with his subsequent repentance, is said to have been considerable. He presided in their assemblies, and displayed so much zeal in their cause, that he was seized by their enemies, and cast into prison. Whilst in confinement, he received from the Christians every attention which benevolence could suggest, to mitigate the severity of his situation. Widows and orphans came anxiously to pay to him the duties of humanity; the Ministers of the Church prevailed on his guards to allow them to spend the nights by his side; and Deputies were sent with money to relieve his wants and to administer consolation. Feasts of love, intermingled with converse on sacred subjects, were celebrated in the scene of his trial. And here even the raillery of Lucian affords honourable testimony to the disinterestedness and fortitude which actuated the Christians. They are described as assisting their afflicted friends with incredible promptitude and liberality, and as despising alike riches and sufferings, in the hope of becoming qualified for immortality by perseverance in the laws of their legislator; one of which laws enjoined them to regard all the members of their community as brethren. They had all things, it is added, in common. The Governor of Syria, a man of a Philosophic turn of mind, observing that Peregrinus was resolved to submit to Martyrdom, rather than to renounce the Religion he had adopted, refused him the honour which he sought, and set him free. On his release he returned to Parium, his native town, and ceded to the public treasure the property which he had inherited from his father; an action which excited the highest degree of admiration. Although professing Christianity, he wore the cloak and assumed the usual exterior of a Cynic Philosopher. In his travels, the Christians continued to supply him with the necessities of life, till, owing to some breach of discipline which he committed, he forfeited their esteem. Thus discarded, he indulged in all the grossness of the School he had last joined, and wandering through different Countries, attracted notice by the senilities which he vented. But as the novelty of his conduct wore away, the attention which it had excited gradually diminished. He judged it necessary, therefore, to devise some new method of raising himself to celebrity. The expedient which he fixed upon was extraordinary. He publicly proclaimed

that he intended to burn himself at the Olympic Games. The report was extensively circulated, and naturally excited unusual interest. The crowd assembled was immense. Vanity proved stronger than fear. Peregrinus cast himself on a lighted pile erected for the purpose; and, in the words of his Biographer, "the flames rising on every side, nothing more was seen of him." His death was widely published, and its circumstances were exaggerated. The satirical spirit of Lucian was gratified as he heard a spectator seriously protest, that he had seen prodigies attending this spectacle which the writer himself (for his love of Truth seems not to have stood in the way of his fondness for plesantry) had invented.

No general Persecution is recorded as having happened in the reign of Commodus.* Some particular Martyrdoms, however, are mentioned, and of these the most remarkable was that of Apollonius, a man distinguished by his Learning and Philosophy. It is a singular circumstance, that in this last instance both the accused and the accuser were executed. It has been supposed that this punishment was inflicted on the one in consequence of the Law of Trajan, and on the other, in compliance with the Edict of Antoninus Pius. It is possible, however, that this double punishment may have arisen from a different cause. The accuser of Apollonius was, as we learn from Jerome,† his slave; it may therefore be conjectured, that he was condemned according to the ancient Law, renewed by Trajan, by which the Slave, who informed against his Master, was to be put to death.‡ It also appears that Apollonius was of Senatorial rank; a proof, independent of the testimony of Eusebius, that the Christian Religion was now professed by men of wealth and station.§ Indeed, we are informed by Dion Cassius,|| (unless the passage be one of the additions of Xiphilinus,) that Marcia, the concubine of Commodus, exerted the influence which she possessed with the Emperor, in procuring benefits for the Christians. Thus, without a formal abolition of the Penal Laws, which were directed against its members, the Church received little injury from the powerful, whose prudence soon taught them to abandon Persecution, when their sagacity discovered that it was not the road to Imperial favour. But it is deeply to be lamented, that though we possess most of the principal facts in Christian History, we are ignorant of numerous slight intermediate occurrences, which, however trivial, when considered singly, afford in the aggregate the best clue towards a discovery of the true motives which actuate the conduct of Man. It is now left to conjecture, to mould into a consistent whole a strange mass of unconnected and sometimes discordant materials.

No mention of the Christians occurs during the short reigns of Pertinax and Didius Julianus; these Emperors, unable to quell the troubles which immediately surrounded them, had but little inclination to make inquiries into the state of a Religious Sect.

Of the
Christian
Church
in the IInd
Century.

From
A. D.
101.
to
211.

A. D.
151.
Reign of
Commodus.

A. D.
189.

Execution of
the Accuser
and the Ac-
cused; how
explained.

Cause of the
tranquillity
of the Chris-
tians.

Pertinax
and Didius
Julianus.

* *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 21.

† *De Vir. Illust.* c. 42.

‡ That Slaves, however, frequently accused the Christians, is evident from many passages; e. g. *Quid? quum domestici res vobis prodant? curis et malis magis produntur*, &c. Tertull. *i. ad Nation.* c. 7; Bishop Kaye, on Tertullian, p. 139, note.

§ See the conjectures of M. de Mandajon in the article *Sur une Pétition des de Marc. Aurélien, en faveur des Chrétiens.* (*Hist. de L'Acad. des Inscriptions.* tom. xviii. p. 252.)

|| Lib. lxxii. c. 4.

* Respecting the Miracle of the Thundering Legion, see *Encyclopædia*, M. AURELIUS ART. PAUL.

† *De Morte Peregrini.*

History. The Emperor Severus was at first favourably disposed towards the Christians, one of whom, named Proculus, had cured him of a disorder by anointing him with oil, and was in consequence retained in the Imperial Palace till his death.* From a sense of gratitude, he defended several Romans of high rank, who had embraced Christianity, and openly checked the fury which the multitude displayed against its followers. Another circumstance may have contributed to produce this fortunate effect: the Christians had wholly abstained from taking part in the Civil dissensions raised by Niger in the East, and by Albinus in the West.†

Accion of Severus. Incensed, however, at the rebellious spirit of the Jews,‡ and, it may be supposed, naturally averse to all deviations from the established Creed, he issued an Edict, prohibiting his subjects from abjuring their Religion in order to embrace the Jewish or the Christian Faith. This Edict, though it was, perhaps, only intended to stop the progress of proselytism, proved in its operation destructive to the tranquillity of the Church. The reign of Severus became prolific in circumstances of deep and extensive calamity.§ In all parts, and particularly in Egypt, Persecution assumed its most dreadful forms, and among the victims, who endured their sufferings with extraordinary fortitude, the names of Leonides, the father of Origen, of Perpetua and Felicitas, of Marcella and Potamiana, and of many other Martyrs are recorded.||

Circiter A. D. 202. His Edict. It was probably about the commencement of this Persecution that Tertullian published his celebrated *Apology*, addressed to the Governors of Proconular Africa.

Persecution. It is manifest from this *Apology*, that the Christians were exposed to peculiar hardships. Their true name was but imperfectly learned, yet this name was used as a test, by which their guilt or innocence was to be determined.¶ They were not allowed to state their

Apology of Tertullian.
Circiter A. D. 204.
State of the Christians.

* The words of Tertullian are certainly ambiguous, *Ipse etiam Severus, pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit. Nam et Proculus Christianum, qui Torquatus cognominabatur, Eubodius [Eubodius] Proconularum, qui cum per oleum aliquando curaverat, requisitus, et in palatio suo habuit usque ad mortem ejus.* (*Ad Scapul. c. 4. p. 87. ed. Rigali.*) Lord Hailes contends, but in our opinion wrongly, that, according to Tertullian, the cure was wrought on Eubodius, and not on Severus. (*Inquiry into the Secondary Causes, which Mr. Gibbon has assigned for the Rapid Growth of Christianity, p. 75.*) This interpretation had been before adopted by Basnage and Fleury. Dr. Jortin infers from the context, that Tertullian considered the cure as miraculous. (*Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 4.*) Other writers have regarded it as natural, and given instances of the medical uses of oil. S. Pylitus has made some learned remarks on the subject; he conjectures that Eubodius was the daughter of Eubodius, a freedman of Severus, who is called by Dion Cassius, Caracalla's *opibus*, (i. e. the person who had the care of his education), and that Proculus was her freedman. (*Diatribe de Jure Princip. Edict. Eocles. quærit. p. 62.*) Bishop Kaye has observed, "it may be doubted whether we ought to infer from this statement, that a practice then subsisted in the Church, of anointing sick persons with oil, founded on the injunction in the Epistle of St. James. This, however, is certain, that the practice, if it subsisted, was directly opposed to the Romish Sacrament of Extreme Unction; which is administered, not with a view to the recovery of the patient, but when his case is hopeless." (*On Tertullian, p. 455.*) Besides the authors above-mentioned, the reader may consult Fabric. *Lat. Eclog. p. 232.*

† Tertull. *ad Scapul. c. 2.*

‡ *Julianus fieri sub gravi parâ retuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. See Spart. in Vit. Sever. c. 17;* on which see the contradictory remarks of Mosheim, (*de Reb. Christ. ante Const. M. p. 456.*) and Lardner, (*Tertul. lib. iii. p. 12.*)

§ This is reckoned the Vth Persecution by Orsius, (*lib. vii. c. 17.*) and the Vth by Sulpicius Severus, (*Hist. Sac. lib. ii. c. 32.*)

|| Euseb. *Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 1.* &c.
¶ They were called *Christiani*, instead of *Christiani*. (Tertull. *Apol. c. 3.*)

conduct in a regular defence, but were asked the simple question, whether they were members of the Sect to which they were reported to belong? and, on their confession, they were either immediately condemned, or, by a strange perversion of the usual reasons for the application of the rack, were tortured, not in order to disclose, but in order to retract the truth. The most dreadful crimes were, as formerly, laid to their charge, without any attempt being made to establish them by evidence, or even to show their probability. The reformation of life produced by conversion, was seen, felt, and yet disputed. Virtue in a Christian was no longer deemed Virtue. To the accusation of abandoning the worship of the Gods, they answered that they were justified in rejecting an Idolatry, which invested with divine honours* deceased mortals, and contained a disgusting mass of incongruity and pollution. But, as their lives were traduced, so were their doctrines misrepresented. Fictions, which ought hardly to have obtained credit, when the Sect was but little spread, were still circulated and believed. The Christians were still often confounded with Jews; and the history of the latter people was still misrepresented. The calumnies respecting the objects of Christian worship were repeated. Thus, ignorance combined with malice, and contempt with hatred, in directing the efforts of obloquy and Persecution.

One cause of the hostility of the People arose from the abstinence of the Christians from all tumultuous expressions of joy on occasions of public festivity.† Amid the revellings and banquetings of the crowd, when the city was become, in the language of the Apologist, "a public Tavern;" when the extravagance of uncontrolled mirth was termed the effusion of a loyal spirit, the Christian, over whom Religious feelings exerted an undivided influence, retired from scenes of reckless gaiety to the exercise of peaceful devotion; his door-posts were not overshadowed with lamps, his tables were not spread with costly viands; but, in temperance and modesty, he followed the purer precepts of his Religion, and sought not in the general rejoicings an excuse for luxury and licentiousness.‡ But this conduct was deemed, by some, disaffection to the Government, and, by all, a morose rejection of the pleasures which shed a charm over human life.

It is impossible, however, to understand distinctly the state of feeling at this period, without giving a brief sketch of the opinion of the Christians on the Heathen worship. There was nothing of which the Christians entertained greater horror than Idolatry.§ It was the general notion that, although the Heathen Deities were men, who during their lives had rendered eminent services to Society,|| the authors and promoters of their worship were Demons.¶ These Demons,—either corrupt angels,** or their progeny,††—clothed in a texture of the utmost tenuity, traversed the air, wandered over the

Of the Christian Church in the 11th Century.

From A. D. 101. to 211.

Conduct of the Christians at Public Festivals.

Opinions of the Christians respecting the origin and nature of Idolatry.

* Tertull. *Apol. c. 2.*

† *Ibid. c. 35, 36, 38, 39.*

‡ *Ibid. c. 35.*

§ Tertull. (*de Idolol. c. 1.*) calls it *principale crimen gentium humani, &c.* Cyprian, *nummum delictum. Ep. 10.* Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions*, lib. ii. c. 3.

|| Tertull. *Apol. c. 10, 11, &c.*

¶ On this subject, see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall, &c.* vol. ii. ch. xv. p. 127, and Bishop Kaye, on Tertullian, p. 214—221.

** Min. Fel. c. 97.

†† Tertull. *Apol. c. 22.*

History
From
A. D.
101.
to
211

earth, and employed their subtle powers in deceiving and in tormenting the Human race.* They first drew Man from the knowledge of his Creator, and afterwards tried every device to confirm him in his error. Susceptible of receiving both nourishment and pleasure from the savoury steam of victims, they encouraged Sacrifices, and lurked in Statues.† Capable of transporting themselves with wonderful velocity into the most distant regions, and of entering, by reason of the fineness of their substance, into the most minute and hidden recesses, they acquired a knowledge almost instantaneous of passing events. These events they communicated to the Ministers of Oracles, who were thus enabled to rival true Prophets, by declaring what it was beyond Human power to learn, or, at least, to learn so soon.‡ By their assistance children Prophecied.§ To maintain the ceremonies of Idolatry, they governed lots, moved the entrails of victims, and directed the flight of birds.|| They were ever busy in producing evil: they nipped the young bud, and shed blight upon the corn; they raised storms and infected the atmosphere; they filled the mind with violent passions and irregular desires; they worked the illusions of enchantment, and called up the souls of the departed by Necromancy; they infused dreams, and deluded the senses by Miracles.¶ By them the death of Socrates was suggested, in order to destroy every effort of Truth.** By their invisible lash, the Emperors, as the Apologists boldly declared to them, were impelled to persecute the Faithful without cause.†† Yet these Demons were subject to the Christians.‡‡ Tertullian openly challenges his adversaries to bring Demoniacs before the Tribunals, and affirms, that the Spirits which possessed them, when summoned by the exorcist, would confess themselves to be Evil Demons, and bear witness to the truth of Christianity.§§ Similar appeals are confidently made by other Fathers of the Church. Saturn, and Jupiter, and Serapis, and the other Gods of Paganism, unable to endure the pain, are described as proclaiming their nature.||| Such were the general sentiments of the early Believers. By the constant application of these theories, they felt themselves under no necessity to deny the most absurd pretensions and fables in the ancient Mythology.¶¶ And, by the same system, whenever any similarity existed between the Christian and

the Heathen ceremonies, it was at once attributed to the wiles of malicious Spirits.*

The adoption of these opinions concurred with a sense of the Divine prohibitions, and with a view both of the practical evils, and of the rooted force of Polytheism, to inspire them with extreme fear of all which might, even by indirect reasoning, be considered as connected with the guilt of Idolatry. An abhorrence of it was carefully instilled into the mind of the new Convert.† Some, as Tertullian, condemned every employment which could tend in any manner to support and promote it. To carve Statues, to adorn Temples, to teach the ancient Mythology, to sell frankincense, or any merchandise used in the Heathen worship; to allow themselves to be adjoined or blessed by the name of any Idol; to receive or pay money on legal days, which were sacred to any Heathen God; to hang lamps or garlands at their doors: all these acts, however strong the distinction which really existed between them, were indiscriminately subjected to censure.‡ But it should not be forgotten, that this sensitive fear, though sometimes unreasonable, flowed from a deep feeling of conviction and of piety; and that it preserved the Primitive Church from that disguised adoption of Pagan ceremonies, with which it was afterwards reproached.

From the effects of these opinions, however, we may derive much of the popular enmity. To gratify it,§ the Magistrates, although it must be confessed they were often anxious, by suggesting evasions, to have an opportunity of releasing the accused,|| were sometimes willing to sacrifice victims so easily obtained and destroyed as the Christians. Hence they were daily besieged, daily betrayed; often surprised and seized in the very midst of their meetings and assemblies.¶ The punishments were no less various than atrocious: they were cast into exile, or condemned to the mines, or bound to crosses, or torn with nails, or thrown to wild beasts, or beheaded, or consigned to the flames:** penalties to which even persons guilty of sacrilege or rebellion were not subjected.†† But, as if the cup of misery was not yet full, the bitterness of ridicule was infused, and pleasure was exercised in giving them names derived from the nature of their torments.‡‡

Nor were these severities, which were authorized by the Civil Magistrate, although unexampled,§§ the only sufferings to which they were exposed; often, in Bacchanalian riot, the mob, with a spontaneous motion, assailed them with stones and fire, or violated the quiet of the tomb, tore the corpse from its sacred refuge, and mangled and dispersed the remains of the already disfigured body;||| an outrage the more painfully felt, as the ancient Christians were most careful, and, in fact, expensive, in preserving and embalming the

Of the
Christian
Church
in the IInd
Century.
From
A. D.
101.
to
211.
Fear of
Idolatry.

Enmity of
the pop-
lace.
Cruelties
exercised.

* Tertull. *Apol.* c. 22.

† *Ibid.* Min. Fel. c. 27, &c.

‡ Thus Tertullian (*in Apol.* c. 22,) explains how Apollo knew that Croesus was boiling a tortoise with the flesh of a lamb. The story is told in Herodotus, lib. i. c. 47.

§ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 23.

|| Min. Fel. c. 27.

¶ See Tertull. *Apol.* c. 23. He even adds, that by their means *et caput et membra divinae conseruantur*. See also Min. Fel. c. 27. Lactant. *Div. Inst.* lib. ii. c. 14.

** Just. Mart. *Apol.* i.

†† *Ibid.* Comp. Tertull. *Apol.* c. 27.

‡‡ Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* Tertull. *Apol.* c. 23, Cyprian. *de Idol. Vant.*—*Ad Demetrian.* Orig. *c. Cels.* lib. i. and lib. vii. Theoph. *ad Autol.* lib. ii. Lactant. lib. iv. c. 27, &c.

§§ *Apol.* c. 23.

|| Cyprian. *ad Demetrian.* Comp. Lactant. lib. iv. c. 27, &c.

¶¶ Thus Tertullian accounts for the tales of the slave holding water—a ship drawn by a girdle—the black beard of Domitian Ahenobarbus, which turned red at the touch of Castor and Pollux, &c. The Philosophic Pagans would probably have whispered some remark similar to that which Seneca makes, at an attempt to explain an absurd fiction—*Quanto expeditius erat dicere, Mendacium et fabula est!* (*Quæst. Nat. lib. iv. c. 7.*)

* See, for instance, how Justin Martyr explains the supposed resemblance between Baptism and the Pagan Lustrations, and between the Mysteries of Mithra and the Eucharist. (*Apol.* i.)

† Orig. *c. Cels.* lib. iii.

‡ See Bishop Kaye, on Tertullian, p. 378. note 289, &c.

§ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 49.

|| *Ibid.* c. 27. Comp. *ad Scapul.* c. 4. *Scorpisce*, c. 1.

¶ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 7.

** *Ibid.* c. 12.

†† *Id. ad Scapul.* c. 4. Bishop Kaye, on Tertullian, p. 157.

‡‡ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 50.

§§ Tertullian alludes to the almost incredible fact, that a female was committed to the keeper of the Public Stews. (*Apol. sub fine.*)

||| Tertull. *Apol.* c. 37. Moah. *de Reb. Chrat. ante Const. M. p. 254.*

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to
211.Tertullian's
Treatise de
Fugâ.

dead.* From these expressions, openly made in a public document, the reader may form some idea of the cruelties exercised against the Christians at this period.

It was in the Persecutions of this reign that many Christians sought safety by flight, or by paying money.† Tertullian, who was then a Moutanist, wrote his *Tract de Fugâ in Persecutione*,‡ in order to prove that all attempts to avoid Martyrdom were weak and impious endeavours to oppose the will and to accuse the justice of the Deity. From this *Tract*, the harsh production of a severe-minded man, it appears that whole Churches were in the habit of purchasing, by subscription, their tranquillity.§ Yet the example of Rutilius, who employed this method, but, when seized, submitted to torments and death with Christian fortitude, proves that a sense of Religion was not necessarily lost, because a prudential regard to personal security was entertained. But when sums of money were paid to informers and to Magistrates, it was not surprising that the number of the former increased, and the vigilance of the latter was redoubled. Avarice was whetted. The rapacious soldier watched their meetings, and his connivance was obtained by bribes. For the Christians considered that this voluntary privation of worldly goods was in itself a pledge of their sincere attachment to the Faith which they had embraced.

Digression
on Martyr-
doms.

It may here perhaps be the proper place to make some remarks on the subject of the Christian Martyrdoms in general. The term Martyr,|| which originally signified "a witness," was applied, not merely to all who had laid down their lives in testimony of their Faith, but, with great latitude, to persons who had submitted to exile, imprisonment, or other severities, in defence of their Religion; persons who were afterwards more commonly designated by the term Confessors. In consequence of this extension of the name, the list of Martyrs has been unduly swelled. Other causes have also contributed to produce the false estimate, which has been sometimes admitted: such as the vanity or injudicious zeal of later Monks, and the mistakes arising from the misinterpretation of abbreviations on ancient inscriptions.¶

The learned Dodwell wrote a Dissertation ** to prove that the number of Martyrs, who suffered death under the Roman Emperors, was very limited. Ruinart†† has maintained that the number was extremely great. An examination of the Fathers will lead rather to the former than to the latter opinion.

But, it has been justly remarked, that the hardships

of the Christians are not to be weighed by the exact number who endured capital punishment: they are not even appreciated by calculating the penalties imposed by the Magistrates, and the injuries inflicted by the People. Their sufferings arose from a thousand private channels. The husband, without ground of jealousy, divorced his wife, simply because she was a Christian: for the same cause the father disinherited his son, and the master dismissed his slave.* The nearest relations scrupled not to bring informations against their kindred.† The name of Christian effaced the impression of every virtue calculated to conciliate esteem. "He is a good man, but,—he is a Christian."‡ The end of the sentence cancelled the effects produced by the beginning. But as the profession of Christianity entailed on the Converts the insults of their enemies, it naturally excited the affection of their brethren. Vengeance on the one side was not more deep, than benevolence on the other was warm and active. The Pagans, themselves, though they questioned the motive, could not but remark the circumstance: "behold," they exclaimed, "how these Christians love one another."§ The hardships of exile and imprisonment were alleviated by the consolations, by the reverence, and by the contributions of the members of the Church.|| The dungeon was visited by females, who came devoutly to kiss the fetters of the persecuted;¶ and by Penitents, who sought through intercession to be readmitted into the Church.** If the Christian passed through his trial without suffering death, his character commanded a high degree of deference and respect, which gave him a superior claim to Ecclesiastical dignities.†† If it was his lot to fall, he was told that Martyrdom was a second Baptism, which both supplied the Baptism by water, when this last had not been received, and restored it, when lost:‡‡ that it obtained the pardon of every sin:§§ that the Martyr enjoyed the privilege denied to other Souls, of entering immediately on the departure of life from the body into the mansions of the blessed.||| His body was anxiously sought: his bones, deemed more valuable than gold and precious stones,¶¶ were carefully interred with the Faithful, apart from the Gentiles.*** The anniversary of his death was termed *Natilitium*, being, as it were, the day of his birth into a better world.††† It was diligently noted‡‡‡ and commemorated at his tomb.§§§ Such honours were designed as marks of veneration for the dead, and as incentives of gratitude to the living.|||| Nor was this design unattended by the desired circumstances. The Martyr regarded the pile which encircled him, as his garb of victory, or his

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Martyrs.

* Tertullian speaks of the quantities of costly spices which the Christians purchased of the Arabian merchants for that purpose. (*Apol.* c. 42.)

† *Pasciœra cum delatore, vel milite, vel furunculo aliquo prœvide*, &c. c. 12.

‡ For an account of the *Treatise de Fugâ in Persecutione*, see Bishop Kaye, on *Tertullian*, p. 148.

§ *Parum denique est, si unus aut alius ita cruciatur. Mansuetior tota Ecclesia tribulationibus ingregeretur*, &c. c. 13.

|| At a time when this application of the term was common, the members of the Church of Lyons, notwithstanding their sufferings, had the humility to refuse it. (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 2.)

¶ The History of the 11,000 Virgins is supported by Sirmoad to have arisen from a mistake of this kind. The first reporters, having found in manuscript Martyrologues, SS. *Ursula et Undecimilla V. M.* (i. e. *Sanctæ Ursula et Undecimilla Virgines Martyræ*) supposed that Undecimilla, with *V. M.* following, was an abridgement of *Undecim Milia Virginum Martyrum*. (Palesiana, p. 48.)

** *Dissert. Cyprina*, xi.

†† *Præfat. Act. Martyr. Select. et Sincer.*

* *Tertull. Apol.* c. 3.

† *Id. Scorpiace*, c. 9, 10.

‡ *Id. Apol.* c. 3.

§ *Ibid.* c. 39.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ *Id. ad Uxor.* lib. ii. c. 4.

** *Id. ad Martyr.* lib. i. Bishop Kaye, on *Tertullian*, p. 141.

†† *Tertull. adv. Valentian.* c. 4. Bishop Kaye, on *Tertull.* p. 142.

‡‡ *Tertull. de Patient.* c. 13; *de Baptism.* 16. See Testimonies collected in Bingham, *Antiq.* book x. c. 2. Bishop Kaye, on *Tertullian*, p. 441.

§§ *Tertull. Apol.* c. 50.

||| *Id. Remur. Carnis*, c. 43, &c.

¶¶ *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 16.

*** *Cyprian*, ep. 68, sec. 7 and 3.

††† *Tertull. de Corus. Afriq.* c. 3; *Scorpiace*, c. 15.

||| *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. c. 11, &c.

|||| *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 15.

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chariot of triumph.* Their bonds were deemed as ornaments, which adorned them, even as the fringed robe becomes a bride.† And as, in later times, Columbus,‡ from a sense of indignation at ingratitude, so the Christian, anciently, from feelings of exultation at distresses endured in the cause of Truth, commanded that the chains, which he had worn, should be buried in his grave.§

holy from
sacred
to
the
Fathers

The ardour evinced by many of the early Christians to obtain the honour of Martyrdom,|| thus strongly set forth, sometimes hurried them into a rash and unwarrantable exposure of their lives. The expressions of the Fathers were at times intemperate; though an indulgent allowance ought to be made for the peculiar circumstances of distress under which they were used. When the conduct of the Christians had the greatest influence on the minds of the unconverted, and when their choice lay between Apostasy and Death, it is not surprising if they eagerly availed themselves of the most powerful exhortations. They might, however, have derived more just views from the conduct of the Apostles, who, notwithstanding their desire to exchange this fleeting life for immortality, never presumed, by courting destruction, to throw off the duties of patience and resignation. Their own experience also might have taught them, from two circumstances, that the extravagant praises which they lavished on Martyrdom were often unjustifiable. In the first place, Martyrdoms were not exclusively confined to the Orthodox Believers. Among those who suffered death at Smyrna, one was a Priest of the Sect of the Marcionites.¶ Several other Heretics claim their Martyrs.** To ascribe their fortitude in every instance to the operation of pride,†† is to judge their conduct with too much harshness. Although a true knowledge of Christianity, and a corresponding observance of the great duties which it requires, may be justly deemed most adapted to prepare, and strengthen, and support the spirit under pain and affliction; yet it cannot be denied, that the consciousness of sincerity, even in the cause of error, will enable the mind to endure Persecution with extraordinary firmness. Constancy in maintaining principles is not a criterion of their truth; it is not even a proof that the mode of inquiry which led to their adoption was free from blame: but, unless the tenour of circumstances manifestly points out an evil motive, it is but common charity, in this our state of ignorance, to allow that principles, so maintained, might be conscientiously

professed. In the second place, persons, even among the Orthodox, who had displayed great resolution in the times of Persecution, betrayed, when danger was past, the absence of many virtues, essential to the character of a genuine Christian.

It has been, however, too often ascribed to an excess of mistaken zeal that the Christians came in crowds to the Pagan Tribunals to offer themselves as Martyrs to the cause of the Faith which they had embraced. Their conduct may, sometimes, have originated in a desire of forcing upon the minds of the Magistrates the consideration, that Persecution must be at once extensive and unavailing, since the sufferers were not only numerous but resolute, and punishment was not dreaded, but voluntarily encountered. Such self-devotion would, it was expected, appeal to the dictates of common prudence, or the natural sentiments of humanity. During a Persecution in Asia, the Christians appeared in a Body before the Proconsul Arrius Antoninus, who, struck with wonder, exclaimed, "Wretched men! if you wish to die, have you not precipes or halters?"* There are cases, however, which, it must be confessed, if considered abstractedly from the influencing motives, ought to be regarded rather as criminal than as meritorious.

On the Philosophic Gentiles the effects produced by the Martyrdoms of the Christians were seldom of a nature calculated to leave on the mind conviction of the truth of their Religion. Their fortitude was deemed by some "obstinacy,"† and was traced by others to the force of "mere habit."‡ The Sages, to whom the prospects of a future world were covered with doubts and darkness, were at a loss to conceive how men could submit to pains, which were certain, from the fear of punishments, which were deemed uncertain.§ Since the death of Socrates,|| to die for the sake of Truth formed no part of their creed, or of their conduct. Futurity had no hold on their convictions: its influence glimmered, perhaps, in the shades of study, but was suddenly extinguished by active life; its scenes were treated as ideal creations, which the imagination richly lit up with its warmest colours, but which melted away before present realities.

But very different were the general results. The blood of Martyrs was the seed of the Church.¶ We are like grass, exclaimed the Christian Father, which grows the more abundantly the oftener it is cut down.** The multitude, who saw the Christians mangled and torn, yet unsubdued and almost unmoved, naturally concluded that this supernatural fortitude must proceed from Divine assistance;†† or, at least, that there must be some extraordinary force in the evidence of that Religion, which the most exquisite torments could not prevail on its followers to renounce.

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Christian
Church
in the IInd
Century

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Effects of
Martyrdom
on the Philo-
sophers.*

General
effects of
the Chris-
tian Martyr-
doms.

* Tertull. *Apol. sub fine*.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 1.

‡ Robertson, *Hist. of America*, vol. i. p. 176.

§ Chrysost. *1 de S. Bapt.* tom. i. p. 669.

|| In the Acts of *Polycarpus and Perpetua*, who suffered in the time of Tertullian, it is said that when one Saturnus, a Catechumen, was thrown to a leopard, and, at the first bite, covered with blood, the people gave him the testimony of the second Baptism, by crying, "Salvum totum, Salvum totum: Baptized and saved, Baptized and saved." whence it is inferred, that the Pagans were not ignorant of the opinion entertained by the Christians. (Bingham, *Antiq.* book x. c. 2. sec. 20.)

¶ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. c. 15.

** *Ibid.* lib. v. c. 16; lib. vii. c. 12; *de Martyr. Palest.* c. 10. See particularly Bayle, *Dict. Hist. Art. Marcionites*. Cyrilian, who follows Tertullian in considering Martyrdom as a second and efficacious Baptism, excepts Heretics and Schismatics from its advantages: *Quale delictum est, quod nec baptismus sanguinis potest abluere? Quale crimen est, quod martyrio non potest expiari?* (*De Unit. Deus.* p. 212, &c.)

†† See the reasons assigned by Tillamont, *Mém.* tom. ii. part ii. p. 189.

* Tertull. *ad Scapul.* c. 5. The conduct of these Christians is attributed to intemperate ardour by Mosheim, (*de Reb. Christ. ante Const. M.* p. 235.) and by Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, c. 16. vol. ii. p. 234.) It is ascribed to a more laudable motive by Lantier, (*Heuten Testim.* vol. ii.) whose interpretation is supported by Bishop Kaye (*On Tertull.* p. 147.)

† Marc. Anton. lib. xi. sec. 3. Lactant. lib. v. c. 2.

‡ Epictet. lib. iv. c. 7; lib. viii. c. 45.

§ Min. Fel. c. 8.

|| See the reasons given by Timon, as quoted by Sextus Empiricus, for the flight of Protagoras; and by Diogenes Laertius (lib. v. c. 5,) for that of Aristotle.

¶ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 50.

** *Ibid.*

†† Lactant. lib. v. c. 13.

History.

From
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101.
to
211.

Martyrologies.

Disputes
respecting
Easter, be-
tween the
Asiatic and
Western
Christians.

While criminals, whose frame was most robust, proved by their cries that they were overcome with pain, the very children and females of the Faithful are represented as enduring their sufferings without a groan.* But, while the Martyr was silent, the spectators were sometimes unable to refrain from tears.† The Christians were probably the only persons who, when condemned, returned thanks to their Judges,‡ and in the midst of torments wore smiles on their countenances, sang hymns, and rejoiced.§ It was not surprising, therefore, if Martyrologies were followed by conversations. The *Acts of the Martyrs* were carefully preserved and read in the ancient Church. Eusebius informs us that he made a collection of such *Acts*|| It is much to be regretted that this Work is no longer extant. Several Works were destroyed in subsequent Persecutions, and the remaining Martyrologies are so replete with fables, and so affectedly overspread with rhetorical conceits,¶ that it is impossible to ascertain the degree of credit to which they are respectively entitled. The best are generally such as are brief and simple, and abound not in miracles and extraordinary punishments.

About the middle of the II^d Century a celebrated controversy arose, which, although it turned entirely on a matter of form, was carried on with a degree of violence and acrimony, which would have been unbecoming even on questions of vital importance. At the same time it is right to observe, that much of this intemperance, deeply as it is to be lamented, sprang from a scrupulous attachment to every branch of the Christian system, and an apprehension of the dangers which might grow out of the slightest change in its external regulations.

The dispute related to the proper days on which the Festivals in commemoration of the Death and Resurrection of Christ ought to be observed. The Churches of Europe and Africa kept the Paschal Feast on the night preceding the anniversary of the Resurrection, which was always on a Sunday; and, in defence of this custom, they appealed to the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul. The Asiatic Christians held the Paschal Feast on the fourteenth day of the first month of the Jewish year, at the same time that the Jews eat the Paschal Lamb, and celebrated the day of the Resurrection precisely three days after. And, in support of this practice, they urged the tradition derived from St. Philip and St. John, the Apostles. In consequence, however, of their method too difficulties arose. By this Festival they interrupted the solemn Fast which the other Christians observed during the whole of the great, or Passion Week. And, as the fourteenth of the month fell not on the same day of the week in every year, they were often prevented from celebrating the Resurrection on the first day, or Sunday, in conformity with the usage of the majority of Christians. From this difference sprang

various disputes. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, Polycarp came to Rome, whereof Anicetus was Bishop, to confer with him on the best means of effecting an agreement. The result of their conference was, that each still retained his opinion, but both resolved to preserve the bonds of charity unbroken. But the example of moderation, which they had set, was afterwards but little imitated. At the close of this century Councils were held by the Bishops in Palestine, Rome, Gaul, and various other places, in which it was unanimously decreed that Easter should be celebrated on a Sunday. Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, after having convened the Asiatic Prelates, in consequence of a menacing mandate from Victor, Bishop of Rome, wrote, with their connivance, a spirited Epistle in defence of the practice, which they had always followed, and to which they were determined to adhere. Victor, incensed at their opposition, publicly pronounced the brethren of the Churches of Asia to be wholly excommunicated. The other Bishops, who disapproved of these harsh proceedings, not only used their endeavours to persuade him to adopt a course better calculated to promote peace, unity, and love, but even addressed him in the language of severe censure; a sufficient proof that the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, though it was advancing by no imperceptible steps, was not at that time acknowledged. Irenæus, in particular, strongly recommended the preservation of mutual charity. These exhortations appear to have been efficacious in arresting the progress of imperious measures, and tranquillity was gradually restored. But the difference of method still continued till the period of the Council of Nice, in the IVth century, when the usage of the Asiatic Churches was condemned, and it was decreed that Easter should be celebrated on the same day throughout the Christian world.*

In this century forged writings were largely circulated and injudiciously received by the Christians. The most extensive fabrications which they are charged with having countenanced, are the Books of the *Sibylline Oracles*. That the eight Books, which still remain, are replete with fables, so gross as to be almost beneath confutation, can hardly be denied. The design, the style, the nature of the verse, the matter, all are calculated to destroy their credibility. The ancient Oracles related to the sacrifices and ceremonies, by which the Romans might appease the anger of the Gods; the modern are filled with vehement declamations against Polytheism and Idolatry; the ancient, as Cicero expressly asserts,† were so extremely vague as

* Considerable confusion has arisen from a want of sufficient attention to the various meanings of the word *Pascha*. The Christian Writers, posterior to the Council of Nice, use it to signify the day on which Christ rose from the dead, and on which the memory of his Resurrection is renewed. But the Ante-Nicene Writers, e. g. Tertullian, mean by it not merely the day of the Resurrection, but also the day of the Crucifixion, and sometimes the whole of Passion week. The true nature of this dispute, which was properly concerning the Celebration of the Paschal Feast, has been explained, with his usual acuteness, by Moisham, (*de Reb. Christ.* lib. c. 435-448.) See also *Decret. Niceni de Paschate* Epiphanius, Chr. G. F. Walchii, in *Nov. Commentar. Societ. Reg. Scient. Göttingen.* Ann. 1769, tom. i. p. 10-65.

† The above account of this dispute is taken from Eusebius, (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 14; lib. v. c. 24.) See also Epiphanius (*Hæres. li.*) and particularly Socrates, (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 22.)

‡ *Callide enim, qui sibi compatiunt, perfecti, ut, quodcumque accidit, prædictum videretur, hominum et temporum definitione sublati. Adhuc enim latetiorum obscuriorum, et eodem versus alius in alium posse accommodari viderentur.* (Cic. *de Div.* li. c. 54.)

* Lactant. lib. v. c. 13. Cave, *Primit. Christ.* p. 198.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 15.

‡ Tertull. *Apol.* c. 46.

§ *Magna domum quibus obolati gaudentes.* Tertull. *ad Scapul.* c. 1, &c.

|| Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. c. 9.

¶ It was once the custom in Monasteries to propose to the young members, as an exercise, the Martyrdom of some Saint, to be amplified and embellished with various circumstances and discourses. The most ingenious and plausible were set aside, and being afterwards found among other manuscripts in the Libraries of Monasteries, were probably often confounded with the true Histories of Saints. See Bayle, *Dict. Hist. Art. Valerius*.

Of the
Christi-
an Church
in the 1st
Century.

From
A. D.
101
to
211.

Sibylline
Oracles.
Proofs of
their forgery.

History. to be applicable to any time, place, or circumstance; the modern are unequivocally circumstantial: the ancient were paracrostics, that is, the first verse of every article comprehended all the letters in order that began the following verses;* the modern present no instance of this kind of acrostic, (for even those which are cited in a Speech of Constantine, preserved by Eusebius, are differently constructed:†) lastly, the modern Oracles could be written only by a person well versed in the Doctrines of Christianity, and the details of the Evangelists; and, though the different pieces of the collection may have been composed at different times, there is strong internal evidence that some part was written at a period posterior to the year 169 after Christ.‡ In this collection, some of the Prophecies cited by Justin Martyr, Theophilus Antiochenus, Clemens Alexandrianus, and other writers, are wanting. These Prophecies, however, bear no clear marks of genuineness. It is not our intention to offer the slightest defence of a worthless Work: perhaps the only partial argument, which has any claim to attention, is that, as Augustus sent deputies into various Countries to collect Sibylline verses, it is possible that many Jewish Prophecies, relative to the Messiah, might be incorporated in the collection. But we wish to guard against the conclusion, that the Christians were either eager to promote imposture, or utterly unable to discover it in the Works which they examined. That some person, either with settled malignity to discredit a Sect which he had abandoned, or with injudicious zeal to promote the interests of a party of persecuted men, whose character he revered,‡ should have disgraced himself by inventing these Prophecies, is no improbable conjecture; yet they may have been forged by Pagans.§ A belief was generally entertained that the Sibyl had predicted some extraordinary reign, accompanied by the renovation of the Golden Age. The minds of all were, therefore, in some degree, prepared for the reception of these Oracles. The Christians appear not to have been universally deceived. Some,

however, were certainly ready to admit as true, what, destitute of the leisure, the means of research and comparison, and the critical acumen which later inquirers have possessed, they could not prove to be false, and they believed to be cogent. They urged, therefore, not the whole mass of Prophecies, which is presented to us with all its absurdities concentrated, but scattered parts which were extensively circulated. The Pagan Philosophers, who were themselves so ignorant of the laws of rigid criticism as to cite as genuine the Works fabricated by the later Platonists, under the names of Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, &c., produced no proofs that the Sibylline Oracles were forged. Origen challenged Celsus to show that they were a fabrication, and we never hear that the challenge was accepted. The argument was, therefore, popular and plausible. But progress of time probably convinced the Christians that it was false, or at least doubtful. Eusebius, in his *Evangelical Preparation*, cites the testimony of the Sibyl only after Josephus, and alleges favourable Oracles only when found in Porphyry, the direct enemy of Christianity. Augustine* grants that these Oracles were exposed to the suspicion of spuriousness, and that it was the part of a writer of sound judgment to confine himself to the testimony of the Jewish Prophecies. In fact, after the establishment of Christianity, their credit fell into merited disrepute.† If, therefore, the authority of the Christians is to be destroyed because many of them were inclined to lay some stress on the Sibylline Oracles, the Book of Mercurius Trismegistus, and *Hystaspes*, the Epistles between St. Paul and Seneca, and other records, of which they had not the means of demonstrating the spuriousness, the credibility of their Pagan contemporaries must also be rejected, and History becomes but uncertainty and confusion. But experience has taught us that men of remarkable acuteness and of unsullied character, may be grossly imposed upon by forgeries, and yet be considered as unexceptionable witnesses. In the list of names appended to the certificate of examination, which pronounced the fabrications of Ireland to be the composition of Shakspeare, we may remark the signatures of men whose abilities and integrity were never called in question. The same high character is attached to the defenders of the forgeries of Palmanazar, of Lauder, and of Chatterton. Muretus deceived Scaliger himself by a pretended copy of ancient Latin verses.‡ So difficult it is to unite to an extensive and accurate knowledge of customs and languages, that fine perception of the delicate shades of style and expression, which results from long experience and peculiar tact.

Of the Christian Church in the 11th Century.

From A. D. 101. to 211. Similar conduct of the Pagan Philosophers

Remarks on forged writings, and the diminution of credit which a belief in them should produce.

* Cic. de Div. ii. c. 54.

† The last writer is clearly marked in the 5th and 8th Books. He puts into the mouth of the Sibyl that the Roman Empire was to have fifteen kings: the first fourteen are indicated by the numerical value of the first letter of their name in the Greek alphabet. She is made to add, that the fifteenth will be a white-headed man, whose name will be derived from a sea near Rome: the fifteenth is Adrian, so called from the Adriatic Gulf. From him will arise three others, who will rule the Empire together at the same time, but at length one will remain sole possessor. These three scions (αἱεῖται) are Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and L. Verus: allusion is made to their adoptions and partnership. M. Aurelius was sole master of the Empire on the death of L. Verus, at the beginning of the year 169, and he governed without a colleague till 177, when he took Commodus as his partner on the throne. As there is nothing applicable to this new colleague, it is manifest that the compilation was finished between A. D. 169 and 177. (See Fréret, in the Treatise mentioned below.)

‡ Some forgeries were made through mistaken zeal. A Priest forged the *Acts of St. Paul and Thecla*, out of attachment for St. Paul. Tertullian, de *Exemptione*, c. 17. Hieron, de *Vir. Illust.* iv. See other instances in Duillé, de *Præf. Uxoris des Pères*, tom. i. c. 3.

§ Eusebius accuses the Pagans of forging the *Acts of Pilate*. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ix. c. 5.

* De Civ. Dei, xlvii. 47.

† The above line of argument will be found in the observations of M. Fréret, sur les *Recherches de Prédications écrites qui portent le nom de Musæus, de Bacis, et de la Sibylle*. *Mém. de l'Académie*, xxiii. p. 187—212. See also J. Alb. Fabric. *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. i.; the able work of Blondel, des *Sibyllines célébrées tant par l'antiquité Payenne que par les Saints Pères*, 1649; and Serrat. Gallæus, in *Dissertat. de Sibyllis*, &c.

‡ Bayle, *Diet. Hist. Art. Trabes*.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XL.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

FROM A. D. 211 to 313.

History.
From
A. D.
211.
to
313.
Caracalla.
Whether
favourable
to the Chris-
tians.

Heliogabalus.

Why Chris-
tianity was
sometimes
neglected
by the bad
and persec-
uted by the
virtuous
Emperors.

WE proceed with the thread of our History. Caracalla, though his nurse was a Christian,* cannot be reckoned among those who imbibed the tenets and advanced the progress of the new Religion. He is said, indeed, when a youth, to have expressed great indignation at a severe punishment inflicted on one of his play-fellows, on account of the Jewish Religion.† There is perhaps no reason to suppose that Spartian, who relates the anecdote, confounded the Jewish with the Christian Faith; but it is probable that the anger of Caracalla was excited rather by his affection for his friend, than by any feeling of respect for the Religion which he professed. It seems, however, certain, that during his short reign, and that of Macrinus, the Church enjoyed comparative tranquillity. Heliogabalus also, though sunk in every vice which can disgrace human nature, was not inclined to molest the Christians. Desirous that the worship of the Sun, of which Deity he was the Priest, should exceed all other worships in its pomp and mysteries, he was more curious to learn the secrets of the various Sects, than anxious to resort to violence against their persons.‡ And here it may naturally be asked, to what cause are we to ascribe the leniency with which the bad and the severity with which the good Emperors often, treated the Christians. How is it that the abandoned Heliogabalus is a protector, and the Philosophic Aurelius an enemy? The answer is obvious. Princes, who were immersed in the depths of sensuality, were least likely to have turned their attention to the existence of a new and peaceful Sect. Their minds were seldom occupied by the consideration of State affairs, and still less by the investigation of facts which were regarded as comparatively of little consequence. The voice of popular clamour was, not loud enough to disturb the recesses of the Palace. As long as the Christians interfered not with their private pleasures, they were passed over with profound indifference, as harmless enthusiasts, except when very peculiar circumstances were supposed to call for a different course. But, on the contrary, the Emperors, who devoted all their energies to the great interests of the Government, over which they presided, and who sought to reanimate the spirit of a declining People, regarded Christianity as a dangerous innovation, slowly undermining the Religious, and with it, the Civil establishment, to which they were passionately attached, and,

therefore, from their principles, however erroneous, they felt themselves bound to repress its increasing progress with the utmost rigour.

The reign of Alexander Severus was no less auspicious than the two preceding to the Christian cause. This Emperor, eminent for many virtues, was particularly distinguished by his filial piety.* We may, therefore, in a great measure, attribute the protection, which the Church enjoyed in his time, to the influence of his mother, Julia Mamaura, who evinced a disposition to inquire into the nature, and to show respect to the teachers of the new Religion.† It seems also probable that Alexander was inclined to the opinion, maintained by many ancient Sages,‡ that Religious worship, under all its variety of names and modes, was essentially the same in its object and spirit; a bond, which, while it united Man to his Creator, linked together the multifarious parts of the great Social system. We know from Tertullian, that when some of the Heathens were convinced from experience that the Christians were not impostors, they still looked upon their Religion, not as a Divine Revelation, but as a kind of Philosophy.§ This supposition offers, at least, a very plausible explanation of the motives which induced him to place in his private Chapel, and to reverence with Divine honours, the images of Abraham, Orpheus, Apollonius Tyaneus, and Christ.|| It will likewise tend to give weight to the assertion of Lampridius, that Alexander entertained a design of erecting a Temple to Christ, but abandoned it, in consequence of the report of the soothsayers, that if such a measure were carried into execution, all men would become Christians, and the other Temples would be abandoned.¶ The Emperor might have formed a plan for effecting a kind of

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* Lampr. in *Vit. Sever.* c. 14.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 21. Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 64. On the supposed conversion of Mamaura, see Fred. Spanheim, *Diss. de Trad. Antiquar. Conversarum. Lucii Britt. Regis Jul. Mamaurae, et Philippi Imp. Patris et Filii.* Oper. tom. ii. p. 406.

‡ Plotin. *Ennead.* ii. lib. ix. c. 9. Theophrast. in *Quest. 7. ad Valent.* § Apol. c. 46. *Sed interin incredulitas, dum de bono secte hujus obducitur, quod non jam et de commercio innotuit, non utique divinum negotium existimat, sed magis Philosophiae genus.*

|| Lampr. in *Alex. Sev.* c. 29. *Matutinis horis in larario suo (in quo et Divos Principes, et optimos electos et animas sanctiores, in quos et Apollonium, et quoniam scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham, et Orpheum et Anaximandri Dea habebat et majorum effigies) rem divinam faciebat. Porro "Deum," Salmassius would read "ceteros." Jablonski prefers "alios." That he did not consider persons so honoured as wholly perfect, appears from the circumstance that he admitted among them the image of Alexander the Great, (c. 32.) whose drunkenness and cruelty towards friends he himself condemned, (c. 30.)*

¶ Lampr. in *Alex. Sev.* c. 43.

* *Lacte Christiano educatus.* Tertull. *ad Scapul.* iv.

† Spartian, in *Vit. Caracall.* c. 1.

‡ *Dicebat praeterea, Judaeorum et Samaritanorum religiones et Christianorum devotionem illas transferendam, ut omnium cultuum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret.* (Lampr. *Vit. Heliog.* c. 3.)

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harmony between the Christian and the Polytheistic systems, while the Priests, either from motives of private interest, or from a deeper insight into the exclusive principles of the rising Sect, might have urged the danger, or the impracticability of the attempt. We pretend not to deny, however, that the whole account has much the appearance of a report, too easily believed and too hastily recorded. Of the golden rule of Christian Ethics,—"do not to another what thou wouldst not that another should do to thee,"—he felt an admiration so lively, that he not merely repeated it frequently, but caused it to be proclaimed by the crier, when any person was punished, and ordered it to be engraven upon his Palace, and upon his public buildings.* That he entertained no evil suspicion of the character of the Christians, but that at the same time he did not consider their peculiar rites as entitled to any marked superiority, may be inferred from the following circumstance: when the victuallers complained that the Christians had seized a spot of ground, which had been public, and which they claimed for themselves, he answered, that it was better God should be worshipped in any manner, than that the ground should be granted to victuallers.† This is not the language of an enemy to the Christians, but neither is it that of a person who had embraced Christianity. Indeed the opinion of those, who reckon Alexander among the secret converts,‡ rests on no proof,§ and is contradicted by the general tenour of his conduct. True it is, that he is said to have proposed the scrupulous care of the Christians and Jews in the Ordination of their Priests, as an example which deserved to be imitated in the appointment of Provincial Governors; but the very terms, in which the comparison is made, imply that he considered the former proceeding as far less important than the latter, and, at most, indicate rather respect for the discipline, than belief in the tenets of the Christians or the Jews. It is certain, however, that during his lifetime, the Christians were sheltered from injury, and enabled to apply themselves to the erection of edifices, for the express purposes of public worship. Indeed the only interruption by which this season of tranquillity was in a slight degree disturbed, arose from the severity of the Jurisconsults,¶ men strongly attached to the ancient institutions of Rome. Of this class was the celebrated Ulpian, who is supposed to have published his writings about this period. He is said to have preserved in the VIIth Book of his *Treatise on the Duty of a Proconsul*, the Edicts

issued against the Christians by the Roman Emperors.* None of these Edicts, however, are to be found in the *Pandects*, and we must, perhaps, impute to injudicious zeal the loss of a collection, which would greatly have elucidated the History of Christianity.†

It may justly be regarded as an additional proof of the favour which Alexander evinced towards the Christians, particularly those connected with his household, and of the increasing influence which their Body possessed, or were supposed to possess, that Maximinus, his assassin and successor, was urged by fear or by resentment, to seize and condemn the Bishops, and to publish a Decree against the chiefs of the Church, as being the first authors and propagators of Christianity.‡

This Decree, though directed against the higher members, and, it may be presumed, mostly, if not solely, against those, whom the friendship of the late Emperor had exposed to the suspicion of disaffection to the new Government, may have extended its effects to the inferior ranks of the Christian community. In Cappadocia and Pontus, several earthquakes, the violence of which destroyed whole cities, excited as usual a severe Persecution, in which the fury of the people derived encouragement from the harsh and savage character of Serenianus, the Roman Governor.§ This Persecution, however, as Firmilian, in a Letter to Cyprian, expressly states, was not general, but local. Many, who fled from the scene of confusion, found safety in the other Provinces of the Empire.

The Church continued to enjoy tranquillity during the reigns of Maximus and Balbinus, of Gordian, and especially of Philip and his son.

Of Philip, Eusebius has recorded a report, prevalent in his time, from which it has been inferred that he was, if not a professed, at least a secret convert to Christianity. It was said, that the Emperor, on the last day of the Vigils of Easter, was desirous of partaking with the rest of the congregation in the prayers of the Church, but that the Bishop would not suffer him to enter, until he had made confession of the crimes which he had committed, and had placed himself among the penitents.¶ It is added, that he readily complied with this condition, and manifested by his actions a sincere and devout sense of the fear of God. Eusebius, who appeals only to common rumour,¶ has not specified the place, in which this circumstance occurred, nor the Bishop, by whom a measure so hazardous was adopted. Chrysostom,** however, ascribes a conduct entirely similar to Babylon, Bishop of Antioch, but omits the name of the Emperor. In addition to this argument in favour of Philip's conversion, it is urged that Eusebius mentions Letters written by Origen to Philip, and to his wife Severa, as extant in his time.†† Without attempting to deny this fact, it is sufficient to remark, that the Emperor might correspond with Chris-

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* Lampr. in *Alex. Sev.* c. 51.

† *Rescriptis, melius esse, ut quomodocumque illic Deus colatur, quam populus delectetur.* (Lampr. in *Alex. Sev.* c. 49.)

‡ P. E. Jablonki endeavoured to prove that Alexander Severus was privately initiated into the mysteries of Christianity by the Gnostics. His main argument is derived from an ancient gem, bearing the monogram of Christ, with this inscription, "*Sal. Dom. Alex. Fil. Ma. Lucæ*," which he interprets to be, "*Salus Donata Alexandro Filio Mammæ Lucæ*." (Dissertat. de *Alexandro Filio Mammæ Lucæ*, i. c. of Christ. (Dissertat. de *Alexandro Severo, Imperatore Romano Christianorum auctore per Alexandr. Severo, Imperatore Romano Christianorum auctore per Alexandr. Severo*) This Dissertation was published in the *Miscell. Læpensis*. Nov. tom. iv. part. i. p. 56—94. It is republished with additions in his *Opuscula*, tom. iv. p. 38—79; see on this subject Mosheim, de *Reb. Christ. ante Const. Magn.* p. 463.

§ Lampridius says merely, *Judeus privatus reseruat.* *Christians esse paucos est.*

¶ *Disciplineque, grave esse, quam id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis auctoritatibus, qui ordinandis sunt, non fieri in Provinciis recedendis, quibus et fortuna hominum committeretur et copia.* Lampr. in *Alex. Sev.* c. 45.

** Baron, *Annal.* tom. ii. p. 367, 369.

* *Domitius de Officio Proconsulis, libro septimo, rescriptis nefarias collegit, ut doceret, quibus præsidi officiis oportere eos, qui se cultores Dei præferebant.* Lucian. *Judit.* lib. v. c. 11.

† Lardner's *Testimonium*, vol. iii. p. 44. *Origen's Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion*, p. 51.

‡ Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 28. Sulpit. *Ser.* lib. ii. c. 32. Oron. *Hist.* lib. vii. c. 19.

§ Firmilian, in *Epist. ad Cyprian.* *Oper. Cyprian.* p. 146. ed. Baluz. Conf. *Mish. de Reb. Christ.* lib. xc. p. 467.

¶ Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 34.

** *Hist. Kircheng. d. 2. c. 2.*

** Chrysost. de *S. Balby Conf. Julian.* et *Gent. Oper.* tom. i. p. 658.

†† *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 36.

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tians without being himself a member of their Society, and that these Epistles may have been nothing more than petitions to request protection, or statements relative to the extent and organization of the Church. Indeed, had they contained any assertions or intimations, calculated to throw light on the supposed conversion, it is not probable that Eusebius would have been silent on the subject of their contents, and have supported an important circumstance on no higher authority than common fame. The fact, it is true, is repeated by Jerome,* and by many writers in succeeding times, but it cannot be too often impressed on the Historical examiner, that correspondent testimonies are only valuable when derived from independent sources. The copies of numerous authors are not, or are only in a very slight degree, corroborative evidence. One Historian states a report, which he has chanced to learn, but has taken no pains to investigate; another, without further examination, though not without some slight alteration, transcribes the account; a third copies this copy, with a few additional alterations; and so on, till vague rumours swell into confirmed facts, or mere surmises into direct declarations, and the real value of the original conjecture can hardly be estimated, disguised as it is under continued accretions of extraneous matter.†

Some arguments, however, are also adduced in contradiction of the fact, which are far from being conclusive. Not one of the Augustan Historians makes mention of the event: but the secrecy alone of Philip's conversion is a satisfactory explanation of their silence. Again, many Christian writers; reckon Constantine as the first Emperor who embraced Christianity; but they mean, who professed it without disguise. The immoral conduct of Philip is also said to contradict this assertion; but it should be remembered, that the question is, whether he believed Christianity to be true, not whether he acted consistently with that belief. Of the same nature is the objection drawn from his celebration of the Secular Games, § with all their Pagan solemnities. For, granting that this event took place subsequently to his supposed conversion, an Emperor more anxious to gratify the Roman populace, than rigorously to conform his conduct to his principles, might easily exhibit Games, which in after times were allowed even by the Christian Emperor Honorius. And, with regard to the Pagan emblems on his coins and medals; they also occur in those of Emperors who had openly

renounced the Heathen worship; and, moreover, they may have been struck by Colonies and Municipal Towns without the Imperial permission. In this manner, as Mosheim* has shown, many of the objections may be eluded. On the whole, we think it not impossible that Philip may have been induced, by a sense of his heavy crimes and by the persuasions of his wife Severa, to apply for consolation to an Order of men, for whom he probably entertained feelings of respect. But the supposition that he had examined the proofs or imbibed the spirit of Christianity, is not supported by evidence sufficient to command our assent.

One point, however, is certain, that if we omit a popular commotion which arose at Alexandria in the latter part of his reign, the Church experienced tranquillity under his government. To which may be added, that by enacting a Law calculated to repress those offences against Morality,† which the principles of the Christian Religion severely denounce, he virtually cooperated with the efforts of its preachers.

Thus, it appears, that with the exception of the severities of Maximin, which were but brief in duration and partial in extent, the Church was blessed with peace from the death of Severus in the year 211, to that of Philip in 249, a period of 38 years, during which two Emperors, Alexander and Philip, were so favourable, that one seemed inclined to incorporate, the other was reported to have embraced, the Christian Religion.‡ Such were the phases of Imperial favour, till it suddenly darkened. But the soft influence of Peace, more fatal than the violence of Persecution, insensibly relaxed the nerves of discipline, and introduced the luxuries of a degenerate Age into the bosom of the Christian State. The melancholy picture which Cyprian and Origen have drawn of the progress of corruption at this time, is perhaps too darkly coloured. Their language may partake in too great a degree of the want of discrimination, which not unfrequently characterises the censures of stern Reformers. But it is evident from their continued complaints, that in numerous instances the desire of secular advantages had absorbed all spiritual concerns. The state of Christianity might, on the whole, be sound and vigorous; but morbid humours had corrupted many of its parts and paralyzed much of its influence. Faith is represented as having grown languid; the works of Charity had fallen into neglect; the fervour of Devotion had been quenched; the simplicity which marked the primitive Disciple had been sacrificed on the altar of vanity; insatiable thirst for gain seized men who were devoted to the profession of holiness, and Bishops forgot the duties of their sacred charge, and the wants of their poorer brethren, in their anxiety to promote their own private benefit.§

* *De Vir. Illust.* c. 54. de Origene.

† Another instance will illustrate our meaning. Justin Martyr, in an *Apology* addressed to the Emperor and Senate, declares that a statue was erected to Simon Magus on the Tiber, with the inscription, "Simon Deo Sanctus;" to Simon, the Holy God. Now in the Tiberine island has been dug up a statue inscribed, "Simon Simon (or Semp) Deo, &c." to Semo Sancus, the God of the Sabines. (*Gruter, Inscrip. Antig.* tom. i. p. 95.) Most critics have concluded that the assertion of Justin originated in a mistake; yet is this mistake, (if, as there is reason to believe, it be one,) repeated by Irenæus, by Tertullian, by Eusebius, by Augustine, &c. Thus one man, who would be very unwilling to deceive others, may deceive himself, and many may afterwards be ready to circulate, on his authority, stories, for the truth of which, they would have been scrupulous to stake their own. No new evidence is added, but the old is paraphrased, and it is well if the poverty of History be not gradually disguised by riches drawn from the mist of fiction. Stories, stamped with every mark of spuriousness, have been pertinaciously maintained, because supported in appearance by a train of witnesses, though in reality by a series of copyists.

‡ Euseb. in *Vit. Const. Magn.* lib. iv. c. 74.

§ *Rid. Chron.* p. 174; *Croicu.* lib. vii. c. 20. *Conf. Capitol. in Gordian.* iii. c. 33; *Estrop.* lib. ix. c. 3, &c.

* *De Reb. Christ.* l. cc. p. 471—476. On this subject see also Spanheim's very learned *Disquisition de Tradit. Antiqua Convera, Loci, &c. et Philippi Imp. Patria et Fili.* *Oper.* tom. ii. p. 405, and Lardner's *Tent.* vol. iii. p. 62—71. For a list of authors who have written on the same question, see J. A. Fabricii *Sabat. Luc. Rompet.* p. 236.

† *Aurel. Vict.*

‡ *Tillemont, Mém.* tom. iii. part ii. p. 123.

§ *Cyprian, de Laps. ep. 8. Orig. in Jen. 4, 7, &c.* The unguarded intimacy in their manner of living, which subsisted between Priests and Virgins, brought disgrace on the African Church. Strong assertions of chastity, though they might be true, could not remove suspicions which had been rashly caused; for however difficult it might be to draw the line between the enthusiastic confidence which encounters temptation in order to resist it, and the artful hypocrisy

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During the short period of his reign, Decius displayed many of the virtues which shed a lustre over private life, and evinced a strong desire to restore the declining greatness of the Roman People by a renewal of their ancient discipline, with all the sanctions of a free and powerful Censorship. It happened, however, most disastrously for the Christians, that in proportion as an Emperor was assiduous in correcting the degeneracy of his subjects by the reinforcement of primitive customs, he was drawn into hostile measures against any Body of men who introduced innovations in Religious rites. To this circumstance, therefore, it is natural to ascribe the severe and intolerant Edicts,* by which Decius attempted utterly to extirpate the Christian Sect; a Sect, which was now widely spread, which had erected Churches in the various Provinces, and already had begun in some places to destroy the Altars, Temples, and Idols of the Pagan community.† And when the reader bears in mind the inflamed state of the People, ever ready to avail themselves of the slightest indication of encouragement on the part of their Rulers, he will not be surprised to learn that torments, from which it is impossible not to turn with horror, were exercised against the Christians in all the Provinces of the Roman Empire. At Alexandria,‡ a whole year before the promulgation of the Imperial Edict, the multitude, instigated by the arts of a Soothsayer and Poet, had continued to harass the Christians with unrelenting violence. The young and the old, the strong and the weak, promiscuously, fell victims to the wild cry of Religion. But if Religion was the ostensible, plunder was often the real spring of these attacks. The houses of the Faithful were pillaged; whatever was valuable was retained by the authors of the ruin, and the remaining furniture cast into the streets, gave the whole place the appearance of a captured City.

A sedition among themselves suspended for awhile their enmity against the Christians. But the flame was soon rekindled by the news of the death of Philip and the accession of Decius. The first step which the new Emperor took, was to publish a Decree of the utmost severity against the Christians, which was sent to all the Provincial Governors, who were commanded, under heavy threats, to adopt every method, however rigorous, of constraining their subjects to return to the Religion of their forefathers. The effect was overwhelming. We are again presented, by contemporary Writers, with those dark and dreadful pictures of terror and agony, which, as they possess no distinctness of outline, no variety of tints, no natural distribution of light and shade, rather slock than interest, rather confuse than inform us. The complicated struggles, the silent pangs of internal emotion, the sacrifice of every thing which binds man to life, the sense of estranged love, the bursting of the ties of long friendship and close affection, the loss of worldly reputation, these are passed over

almost untouched, while, as it were, the dissecting-room in all its loathsomeness is thrown open. All that can produce the most violent mental revulsion,—the sword and fire, wild beasts, talons of steel, the wheel, red-hot iron chairs, every varied torture which the most exquisite cruelty can invent—pass before us in rapid succession, and the sensation is oppressive and sickening. But turning from scenes, at the bare imagination of which the heart dies away, it is deeply interesting to mark the workings of human passions in those days of alarm and distress. Neighbour betrayed neighbour, and friend denounced friend. All feelings were deadened into apathy, or absorbed by selfishness. Some, whose spirit recoiled from the task of dragging their victims before the Magistrate, pointed them out with the finger. Others less scrupulous sought them in their place of refuge, or pursued them in their flight. The son brought information against his father, and the father against his son, and the brother exposed his brother to the horrors of the rack. Superstition had smothered the voice of Nature. All was distrust and perplexity, consternation, and a sense of bitter wrong. Families were dissolved, houses were left empty, and the deserts peopled. The prisons could no longer contain the number of the accused, and most of the public buildings were converted into places of confinement. Day after day the work of carnage proceeded. It engrossed all conversation; it chased away all expression of gaiety from public and private assemblies. Rank or the infirmities of old age, or infancy, or the feebleness of the weaker sex, obtained no compassion, no mitigation of rigour.

Such, at least, is the description, perhaps overcharged, which Gregory Nyssen has given us, of the state of Pontus on the receipt of the Imperial Edict.* In other Provinces, the storm appears not to have burst at once in all its fury. Exile and incarceration were first tried; and slow torments were employed to supersede, if possible, the necessity of final execution. Nor were the efforts of the Persecutors unattended by circumstances deplorable to the Church. In Africa, and especially at Carthage, the threats of the enemy were no sooner heard than the greater number apostatized from the Faith. They fell of their own accord, says the afflicted Cyprian,† before the violence of Persecution had struck them down. Nor were they satisfied with renouncing their Religion themselves, but they exhorted their brethren to adopt a similar course. At Alexandria, the same wide defection took place. Some, overpowered by fear, presented themselves before the Magistrates, and assisted at sacrifices to Idols; others were forcibly drawn by their relations. Some, pale and trembling, looked rather as if they were themselves called to be sacrificed than to be sacrificers,‡ and attracted the ridicule of the multitude, as men who had neither courage to meet death, nor to perform the conditions which would ensure life. Others ran boldly to the Altar and protested that they had never been followers of Christ. Of some, the perseverance lasted till the doors of the dungeon had closed upon them, and of others, till the feeling of pain had triumphed over resolution. The same weakness was betrayed by Christians in most

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which seeks the gratification of vice under the cloak of extraordinary virtue, it was thought evident that the taint of, at least, mental impurity could scarcely be avoided. While the truly pious Christians severely inveighed against a practice, scandalous in its tendency, if not in its motives, we know not how far it may have influenced the hostility of the Pagan Rulers. See Cyprian, *Ep.* 62, *ad Pompon.*; Dodwell, *Dissert. Cyprian.* iii.; Bingham, *Aniq.* vol. ii. p. 328.

* The Persecution of Decius is called the seventh by Sulpicius Severus, (*lib.* viii. c. 32.) Jerome, (*de Vir. Illust.* c. 62.) Orosius, (*lib.* 7. c. 21.) and Augustine, (*de Civ. Dei*, lib. xiii. c. 52.)

† Greg. Nyssen, *Vit. Greg. Thaum.* tom. iii. p. 563.

‡ Dionys. *ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 41.

* Greg. Nyssen, *Vit. Greg. Thaum.* Conf. Lactant. *de Mort. Persecut.* Hist. in *Vit. Pauli*, &c.

† *De lapsa.*

‡ Dionys. *ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 41.

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other Countries. Bishops renounced their Religion, and their flocks were seduced by their fatal example. The Lapsed was a term applied to all who thus apostatized; but those who were particularly called *Libellatici*,* seem, for the most part, to have avoided giving proofs of their rejection of Christianity,—viz. burning incense or offering sacrifices—by purchasing from the Magistrates certain certificates, which declared, that the persons named in them had confirmed their adherence to the system of Heathen worship. Many, however, endured with fortitude the effects of this dreadful, and as it was then feared, exterminating Persecution. Many, from motives of precaution and policy, took refuge in flight; in this number, among others, are to be reckoned, Cyprian, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus.

Martyrdoms

Our limits will not allow us to enter into a detail of particular Martyrdoms. In their trials, the Christians exhibited great fortitude. The conduct of the Roman Governors was necessarily varied by their peculiar habits and disposition. A strong disinclination to shed blood, if it could be spared consistently with their own erroneous notions, is often manifest. Again and again the Judge exhorted the accused man to avoid running wilfully into destruction, and it was not till a variety of attempts had failed, and after much hesitation and reluctance, that he proceeded to put into execution the Imperial Decree. How long the violence of this Persecution continued cannot be accurately determined. It seems, however, to have subsided in a great degree after having raged about the period of a year. The troubles which distracted the Empire probably diverted the Roman rulers from the prosecution of an odious task. Decius himself, if the *Acts* of Acacius be genuine, occasionally relaxed his severity;† for, smiling at the independent spirit of the Bishop, he released him from prison. Yet he was vigilant in his attempts to prevent the increase of the Christian Hierarchy, and the See of Rome, which had remained vacant nearly one year and a half, was not filled by Cornelius without the apprehension of extreme danger.‡

Disputes
respecting
the Lapsed.

As external Persecution expired, internal dissensions arose. The Lapsed, anxious to be readmitted into the Church, without the established course of previous penance, obtained Letters of Peace, by which they were declared worthy of being again received without delay. Some of the Bishops and Presbyters were willing to extend to them the pardon which they sought. Cyprian, however, the Bishop of Carthage, unmoved by the authority which supported, and the earnestness which urged their claims, powerfully resisted an indulgence, which he believed to be calculated to loosen the bonds of Ecclesiastical discipline. And, notwithstanding the strong opposition which was offered to his efforts, the measures of necessary severity were finally adopted.

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251.

The Persecution, which had gradually abated till the death of Decius, was renewed by Gallus and Volusianus, his successors. It was chiefly directed against the Heads of the Church, some of whom were cast into exile.§ But, independently of the Imperial Edicts, the

fury of the people was again kindled against the Christians, in consequence of the sufferings arising from the double calamity of a pestilence and a famine. The Tracts of Cyprian to console his afflicted brethren, and to reprove their incensed enemies, are evidently written under the influence of great emotion, which betrayed his ardent mind from the simple expressions of piety and courage into the dangerous extremes of enthusiasm and virulence. But it would tend to soften the unwarrantable harshness with which the language of the ancient Christians has been censured in modern days, if we were more careful to connect our examination of their expressions, with a just view of their peculiar situation. It cannot surely excite our surprise that, under a complication of calamities, severe and unrelenting—the havoc of a consuming disease, on the one hand, and the fierceness of inflamed Persecutors, on the other—the devout disciple should have imagined, that he perceived in these various evils the prognostics of the approaching end of created things. All Nature seemed to him to give testimony of her hastening dissolution: the winter-rain was no longer so copious as to nourish the seed, the summer-sun denied its usual heat in maturing the harvest; the temperature of the Spring had lost its beauty, and autumn had ceased to abound in fruit; the race of cultivators was diminished, camps were growing empty for want of soldiers, and the sea was not covered, as formerly, with mariners; skill in Arts was fast declining; discipline in Morals was dying away; decay was stamped on every feature of the material world, its powers were languid and exhausted,* and its whole frame proclaimed that the great Day of Judgment was at hand. This, it is true, was the language of exaggeration: but it flowed from a strong Faith in the promises of Christianity, and, addressed as it was to bitter enemies, its descriptions must, at least, have carried some appearance of probability from the aspect of circumstances in the Country wherein they were made.

A feeling of deep injury will explain, but not justify, the vehemence with which Cyprian attacks the private life of Demetrian, a person charged with some office of authority, which he exercised with extreme rigour against the Christians. Intemperate censure was calculated rather to irritate than to convince: it might effect much mischief, it could produce no benefit.

Of the
Christian
Church
in the III^d
Century.

From
A. D.
211.
to
313.
Tracts of
Cyprian.

Expectation
of the Day
of Judgment.

Cyprian's
Tract to
Demetrian.

* The notion that the frame of the world showed evident marks of being grown old and feeble, impaired and worn out, was maintained by the Epicureans:

*Jamque adeo fracta est aetas, effataque Trillus
Vir animata parva crevit, quæ cuncta creavit
Sæcla, destitit ferarum ingenuis corpora parvis.*

*Jpsa (Tellus) dedit dulces factus et pabula læta;
Quæ nunc vix nostro grandæscunt aucta labore;
Conterminaque boves, et vireæ agricolarum
Confectus, ferrum vix arcus suppeditati:
Uique adeo perurit factus, angustique labores.*

*Jamque cupit quæstus grandis suspirat arator
Cælestis incunant magnam occidit laborem;
Et cum tempora temporibus præsentia confert
Præteritis, laudat fortuna sæpe parvitas;
Et crepat, antiquum genus ut, portæ repletæ,
Perfucile angustia toleranti finibus ævum,
Cum minor æger agri multo modus ante virum;
Nec tenet, omnis paulatim tubercule, et ira
Ad scopulum spatios artatus decurrit vetulus.*

Lucret. lib. ii. 1149—1171.

* Cyprian, Ep. 14. &c. Mosheim, de *Reb. Christi. ante Const. Maj.* p. 479.

† Tillemont, *Mém. tom. iii. part. ii.*

‡ Euseb. *Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 39.* Cyprian, Ep. 55.

§ Dionys. *Alex. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 1.* Mosheim, de *Reb. Christi.* p. 529.

History.
From
A. D.
211.
to
313.
local events
of the
Constantines.

It must also be regretted, that the Christians should have so injudiciously resorted to arguments against their adversaries, which were constantly employed against themselves. They presumed to ascribe all public calamities to the displeasure of Divine Providence, which the conduct of the Heathen world had drawn down. "You complain," says the Christian advocate, "that these misfortunes take place, because your Gods are not worshipped by us; but we answer, that they happen because the true God is not worshipped by you." Again, "If your Gods are really powerful, let them arise in their defence, let them vindicate their majesty; or what can they do for those who pay them worship, if they cannot avenge themselves upon such as refuse it?" The Philosophic Pagans would naturally object, that if these events were proofs of the immediate interposition of the Deity against them, it was difficult to account for the fact, that Plague and Famine fell upon the most pious and eminent Christians, as well as upon their persecutors.* And the less enlightened class would continue to ascribe the general misfortunes of an Empire, once flourishing, and the peculiar afflictions which oppressed them, to the neglect of their ancient Religion.† The argument which the Christian, at least the reflecting and devout Christian, derived from the patience and resignation with which he submitted to the will of God, was entitled to more consideration. While the Pagans are represented as being loud in their complaints under the pressure of evil, the Christian supported it without murmurs, looking forward, with the beautiful stillness of Religious confidence, to the final accomplishment of the Divine word, in the rewards of a future life. And, remembering the emphatic language of Scripture, he declared that though the fig-tree should put forth no blossom, and the vine should bear no fruit, though the labour of the olive should fail, and fields should yield no meat, though the flock should be cut off from the fold, and there should be no herd in the stalls—yet would he rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of his salvation.

The early part of the reign of Valerian was, in an eminent degree, auspicious to the Christians. So affectionately disposed towards them was the new Emperor, that his household was filled with Believers, and compared to a Church of God.‡

It is our painful task, however, to pass from external peace to internal disputes. The propriety of rebaptizing such persons as had received Baptism from Heretics, was warmly discussed. No fixed rule had been adopted; but it appears to have been an ancient practice in the European Churches, without the repetition of this ordinance, to readmit them on their receiving the imposition of hands, accompanied with prayers. But in

* See Dionys. Alex. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. 22. The tender solicitude with which the Christians ministered to the wants of the sick, at times when the Plague raged, exposed them in a high degree to the contagion. Priests and Deacons, and the most devout members of the Church, fell victims to their affectionate zeal. While the Pagans fled from their diseased, flung them half-dead into the streets, and feared to pay them the rites of sepulture, the Christians embraced the bodies of the Saints, closed their eyes, and bore them, with every mark of respect and decency, to the grave. *Ibid.* Comp. Tertull. *Apol.* c. 41.

† See also Bishop Kaye, on *Tertullian*, p. 127, 128. Bayle has collected curious instances of this tendency in the party in power, to charge their enemies with misfortunes arising from natural calamities. *Ibid.* *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. c. 10.

Africa, Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, had enforced, by the authority of a Synod, the necessity of renewing the rite; and the same custom had prevailed in Cappadocia, and probably in the other Eastern Churches. Cyprian was determined to resist any relaxation of discipline, and especially one which had the appearance of recognising the validity of heretical Baptism. His sentiments were confirmed by two Councils of African Bishops, and their decision was transmitted to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, who maintained a contrary opinion with unbecoming vehemence and bitterness. Indignant at this opposition, Stephen not merely refused to receive the two Bishops, who brought to Rome the account of these proceedings, but forbade the Members of the Church from discharging towards them the common offices of hospitality; and in his Letters, after rejecting the decree of the Council, called by Cyprian, declared that he would not hold communion with such African and Asiatic Bishops, as continued to denounce a practice which the tradition of his Church had sanctioned. In consequence, a third Council, consisting of eighty-five Bishops, was summoned by Cyprian from the three Provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania; and the determinations of the two preceding Councils were again unanimously confirmed. The issue of the dispute, conducted with great force on one side, and much uncharitableness on the other, is not related; both parties, however, seem to have retained their opinions: but, in after times, the majority of the African and Eastern Bishops retracted their decrees, and the judgment of Stephen was generally followed.¶

The state of the Christians, during the entire period previous to the Civil establishment of their Religion, was sometimes free from the actual exercise of violence, but was ever, in the highest degree, precarious and uncertain. In the reign now under consideration they were doomed to experience a sudden transition from extreme favour to extreme severity. Valerian, a Prince of mild and benevolent disposition, had, at first, treated them with more kindness than any of his predecessors, not excepting those who had been faithful of having privately embraced the Christian Faith. His sentiments and feelings on this subject soon underwent an extraordinary change, of which it is difficult to ascertain the real cause. The wishes of the powerful are no less variable than violent.† By the Christians this alienation was attributed to the influence of Marcianus, a man who sought, in the mysteries of superstition, the means of accomplishing his ambitious projects. He is represented as having contracted enmity against the Christians, in consequence of their opposition to magical rites;‡ and as having advised the Emperor to inspect the entrails of new-born infants, and to engage in the performance of strange and barbarous ceremonies.§ But, without denying that the bigotry of Marcianus may have powerfully affected the plans of Valerian, and contributed to blight the fair prospect which the opening

* Euseb. lib. vii. c. 2—6, and c. 8—10. Cyprian, *Epist.* 73. ad *Jubaianum*. See *Mosh. de Reb. Christ. ante Const. Moj.* p. 533—547.

† *Regis voluntates, plerumque, ut veritates sunt, sic molites, nuperque ipsa sibi adversa.* Sallust. *Jugurth. Bell.*

‡ The Persecution by the Heathens is frequently ascribed to the opposition which the practice of Magic experienced from the Christians. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. c. 14, &c.

§ Dionys. Alexandr. *op. ad Herm.* ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. 10. *Mosh. de Reb. Christ.* p. 548.

Of the
Christian
Church
in the IIIRD
Century.
From
A. D.
211.
to
313.

Persecution
of the Christians
under the
Emperors.

Valerian.
A. D.
253.

Disputes
concerning
the Baptism
of Heretics.

Causes.

History.
From
A. D.
211.
to
313.

of his reign presented, we ought carefully to remember that the early Christians were too apt to impute motives for which there existed no stronger authority than popular reports; and that they, in fact, had not often the opportunities requisite for a calm investigation of the complicated machinery of Court Politics. But whatever circumstances might have conspired to bias the mind of Valerian, the progressive detail of his Persecution seems to us, at least, to prove that his object was not to gratify private malice, but to effect an intercommunion of Religions, and to facilitate this design by removing the chief rulers of the new Sect.

A. D.
257.
First year of
Valerian's Per-
secutions.

The first attempts of Valerian* bear no marks of that barbarity, which distinguished the conduct of those, whose object was not to unite, but to extirpate. The order, addressed to Aspasius Paternas, Proconsul of Africa, was to enforce the observance of the Religious ceremonies of the Romans. Hence it is, probably, that Æmilian, Governor of Egypt, proposed to Dionysius† to worship his own God, together with the Gods of Paganism. For the great maxim of ancient Government was, as we have already observed, whilst it left private judgment free, to require a public expression of adherence to the established system. The Imperial Letters also prohibited all public Assemblies, and, in particular, denied the Christians the enjoyment of those cemeteries, or places, wherein the Martyrs were buried, and to which multitudes were, in consequence, not unfrequently drawn together.

Nature of
Roman
Policy.

The punishment inflicted on those, who refused to comply with the Roman ceremonies, was simply exile. And the Decree was directed specifically, or rather solely, against the Bishops and Presbyters. Among these, Cyprian, and Dionysius‡ of Alexandria, were sent into banishment. A severer sentence awaited those who, in violation of this decree, should continue to hold meetings, or to frequent cemeteries. It has been remarked, that one of the best of the Roman Emperors refused to incorporate a Company even of an inconsiderable number of men, and for purposes, too, of unquestionable utility. § All associations were viewed with distrust and apprehension. The fixed congregations of bodies so large, so united, and so independent, as composed the Christian Churches, were, probably, beginning to excite, even in a pacific breast, some feelings of alarm. From the tombs of their Martyrs, over which they poured their fervent prayers, it was feared that they might return with renewed zeal, or, according to Pagan notions, with confirmed obstinacy. Against all such, therefore, as infringed this clause, the punishment of death was denounced: and to this cause we must assign the occasional severities which were exercised even on

Alarm ex-
cited by
large As-
semblies of
men.

* This is reckoned the eighth Persecution, by Sulpicius Severus, (lib. ii. c. 32.) Orosius, (lib. vii. c. 22.) and Augustine, (*De Civ. Dei*, lib. xviii. c. 52.)

† See his Letters to a Bishop named Germans, in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. vii. c. 11.

‡ Dionysius has given an interesting account of his banishment, first to Cephro, in Libya, and thence, in consequence of the crowds of followers whom he drew together, to the more distant and desert regions of Mareotis. In whatever spot, however dreary its aspect, or remote its situation, the Christian exile was fixed, thither the solicitude of his brethren induced them, through imminent dangers, to repair. To visit, console, and assist the imprisoned, as well as to inter the martyred, such were the objects which, notwithstanding the prohibitions of the Roman Governors, were deemed too important to be neglected on any consideration. (Dionys. *Alex. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.*, lib. vii. c. 11.)

§ *Plin. Ep. lib. x. ep. 42, 43.*

the inferior members of various ranks in the Christian community. Such seems to have been the nature of Valerian's Persecution in its first stage. It required the Chiefs of the Church to unite their worship with that of the State, under pain of banishment, and it forbade the people from collecting together. Thus the Chiefs being banished, and the means of re-electing them precluded, it was expected that Christianity would gradually die away.

The first Edict of Valerian appears to have failed, of producing the desired effect. The Christians continued to throng to the prisons of their revered teachers, and derived fresh ardour from their example and their discourses. Thus it was of little avail to guard the precincts of the cemeteries with armed bands, if the very scenes of punishment contributed to stimulate rather than to deter, and to increase rather than to diminish, the Christian population. The other Orders of the Clergy, doubtless, supplied the absence of the Bishops, and the organization of the new Body was varied, but not dissolved. The Bishops too, though suffering under the actual operation of the Imperial Edict, and threatened with the heaviest infliction which the violation of its provisions could call down, with unabated, perhaps, with too precipitate zeal, encouraged the assemblages of the people, and pursued the great work of Gentile conversion.* But, be the cause what it may, it is manifest that the indignation of the Emperor was violently raised from the severe Rescript which he subsequently addressed to the Senate, and issued to the Provincial Governors. By this he ordered that Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons should be put to death without delay; that Senators and men of rank, and Roman Knights should be strip of their dignity and of their property; and if they still continued to be Christians, should be beheaded; that matrons should be deprived of their goods and banished; that the *Cæsariani* (probably the Emperor's household) who either had confessed, or should afterwards confess, should lose their property by confiscation, and should be sent, bound in chains, to work, in the manner of slaves, on the Emperor's estate.†

From this Decree it may very justly be inferred, that persons of considerable influence professed the Christian Religion. It may also be remarked, that no mention is made of the mass of Christians of subordinate rank. And hence, in the accounts still extant of the Martyrdoms of that period, the lower Orders may be, in general, observed to have been unmolested spectators; except when their own attachment to Religion urged them on to participate in the sufferings of its preachers, or when some particular Governor exceeded the limits of his powers, or, lastly, when they reduced the Magistrate to the necessity of executing the ancient penal laws, which, though suffered to slumber in consequence of later edicts, were, as yet, not formally annulled.

Several accounts of the Martyrdoms which took place in this Persecution, still remain; but the authority of many of these documents may reasonably be called in question. The most remarkable persons who fell victims were, Sixtus, the Bishop of Rome, Laurentius, a Deacon, who was consumed by a slow fire, and Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. Of the last, the prominent part which he bore in the affairs of the Church, requires that we should offer a more particular description.

* See Dionys. *Alex. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.*, lib. vii. c. 11.

† Cyprian, *Ep. 82.*

Of the
Christian
Church
in the III
Century.

From
A. D.
211.
to
313.

Second year
of Valerian's Per-
secution. Causes of
his in-
creased
hostility.

Edict.

Remarks.

Martyrdom
of Cyprian

History. From A. D. 211. to 313. Cyprian, who had returned from exile, was living in his gardens near Carthage, not unprepared for the fate which he was conscious would await him, when he was apprehended by two officers of the Proconsul of Africa, Galerius Maximus. These officers placed him in a chariot between themselves, and conveyed him to Sexti, a place about six miles from Carthage, where the Proconsul then resided for the recovery of his health. In consequence of some occupation, he was carried back to the house of the chief officer, and the consideration of his case was deferred till the ensuing day. The intelligence was soon widely circulated, and great numbers, from all parts of Carthage, thronged together to witness the scene. The excellent character of the Bishop, and the beneficence with which he had attended to those who, on a late occasion, had been afflicted by the Plague, conspired to ensure for him the respect of all ranks; and his present situation, whilst it animated the courage of the faithful, excited the compassion of the unbelieving. The treatment, which he experienced from his guard, was mild and considerate; his friends were allowed to remain with him as usual, and the crowd passed the whole night, in anxious suspense, before the door of the house. In the morning he was led to the *Prætorium*, attended by a vast multitude; and, till the arrival of the Proconsul, he waited in a private place and rested himself on a seat, which happened to be covered with linen, that, adds the narrator, "even under the stroke of death, he might still enjoy the honours of Episcopacy." On the arrival of the Proconsul, he delivered, in answer to the interrogatories, his name and office, but resolutely refused to obey the Imperial mandate which enjoined sacrifice to the Gods. The Proconsul exhorted him to consider the consequences of his refusal, and, at length, having deliberated with his Council, pronounced, with reluctance, the sentence of death in terms like the following. "You have lived with a sacrilegious disposition a long time; you have drawn together great numbers into the same impious conspiracy; you have shown yourself an enemy to the Roman Gods and their sacred laws, nor have our holy Princes been able to recall you to the observance of their ceremonies. Therefore, as you are convicted of being the ringleader of most nefarious criminals, you shall be made an example to those whom you have associated with yourself in this impious course, and by your blood shall discipline be sanctioned." Having uttered these words, he read the Decree from a tablet: "It is our pleasure, that Thascius Cyprianus be put to death by the sword." Cyprian exclaimed, "God be praised;" and the crowd of his brethren tumultuously cried, "Let us, too, be beheaded with him," and followed in a numerous body. He was led into a wide plain, thick set with trees, on the boughs of which many of the spectators, who filled the spot, had eagerly climbed. The Deacons and Presbyters were present; and his brethren spread linen on the ground to receive his blood. Cyprian laid aside his cloak, and fell on his knees and prayed; then put off his Dalmatic or under garment, and remained in his shirt; and, having ordered five and twenty pieces of gold to be given to the executioner, he covered his eyes with his hands, and his head was severed from his body. His corpse was deposited near the spot, to gratify the curiosity of the Gentiles; but at night it was removed, with lights and torches, in solemn procession, and interred in the cemetery of Macrobius Candidianus, a Procurator.

Thus died Cyprian, the first, it is said, of the numerous Bishops of Carthage who suffered Martyrdom. The above account is drawn from the *Proconular Acts*, which have every appearance of genuineness, and from the *Life of Cyprian*, written, it must be observed, in a highly rhetorical style, which is far from producing the intended impression, by Pontius, his Deacon, who was present in this affecting scene. We have thus largely detailed the circumstances of this Martyrdom, because it is calculated to give the reader a correct notion of the proceedings of the Romans and the Christians at this period, and to suggest various reflections on the respect paid to Episcopal dignity, and the increasing veneration attending Martyrdom, which it is unnecessary that we should point out.

That the Persecution of Valerian continued three years and a half, has been deduced from the circumstance, that Dionysius of Alexandria applies to him the passage in the *Apocalypse*:—"And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months." The capture of Valerian by the Persians, was the signal of tranquillity.

Gallienus, by his Rescripts of universal application, permitted the Bishops to renew the duties of their offices without molestation, and restored to the Christians the enjoyment of the cemeteries.† Yet that the ancient penal laws, against such as refused to comply with the established ceremonies of Religion, when formally required, were not repealed, the following instance will serve to prove. In Cæsarea of Palestine, at a moment of deep tranquillity, Marinius, a man distinguished by his wealth and high birth, was on the point of receiving the dignity of Centurion, when the next candidate for the vacant place objected to his nomination, on the ground that he was a Christian, and refused to sacrifice to the Emperors. The Judge, astonished at the accusation, interrogated Marinius on the subject of his Religion, and, observing that he confessed himself to be a Christian, allowed him three hours to consider whether he would persist in this profession. On leaving the Court, Theotecnus, Bishop of the town, having joined him, led him gradually into the Church, placed him before the altar, and having pointed out on one hand the sword, which hung at his side, and on the other the Gospel, he bade him choose which of the two he preferred. As Marinius unhesitatingly laid his hand on the book, he was briefly exhorted by the Bishop to adhere to his choice; and when he left the Church, the time of deliberation being elapsed, he was summoned before the Tribunal, maintained the faith with renewed alacrity, and was beheaded.‡ Astyrius, a Roman Senator of eminence, took on his shoulders the corpse of the Martyr, and paid it the last honours.§ This action appears not to have subjected him to punishment; probably his rank, and the high favour of the Emperors which he enjoyed, deterred accusers.

In the eight years during which Gallienus, the two Claudius, years during which Claudius ruled, and in the first four of the reign of Aurelian, the Christians, in general, were undisturbed. But in the fifth year, Aurelian, either at the impulse of some unknown adviser, or from

Of the Christian Church in the IIIRD Century.

From A. D. 211. to 313.

Source of the above account, and remarks.

Gallienus.

A. D.

260.

Tranquillity

restored.

Penal laws

not abrogated.

Martyrdom

of Marinius.

• Ch. xiii. ver. 5.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. c. 13.

‡ *Ibid.* c. 15.

§ *Ibid.*

History.

From
A. D.
211.
to

313.
Diocletian.
A. D.
284.†

Diocletian
and Maxi-
mian, Em-
perors.
Galerius
and Con-
stantius,
Caesars.
Toleration
of Chris-
tianity.

the influence of his own strongly superstitious feelings, determined to raise a Persecution,* which was expected to be severe. But the hand of death arrested him, as it were, in the act of subscribing the Edicts against the Church; and the effects of his anger were, probably, but little, if at all, experienced. After the murder of Aurelian, the Christians, with a few partial exceptions, continued uninjured nearly to the end of this century.

During the first eighteen years of his reign, Diocletian exhibited no symptoms of a disposition to disturb the prosperity of his Christian subjects. Religious conviction was gaining fast on the minds of the incredulous, or a more enlarged policy was gradually extending its influence. The reputation of the new Sect was considerably raised, and procured for its members not merely protection against violence, but a peculiar exemption from the performance of such duties as were incompatible with their Religious tenets. When intrusted with Provincial Governments, they were released from the usual obligation of assisting at sacrifices to the Gods and the Emperor. The Imperial household were permitted to exercise their Religion with the most undisguised freedom. The wife and the daughter of the Emperor appear, in some degree, to have imbibed the principles of Christianity. The most marked favour and affection were shown towards the Bishops, not merely by private persons, but by the Roman Governors; and conversions increased with so much rapidity, that it was found necessary to erect new and spacious Churches throughout all the Cities of the Empire. But it is again the melancholy duty of the Ecclesiastical Historian to mark, amid the lustre of surrounding prosperity, the shades which fall on the interior of the Christian state. Sloth and negligence, envy and bitter calumny, and a spirit of factious ambition which pervaded the higher Orders of the hierarchy, are among the numerous proofs of degeneracy, which the writings of Eusebius pathetically, but, perhaps, to a certain extent, rhetorically display.†

Degeneracy
of the
Christians.

Conduct of
Maximianus
Herculius.

The mildness of Diocletian entered not into the character of his harsh and unfeeling associate, Maximianus Herculus. Actuated by deep hostility, which ignorance and superstition had nursed, against the Christian faith, he could easily indulge in cruelty without expressly refusing to acknowledge the general spirit of toleration which then existed. One instance of severity is, however, cited, which can hardly be established by evidence sufficient to command our belief.

Supposed
martyrdom
of the
Theban
Legion.

It is pretended that Maximianus Herculus brought from the East a Legion, called the Theban Legion, consisting entirely of Christians, which he intended to employ against the Gauls. On his march, the Emperor wished to oblige his army to sacrifice to the Gods, or, according to other writers, to persecute the Christians. On the refusal of this Legion, he ordered them to be decimated; and, finding that the example of the sufferers produced no impression, he repeated the punishment of decimation, but was unable to enforce obedience. Exasperated at this inflexibility, he caused the whole Legion to be massacred. The soldiers relinquished their arms in passive resignation, and presented

their necks to the executioners. This event is said to have taken place at Agaunum, at the foot of the Alps, and is still honoured by the Romish Church. The famous Abbey of St. Maurice, is so called after the supposed Captain of this Legion.

Such is the account, which was once as implicitly received, as it is now generally suspected. It is detailed in a letter, attributed to Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, who professes to have learnt it from certain persons, who declared that they had heard it from Isaac, Bishop of Geneva, who, it was supposed, had received it from Theodore, Bishop of Octodurum.* Of this relation there are two copies; the first was published by Surius, and, among other internal proofs of falsehood, mentions a period posterior to Sigismond, King of Burgundy, who lived, at the lowest computation, sixty-six years later than Eucherius. The second copy, free from this anachronism and other contradictions, was subsequently published by Chifflet, who asserted that it was drawn from a very ancient manuscript in the Monastery of Mount Jura. The relation was attacked with great learning and ingenuity by M. J. du Bordieu,† who referred it to some Monk of the VIIIth century.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the history was known in the VIth century. From a Homily of Avitus,‡ published by Simmond, who found it in a Manuscript of unquestionable antiquity, it appears that the anniversary of these Martyrs was, in his time, celebrated in the Church dedicated to them at Agaunum. It is evident, therefore, that these Acts may have been written about the time of Eucherius, though it may, perhaps, be concluded, from the style, that he himself was not the author.

Date of the
narrative.

The arguments, which invalidate the whole narrative, are nearly insurmountable. The improbability of a Legion which contained six thousand Christians—the improbability that Maximian should have drawn it from the Eastern extremity of the Empire, to repress a revolt in Gaul—the improbability that, if so strong a measure were requisite, he should, when almost in the very presence of the enemy, destroy a considerable portion of his own army—the improbability that, even under these circumstances, not one soldier should have redeemed his life by an act of obedience to the orders of his Commander, that not one should have defended himself with the arms he held, that not one should have escaped in a country, surrounded by woods and mountains, which offered the means of safety—these are circumstances, which, unless supported by the unequivocal evidence of competent witnesses, would be alone sufficient to excite distrust, if not total disbelief, in the mind of the inquirer. But, in the present case, they are found in a narrative, which was not published till more than

Internal
evidence.

* If this were true, it would be strange that Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who must often have met Theodore, his Suffragan, should make no mention of this event, notwithstanding his veneration for Martyrs and Relics. (*Biblioth. Romaine*, tom. xxvii. p. 441.)

† His work is entitled, *Dissertation Critique sur le Martyre de la Legion Thebaine*, 1705. The English translation, which appeared in 1696, was made from the Author's MS. M. du Bordieu was induced to write his Dissertation, by the disgust which he conceived at the honours paid by the Church of Rome to the memory of the Theban soldiers, (c. 1.) The Martyrdom was maintained by Joseph de L'Isle.

‡ The title of the Homily is, *Dicta in Basilica Sanctissimi Agaunensium, in innovatione Monasterii ipsius, vel passionis Martyrum*.

* Euseb. lib. vii. c. 30. Lactant. *de Mort. Persecut.* c. 6, &c.

† The 29th of August, a. n. 284, is the beginning of the era of Martyrs, which is still in use among the Copts of Egypt, the Abyssinians, and some other nations of Africa.

‡ Euseb. lib. viii. c. 1.

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Arguments
against its
truth.

History. one hundred and fifty years after the pretended event took place. All contemporary writers are silent: the fact is not mentioned, nor alluded to, by Eusebius, nor by Sulpicius Severus, nor by Orosius, nor by the poet Prudentius, nor by Lactantius; all of whom have written of the Martyrdoms, which reflected lustre on the name of Christian; and the last, in particular, had resided in Gaul not more than thirty years after the remarkable occurrence which is said to have happened in that Country. Omitting the arguments which result from the difficulty of assigning this pretended Martyrdom to any local or general Persecution, we are inclined to an opinion that the tradition may have originated in some really severe punishment of certain Christians in the Roman army. The Greek Martyrologies celebrate one Maurice, a Tribune, whom Maximian put to death, together with seventy soldiers, at Apamea, in Syria, the Department over which he presided. It has been conjectured, with great probability, that the supposed Maurice of Agaunum is the same person, and that the Roman relater transferred the scene from the East to Gaul, and enriched the detail with that variety of improbable additions, which frequently attends the progress of tradition.*

We learn from Eusebius, that Persecution first began against the Christians who were engaged in a military life.† To preserve their Faith, many abandoned their profession; others laid down their lives. If the extant accounts of the Martyrdoms of that period be genuine, it cannot be denied that the conduct of some Christian soldiers was so public a violation of martial discipline, that it must naturally have been expected that the Roman Commanders would visit it with severe proofs of their displeasure. At Tebasta, in Numidia, Maximilian resolutely refused to follow the example of those Christians, who consented to serve in the army, and death was the punishment of this disobedience.‡ At Tingi, in Mauritania, Marcellus, a Centurion, amid the rejoicings and sacrifices which celebrated the birth-day of the Emperor, in the presence of the whole Legion cast away his arms, his belt, and his vine-branch, the badge of his office, and cried aloud, that he was the soldier of Jesus Christ, the eternal King, and that if to sacrifice to the Gods were the condition of a military life, he would serve no longer under the Imperial banners. He was accordingly seized, and, after having confessed, he was reproached by the Judge with having broken his oath, and condemned to be beheaded as a deserter.§ Similar instances may, possibly, have produced an unfavourable effect on the mind of the Emperor. But the first cause of his enmity may, perhaps, be sought in the machinations of the Pagan Priests. It is related, that when Diocletian expressed an extreme desire of penetrating into future events, the Diviners found that there were none of the ordinary marks in the entrails of the victims, and attributed the want of success, which attended the rites, to certain profane persons who had intruded into their Assemblies. The narrator affirms, that some Christians, being present,

had made the sign of the Cross on their foreheads, and thus expelled the Demons.* It was on this occasion that Diocletian, being incensed, commanded that sacrifices should be observed, not merely by the Court, but by the Camp; and that those who refused, should be scourged; and soldiers, who would not comply, should be dismissed. And to this extent only did his anger then proceed. From this narration it is manifest that the *Aruspices*, subtle and intriguing men, contrived to instigate the superstitious Emperor against the Christians, whose prosperity they viewed with a jealous and fearful eye, by pretending that their presence destroyed the efficacy of the sacrifices. Various other means were resorted to by the Priests, and, perhaps, by the Philosophers, to rouse the fears of an Emperor, whose unwillingness to similar Persecution could only be overcome by working on his credulity and superstition.

These wiles, however, might have been unsuccessful, but for the unremitting exertions of Maximianus Galerius; coarse and uneducated, his natural fierceness was easily excited by his mother, a woman of extreme superstition, who had contracted hatred against the Christians, in consequence of their refusal to assist at the sacrifices, which she was in the habit of almost daily performing.†

During the whole winter which he spent at Nicomedia, Galerius held secret consultations with Diocletian on the subject of the Christians. The aged Emperor, whom caution or lenity had inspired with aversion to the exercise of extraordinary violence, is represented as having pressed on his rash adviser a consideration of the scenes of disturbance and of bloodshed, which would unquestionably attend the measures of coercion that he proposed. Convinced, however, of the dangers which might accrue to the State from an unbounded toleration of a hostile Sect, or unwilling to offer an entire opposition to the wishes of his colleague, he suggested, as a sufficient check, that no Christian should be allowed to continue in the Court or in the Army. Galerius, whose passions predominated over his reason, was dissatisfied with an expedient which presented but a partial remedy to the pretended evil of which he witnessed the continual growth. His remonstrances, at length, were successful in prevailing on Diocletian to summon an Assembly, composed of a few persons, who had acquired eminence in the judicial, or in the military profession. Of these some were already prejudiced against the Christians, and others were too much influenced by their fears, or by the desire of gratifying the powerful, to deny that Galerius was right in deeming the destruction of Christianity essential to the permanence of the Roman institutions. Yet, even then, the reluctant Emperor, distrustful of human counsels, applied for further advice to the Oracle of the Milesian Apollo. The Oracle, as might naturally be foreseen, confirmed the sentiments of the enemies of Christianity; and the acquiescence of Diocletian, in the adoption of severe proceedings, was at length obtained.‡

The twenty-third of February, which was the Festival of the God Terminus, was chosen as an appropriate day to begin the task of fixing, as it were, a period to the Christian Religion. At the first faint dawn of the

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Influence of Maximianus Galerius.

A. D.

303.

Destruction of the Church of Nicomedia.

* This conjecture, which seems to have been first suggested by Baronius, (*Annot. ad diem XXII. Septemb. Martyrologii Romani*, p. 373.) is supported in a very able Dissertation on the subject of the Tebasta Legion, which is contained in the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, tom. xxvi. p. 427—454.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. viii. c. 4.

‡ *Acta Sincera*, p. 299.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

* Lactant. *de Mort. Persecut.* c. 10.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

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morning, the Prefect, attended by Generals, Tribunes, and Receivers of the revenue, proceeded to the Church of Nicomedia, which stood on an eminence within the view of the Imperial Palace. The doors were immediately forced open, and an ineffectual search was made for the Image of the God, whom the Christians worshipped. The sacred Scriptures, which were found there, were burnt; and whatever remained was divided as the spoil. While this work of confusion and ruin was busily proceeding, the two Princes, who viewed the scene from their Palace, debated long whether they should order fire to be set to the Church; but apprehensive of the danger, to which this method of destruction would expose the rest of the city, Diocletian resolved that it should be demolished by his guards. They came, accordingly, in array of battle, with axes and mattocks, and rased, in a few hours, that lofty edifice to the ground.

First Edict
of Diocle-
tian.

On the ensuing day an Edict was issued, by which it was decreed that the Churches should be demolished to their foundation, and the Scriptures committed to the flames; that such as professed Christianity should be considered incapable of holding any honour or office, and should be liable to torture, whatever might be their rank or dignity; that any action might be received against them, but that they, on the other hand, should have no right to sue upon any injury, whether by violence, adultery, or theft, which they themselves experienced.† Slaves were also deprived of the hope of liberty;‡ and the shield of the Law was withdrawn from every member of the proscribed Sect. It appears also to have been then enacted, that no Assemblies should be held by the Christians, and that all their places of resort should be confiscated.

Rash con-
duct and
punishment
of a Chris-
tian.

This most unjust Edict was no sooner fixed up in the most public part of the city, than it was torn down by a Christian, who severely reflected on the conduct of the Emperors; and accused them of betraying a spirit as narrow and ferocious as that of the unenlightened hordes of Goths and Sarmatians, over whom they boasted of having triumphed. An action so daring could not fail to subject its author, however exalted might be his situation in life, to peremptory punishment. The Christian was immediately seized, and not merely tortured by the ordinary process of the rack, but destroyed by a slow fire, which he endured with a tranquillity of mind, which spread a smile over his features even in the agonies of death. The Historian, who acknowledged that his conduct was a deviation from the rules of rectitude, still considered it as having originated in courageous ardour; and, without approving of his dangerous indiscretion, it is difficult not to feel respect for the motive which inspired the extraordinary fortitude that baffled, to the last, the efforts of his tormentors.§

Fire in the
Palace of
Nicomedia.

An event soon after occurred, which was productive of the most disastrous results to the Christian inhabitants of Nicomedia. A destructive fire broke out in the Palace wherein Galerius and Diocletian resided, and the Christians were accused of having conspired with some of the eunuchs, for the destruction of the two Princes. The rack was, as usual, resorted to, but was not

attended by any discovery. A fortnight afterwards, the Palace was again in flames. The conflagration, indeed, was soon observed and extinguished; but the impression which it left on the mind of Diocletian was implacable resentment against the whole Sect, to which the calamity was immediately ascribed. Every kind of torment, which the most ingenious cruelty could invent, was now recklessly employed. Persons of all ages and of both sexes, in great numbers, were burned alive, and their servants cast into the sea; officers, who had conducted the affairs of the Palace, were put to death; Presbyters and Deacons, without legal proof, were condemned and executed; and the city presented an appalling spectacle of ferocity exasperated into madness, and the powers of destruction invested with their deepest horrors. The feelings of humanity were crushed; the internal pleadings of justice were no more heard; the mighty tide of Persecution had set in, and, no longer stemmed by prudence, it swept all before it in its progress. The cause of the calamity is still enveloped in uncertainty. One Historian has not hesitated to impute it to the artifices of Galerius, who had used every effort to stimulate his more mild, or more fearful associate; and who, in the depth of winter, hastened his departure from Nicomedia, protesting that he was forced to fly from the danger to which he was exposed by desperate incendiaries.* But it is manifest that such a plot could only have been known by conjecture, for its necessary secrecy must have precluded any other means of information. The Emperor Constantine, who was himself an eye-witness of the fire, attributes it to lightning;† and Eusebius acknowledges that he was ignorant of the real cause;‡ Whether, therefore, it arose from accident or from design, it is not for us, in these later Ages, with no additional clue to guide our researches, to determine.

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Authors of
the fire.

The Edict of Diocletian was published in all the Provinces of the Empire; but it circulated so slowly, that the Christians in the more remote quarters were visited by this affliction some months later than the brethren who dwelt near the seat of its first promulgation. The Magistrates were enjoined under the heaviest penalties to seize the sacred books, which were in the hands of the Bishops and Presbyters, and to consign them publicly to the flames. Hence, though the law seems not intended to affect the lives of the Christians, it proved destructive to many, who resolutely refused to deliver up the Holy Writings.§

Edict of
Diocletian.

Though most were doubtless influenced by the purest and holiest motives, by that strong sense of Religious duty which must draw forth the respect even of those who might dissent in their estimate of the course of action pursued; there were not wanting some few who, it must be confessed, were actuated by very different views; oppressed, it is said, by public debts, or haunted by the consciousness of a habitual neglect of the precepts of Christianity, they rashly imagined that the voluntary sacrifice of their lives, which were to them a burthen, would be an expiation of their former crimes.

Many, however, both of the Church and Laity, were willing to obey the Imperial Decree by delivering up the Scriptures, and were in consequence branded by the re-

* Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. c. 12.

† Comp. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. c. 2, and Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. c. 13.

‡ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. c. 6.

§ Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. c. 12. Euseb. lib. viii. c. 5.

* Lactant. de Mort. Persecut.

† Orat. ad Sanctior. Contum. c. 26.

‡ Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. c. 6.

§ August. Breviscol. Collat. cum Donat. lib. iii. c. 13.

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313.
Served and
Chief Officers.

proachful appellation of *Traditors*.^{*} But, notwithstanding the ignominy which attended their conduct, it would surely be a breach of Charity to assert, that they meant by this act to express their formal renunciation of the Christian Religion.

Fourth
Edict.

In consequence of some civil commotions in Armenia and Syria, a new Edict was published, commanding that all the Presidents of the Churches should be seized, and the prisons were soon filled with Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Readers, and Exorcists; insomuch, adds the Historian, that no place remained for the custody of condemned criminals. This Edict was followed by another, in which it was ordained that they who were imprisoned, should be set at liberty on their consenting to sacrifice, but that they who refused, should be compelled to undergo every variety of torment. And just before the resignation of Diocletian, a fourth Edict was issued, not merely directed, as the foregoing, against the Heads of the Church, but embracing all ranks of Christians, who had now no alternative but to worship the Heathen Idols,† or to submit to all that could be devised to overpower their feelings and subdue their spirit. The extent of the Persecution which burst on the Christians, will be best conceived by reviewing their state in the different parts of the Roman Empire.‡ But our limits will only allow us to sketch with a rapid pencil, those scenes which are drawn in deepened colours by contemporary Historians.

Galerius
and Constantine,
Emperors.

Constantius Chlorus, who presided over Gaul, was induced by the natural mildness and benignity of his character, and by the favourable opinion which he entertained of the Christian doctrines, to mitigate severities which he could not prevent. Unwilling to oppose the authority of Diocletian, he complied with it, so far as regarded the demolition of the Churches, but he exerted his power to shield the persons of the Christians from violence and injury. And that protection, which he had partially exhibited as *Cæsar*, he subsequently maintained in all its vigour as *Augustus*. The tranquillity enjoyed by Gaul under Constantius, and afterwards under Constantine, was probably extended to Britain. But in Spain, which though it also belonged to the same Department, was not so directly under his superintendence, the Governor Datianus appears in no degree to have relaxed the rigorous conditions of the Imperial Edicts, and the consequent misery of the Christians is attested by the extant relations of numerous Martyrdoms.

State of the
Christians in the
Department of
Constantianus.

In Italy and Africa, where Maximianus, the inveterate enemy of the Christians, whom he regarded as opponents of his ambitious designs, the storm of Persecution raged with a fury which seemed destined, as it were, to tear up by the roots and cast down for ever the new Establishment. But the shock, though dreadful, was brief. On the resignation of Diocletian, Severus governed these Provinces, probably, in a milder manner, when *Cæsar*, and watched by Constantius, than when *Augustus*, and influenced by Galerius. The revolt of Maxentius restored tranquillity in these Provinces to the Christian Church.

Italy and
Africa.

5 See East.

In the East, the ambitious Galerius, long impatient of the restraints which a cautious policy had imposed on his impetuous spirit, no sooner obtained the Purple than

he gave full scope to the measures of the most savage cruelty. His associate, Maximin, lent a willing cooperation in the enormities of this eventful period.

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The heart-sickening details of refined torments, which the Historians of the Church have transmitted to us, and which almost stagger belief, cannot be even touched upon without a feeling of mental convulsion. The method of burning, by a slow fire, employed by men, whose only fear was lest the violence of their fury should be abridged by the too speedy death of their victim, is alone sufficient to give the reader a transient glance into those spectacles of human agony, which were then so frequent. The victims were chained, and a gentle fire was applied to the soles of their feet, by which the callus was contracted, till at last it fell off from the bones. Torches which had been just lighted and extinguished, while still hot, were pressed against every limb, that no part of their bodies should be free from torture. And during this process of horror, cold water was poured on their faces and in their mouths, lest their throats being quite dried up, they should expire before the full measure of barbarity was exhausted. At length, when their skin was wholly consumed, and the flame had penetrated to their vitals, they were thrown on a funeral pile and burned to ashes, which were ignominiously cast to the winds.* One description of this nature is more than enough to give an idea of the punishments adopted. They varied, indeed, in their nature and duration, according to the caprice of the different Provincial Governors, but they were even marked by circumstances more harrowing than imagination can conceive that cruelty could inflict.

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313.
Torments.
Burning by
slow fire.

In Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, which the superstitious Maximin administered, the same spirit of vengeance pursued the devoted Christians, who must have shrunk from the trial, had not Faith lifted up for them the veil of Immortality, and soothed and strengthened their oppressed spirits.

The cessation of Persecution in the Eastern part of the Empire was, if not caused, at least accelerated, by a dreadful and loathsome disorder, under the protracted pains of which Galerius issued an Edict, permitting the Christians to resume their worship in tranquillity, and expressing his hope, that, in return for this indulgence, they would supplicate the Deity, whom they adored, for his health, and for the welfare of themselves and of the State.‡ In this Edict he assigns as the motive which engaged him to employ means to compel the Christians to return to the institutions of their ancestors, a desire to correct all things for the benefit of the Public, according to the ancient laws and established discipline of the Romans.§ He adds, that this original design was abandoned, from his observation, that though many had been subjected to danger and torments, many continued still unchanged in their senti-

Galerius.
A. D.
311.

* Lactant. *de M. P.* c. 21.

† One circumstance which took place during some part of the Persecution of this period ought not to be omitted. We are informed by Eusebius, that a certain small town of Phrygia, of which the whole population, not excepting the Magistrates, professed Christianity, and refused to sacrifice, was burned, with its inhabitants, by soldiers, sent, vii. 11.) Lactantius only says, speaking of the Provincial Magistrates who had put Christians to death, *Alii ad occidendum præcipites cæterunt, nequissimi in Phrygiâ qui universum populum cum ipso patre conventiculo conseruaverunt.* (*Iust. Div. lib. v. c. 11.*)

‡ Euseb. *Hist. Eccles. l. viii. c. 16.* Lactant. *de M. P. c. 33.*

§ Euseb. *Hist. Eccles. l. viii. c. 17.* Lactant. *de M. P. c. 34.*

* Optat. Milevit. *de Schis. Donat.* lib. i. § 12, 13.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. c. 13. *De Mart. Palest.* c. 13.

‡ See the view of this Persecution taken in Dodwell, *Dissert. Cyprica* dissert. xi. Mosheim, *de Reb. Christ.* p. 947, &c. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. p. 575, &c.

History.

From
A. D.
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to
313.

Persecution
renewed by
Maximin.

ments; though they no longer worshipped the God of the Christians, yet they adored not the Gods of Rome.* He felt at last, that Persecution may make hypocrites, but not converts. This Edict, which was warmly supported by Licinius and Constantine, was productive of much benefit to the Christians. But Maximin, who, after its promulgation, presided over the Asiatic Provinces, although at first he had so far acquiesced in its execution, that the Christians, delivered from prison and from the mines, were returning to their habitations with hymns of praise,† soon evinced a determination to reestablish Paganism in all its powers. Addresses from Antioch and other Cities, which prayed that the Christians might be expelled from their territories, either imposed on him the necessity of gratifying one class of his subjects at the expense of another, or were in fact secretly contrived by the emissaries of the Emperor himself, to give the appearance of popular sanction to the measures which he himself premeditated. The fomentor of these artful proceedings was one Theotecnus,‡ a Carator at Antioch, who, availing himself of the Emperor's addiction to Magic and belief in Oracles, rekindled the flames of Persecution. Every means was now employed to degrade the Christian and to exalt the Heathen Religion. *Acts of Pilate*, filled with blasphemy against Christ, were industriously forged, and published in all quarters by Imperial authority.§ Abandoned women were suborned to testify the foulest falsehoods respecting the practice of the Christians.||

* Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. c. 17. Lactant. *de M. P.* c. 34.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ix. c. 1.

‡ *Ibid.* c. 2.

§ *Ibid.* c. 5.

|| *Ibid.*

To give force and consistence to the Religious system of Paganism, he appointed Priests in all Cities, and over them a Chief Priest in every Province, selected from the most distinguished ranks, and honoured with a military guard. Temples were everywhere erected or repaired. All that brutality can inflict, all that fortitude can endure, was again inflicted and endured. Superstition, now armed with all the energies of power, and guided by all the artifices of policy, seemed fitted to demolish the structure, so long assailed, of the Christian Church.* But the overruling arm, which, in its mysterious movements, confounds and destroys the schemes of the children of men, interposed. The death of Maximin,† and the accession of Constantine, overthrew one of the worst enemies, and established the strongest protector of the true Religion. And, after a Persecution of ten years' continuance, which had swept away a very considerable number of the faithful followers of Christ,‡ and which, as Inscriptions still attest,§ was supposed to have extirpated His worship, the memorable Decree was past which acknowledged the inviolable rights of conscience, and the Spiritual was subsequently united with the Civil Establishment.

* Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. viii. c. 14; lib. ix. c. 2, &c. Lactant. *de M. P.* c. 36.

† He had already released and published an Edict in favour of the Christians. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ix. c. 10.

‡ Gibbon computes it at somewhat less than 2000. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. 16, *sub fin.*

§ The two Inscriptions found at Clunia in Spain, in Gruter, *Inscript.* p. 290, num. 3.

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Accession of
Constantine

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XLI.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

History.
Accuracy of Biography.
OF many Writers, it may be confidently asserted, that it is impossible to enter into their full meaning and design without an adequate acquaintance with the general circumstances of the Time and Country in which they flourished. But of some, in particular, it may be added, that, in order to form a correct judgment on their Works, the reader must previously inquire into the peculiar incidents of their lives; the nature of their education; the tone of their opinions, considered in relation to the prevalent sentiments of their contemporaries; the profession which they followed; the estimation in which they were held; and, lastly, the order in which their Writings appeared, and the occasions which respectively called them forth. Without much of this introductory knowledge, the scope of many an argument is unnoticed; the spirit of many an observation unfelt; and the fine thread of allusion, which is often the best clue in unravelling intricacies, insensibly escapes us.

Antecedent points of Inquiry.
These remarks are, in an especial degree, applicable to the study of the Christian Fathers. Their style and manner are materially influenced by their situations and pursuits, and often vary at different periods of their lives. Origen, in more advanced years, repents of what he had composed in his early days.* Tertullian, after his adoption of Montanism, treats many points with feelings unlike those which actuated him before his secession from the Church.

Moreover, in investigating any particular Treatise, it is of much consequence to ascertain beforehand, not merely (as must be obvious to the most hasty examiner) whether the Author was at the time of its publication esteemed orthodox or schismatic, whether he was a layman or a Priest, and whether he wrote at a period of tranquillity or of Persecution; but also, whether he had received a Pagan or a Christian education, and, above all, whether he wrote before the birth, or during the height, or after the extinction, of certain Heresies. As intension to these points has occasionally led to mistakes, it may not be useless to illustrate, as briefly as possible, our reasons for laying down such of these antecedent queries as may not at first sight appear requisite.

1. It is necessary to inquire into his Early Life and Pursuits. Many of the Fathers were born and bred in Paganism, popular and philosophical. The defects of this education were sometimes imperfectly felt, and seldom wholly remedied. The seam of the wound was always visible, and it was liable to reopen. Even resolution was not unfrequently the dupe of habit. Some portion of early error still adhered to the opinions of the convert; just as, in later times, some remains of the spirit of the Church of Rome broke out in the conduct of the Reformers. Bearing this fact in mind, we shall not be apt to lay undue weight on the authority of the Fathers, wherever there is reason to suppose that their judgment has been warped by the prejudices and associations of their youth. We shall not be surprised to find vestiges of Platonism in the writings of men who were formerly Platonists, any more than to observe the figures of Rhetoric still appearing in the language of such as were formerly Rhetoricians.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IInd and IIIrd Centuries.

Effects produced on the Writings of the Christian Fathers by early Pagan education.

2. It is also necessary to mark their age in reference to particular Heresies. In examining their opinions on doctrinal questions, not formally made the subject of dispute in their time, it is not just to weigh the casual expressions of the early Fathers with so much nicety as the studied sentences and qualified terms of such as lived either during or after the agitation of the controverted points. This equitable rule prevails in the common converse of life. We draw a strong line of distinction between incidental remarks and deliberate judgments. For words dropped at random, or in a lax and unguarded manner, are necessarily deficient in precision, and sometimes applicable to the support of opinions, which, if stated to him, the speaker would probably have rejected. We are not, therefore, to be surprised if the Ante-Nicene Fathers speak of the Trinity in language much less measured and pointed than their successors.*

By the state of Heresies.

* *Multa latebant in Scripturis, et cum prævii eurent Hæretici, questionibus agitaverunt Ecclesiam Dei. Aperta sunt quæ latebant, et intellecta est voluntas Dei. Numquid eum perfectè de Trinitate tractatum est antequam oblatrarent Arianæ? Numquid perfectè de Personarum tractatum est antequam oblatrarent Novatiani?—Ne non perfectè de Baptismo tractatum est, antequam contraderent foris passis, reprobatores.—Nec de Unitate Christi, nisi postquam*

* Hieron. ad Pammach. et Ocean. Ep. 41. (al. 65.)

History.
Variation
in the use
of terms.

Methods of
reasoning,
style, &c.

Again, another fact is not to be forgotten. Various terms were used at particular periods in a different acceptance from that in which they are at present understood; such, for instance, are the words, Pope, Mass, Confession, and some others.

And here we may be allowed, by way of caution, to make a few observations on the *reasoning* of the Fathers. Attention must be delivered dogmatically, or in disputation; * in the former case, they are defined, precise, and unqualified; in the latter, they sometimes, it has been remarked—though the inference has been much too severe and the application much too general—resort to artifices of Logic, employed, to speak in their own language, “by dispensation;”† under the ample shield of which the arguer, in some instances, seems to have thought that he was at liberty, according to the urgency of the occasion, to carry a point beyond the bounds which his own judgment would have set to it, and, as it were, to force his way rather more obliquely than his natural bent and impulse of mind would have directed. For, in dispute as in war, stratagems, which a straight-forward spirit disdains, were tacitly permitted. It is certain that they appear to reason not unfrequently from the concessions of their adversaries; and hence it is probable, that their authority is sometimes pleaded in support of arguments on which they laid but little real stress. Thus they often urge the superior antiquity of the Jewish Scriptures to the Grecian Writings, not, perhaps, so much because they considered this as in itself a decisive proof of the divinity of the Jewish Religion, as because the novelty of their Faith, contrasted with the antiquity of Paganism, was constantly turned into an objection by their enemies. Another circumstance is also frequently overlooked. What is accepted as *reasoning* was often meant merely as *illustration*. We condemn by the rules of Logic, what they intended should be measured by the laws of Rhetoric. Their ornaments are, it is true, sometimes puerile;‡ and generally redundant: they are flowers which, being neither tastefully chosen, nor happily assorted, give a kind of quaint and grotesque appearance to the matter which they incumber. But the same judgment might be passed on the strained conceits and absurd embellishments, which, insinuating themselves into passages of infinite force,

animation, and splendour, often disfigure the Writings of our best ancient authors; yet no one on that account would undervalue their opinions, or heap ridicule on their abilities. Before we quit this subject, we are anxious to draw attention to the fact that it is wholly improbable that the intention of the Fathers should have been to equivocate, (however weak their reasoning may occasionally be deemed,) when it is considered that they chose rather to lay down their lives than to avail themselves of a mental reservation. Though in polemical discourse they sometimes seem to have adopted a principle neither just in itself, nor in unison with their general sentiments, yet in the conduct of life, they undoubtedly rejected with contempt the sophism of the Heathen Poet: “My tongue, but not my mind, has sworn.”§ We are far from wishing to deny or to extenuate their faults as controversialists; but at least their scope and method ought to be distinctly understood, before their arguments can be candidly estimated. Injustice has recommended itself to Indulgence by an attempt to condense the scrutiny of a laborious subject into superficial strictures on extracts and shreds of extracts, on a few sentences torn from their context, and a few scattered reflections invidiously clustered together. While excellencies have been left untouched, the slightest inaccuracies, even when ambiguous, have been tortured into heterodoxy, ignorance, and absurdity.

As Commentators upon the Sacred Scriptures, the Fathers, in general, are not, perhaps, entitled to any very high portion of confidence. For, besides that in professed expositions, they often collect the sentiments of various Writers, without specifically stating from what source each interpretation is derived, and in what degree it coincides with their own opinion;† they often resort to the most fanciful allegories, and in many instances betray an ignorance of the Hebrew language,‡ which led, as it was calculated to lead, to the most erroneous conclusions. It ought also to be remarked, that they frequently quote Scripture (if the present text of their Writings be correct) without sufficient accuracy.§ Indeed, literal exactness appears not to have been scrupulously affected by ancient Writers of any party.

Another circumstance deserves consideration. Some of the Fathers, either from the fear of confiding truths of a higher order to weak minds, or, in order to spread an appearance of solemnity and importance over their Writings, were at times apt to envelope their meaning in enigmatical obscurity. Clemens Alexandrinus,|| in particular, professes to have wrapt his thoughts occasionally in studied confusion. He asserts, too, that on some points he had not ventured to write, scarcely to speak, lest, being misunderstood, he should be found to have put, as it were, a sword into the hand of a child. The Sacraments, especially, they treated with the utmost mystery

Recele-
brated
Writers of
the 11th
and 13th
Centuries.

Value of the
Fathers as
Commenta-
tors on
Scripture.

Discip-
les
Arcan.

separatio illa urgere cupit Fratres infirmos. S. Augustin; *Hey's Lectures in Divinity*, vol. ii. p. 227. *Antequam in Alexandriid quasi demonium meridianum Arius nasceretur, intermitte quadam et minus caute locuti sunt, et quo non possint proversorum hominum eademum declinare.* (Hieron. *Apol. adv. Rufin.* lib. ii.) *Da Pin, Nouv. Bibl. des Aut. Eccles. Preface.* Compare Daillet, *du Vrai Usage des Pères.*

* *Sunt doctrinæ plura esse genera dicendi, et inter cætera aliud esse *syncretismi*, arboris, aliud *syncretismi*. In priori vagam esse disputatorem, et adæquario respondentem, nunc hæc, nunc illa proponere; argumentari ut libet, aliud loqui, aliud agere, panem, ut dicitur, ostendere, lapidem tenere. In sequenti autem aperta fronte, et ut ita dicam, ingenuitas necessaria est. Aliud est quæquer, aliud definire: in altero pagandum, in altero docendum est.* Hieron. *Ep.* 36. (al. 56.) *ad Pammach.*

† *See* *de* *divinis*.

‡ As, for instance, the reasons given by Irenæus, why there are only Four Gospels, (*Adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. c. 11.) and by Tertullian, why there were Twelve Apostles, (*Adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. c. 13.) In somewhat the same manner, Sir Edward Coke discovered “abundance of mystery” in the “Patristical and Apostolical number” twelve, of which the Jury is composed. See Blackstone’s *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, book iii. c. 23. An amusing instance of ingenious absurdity on “the ancient conceit” of the number five may be found in ch. v. of Sir Thomas Brown’s *Garden of Cyrus*, or *The Quincunx Mystically considered*.

• Just. Mart. in *Apolog.* i. sec. 39.

† Hieron. *Apol. adv. Rufin.* The way in which Jerome professes to have written his *Commentaries* is not entitled to much praise. After having spoken of Origen, Didymus, Apollinarius, and others, he adds, *Legi hæc omnia et in mente me plurima concurrebant, accitis notariis, vel meo vel aliena dictata, nec ordinis nec verborum interitum, nec errorem memor.* Ep. 74. (al. 89.) *ad Augustin.*

‡ e.g. The derivation of the word *Jesu* by Irenæus, *Abraham* by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Cephus* by Optatus, &c. See also i. La Clerc, in *Hist. Ecclesiast.* Ann. ci.

§ e.g. Justin cites as from Zephaniah what is found in Zechariah. Tertullian alleges as being said to Moses what was said to Samuel.

|| Strom. lib. i.

Consider
the
causes of
deceit.

Independently of this affected mysteriousness, the Fathers are obscure sometimes in consequence of their ignorance, and sometimes by reason of their erudition. While one, but inadequately acquainted with the laws of Grammar and Rhetoric, writes in a troubled and perplexed style, without propriety in the selection of his terms, and without clearness in the arrangement of his sentences; another, on the contrary, deeply versed as well in the Philosophy and learning of the Gentile world as in the contents of Sacred Writ, presents us with a curious mixture of motley fragments, allusions, sentiments, maxims, and illustrations.

But, whatever be the defects of their Style, it should be considered, that these were generally the defects of the Age in which they lived; some, Minucius Felix, for instance, and Lactantius, are, perhaps, superior, in point of language, to their heathen contemporaries; and very few are so inelegant as the Augustan Historians. If their matter be valuable, it is surely not just to disregard them on account of the manner in which it is conveyed. Who neglects Polybius, because his method of writing is coarse, and unconnected?

Value of the
Fathers as
Historical
Witnesses.

The character of the Fathers, considered as Historical Witnesses, has been already adverted to.* But it may be still necessary briefly to notice the charge of credulity which is urged against them, often with all the force which ridicule can supply, seldom with all the considerations which impartiality would suggest. The charge is, we think, not wholly true. The single circumstance that the impostor Alexander (whose successful artifices have been described by Lucian)† despaired of being able to delude the Christians, is sufficient to show that they were not very susceptible of being misled by the repute and dexterity of deceivers.

Consider
them as
credulous.

That they were too ready, however, to admit accounts of Supernatural Agency, which have been since regarded as false or exaggerated, cannot be denied. But it should not be forgotten, that, whether Miracles were still seen, or whether their cessation had taken place so gradually as to escape observation, on either supposition there would be a tendency to ascribe unusual phenomena, of which the natural causes were unknown, to the immediate interposition of Divine Providence.

But, independently of their peculiarity of situation, the Age in which they lived was, in a high degree, favourable to superstitious impressions. The Pagans, even in the Philosophic classes, were equally prone with the Christians to credit reports without sufficient inquiry, and to resolve any singular occurrence into the operation of some miraculous power. Celsus, Hierocles, and Porphyry attributed extraordinary events to the efficacy of magic; even Julian, as we shall have occasion to show by and by, was "addicted to the whole train of superstitions, omens, presages, prodigies, spectres, dreams, visions, auguries, oracles, magic, theurgic, psychomantic."‡ But who is so little conversant with the annals of mankind as not to have observed how often weakness is interwoven with greatness, how often a strange blindness on some topics will coexist with great discernment on others?§ Are the Writers of the Age of

Elizabeth and the first James, to be rejected because it was an Age in which a belief in witchcraft was rooted in the minds, not merely of the vulgar, but of men who will ever be regarded as the lights and ornaments of English Literature and Philosophy?¶ Would Sully and Henry IV. be deemed incompetent witnesses of ordinary facts, because they were the dupes of random prophecies? Is a sneer raised against the genius of Dryden, because he was a strong believer in judicial astrology, and seems to have consoled himself with the reflection that "Chaucer was an astrologer; as were Virgil, Horace, Persius, and Manilius?"†

Eccle-
siastical
Writers of
the IInd
and IIIrd
Centuries.

But if acuteness may be found blended with credulity, much more may honesty. That the intention of not deceiving renders us liable to be deceived, is a remark which Rochefoucault‡ was not the first that made; it is confirmed by continual experience. Credulity arises from a kind of ductility of spirit which is attached not merely to the most shining mental acquirements, but also to the most valuable qualities of the heart. What mind was ever actuated by purer motives and feelings than that of the benign and enlightened Fenelon?§ yet was it swayed by the reveries of a weak devotee. What Writers were ever more powerfully impressed with a sense of the great duties of Religion and Morality than Pascal and Johnson? yet were they the victims of many a superstitious feeling. To accumulate instances would be easy, but unnecessary. To those who are continually insisting on the credulity of the Christian Fathers, in order to annihilate their authority as impartial writers even in matters of common experience, we would recommend attention to the following fact, that the "most virtuous Divine of the barbarous Ages is the Venerable Bede," and one of the most honest Historians of any Age is Matthew Paris, "yet their propensity to recount the wonderful exceeds all imagination."|| This fact is mentioned by an author, who, notwithstanding the extraordinary powers of his genius, and the vast scope of his varied erudition, may himself, perhaps, be added to the list of those great men who have not been wholly free from credulity.¶

The above reflections will, we hope, in some measure prepare the reader for the tone and manner which the Fathers assume. But it ought not to be omitted, that some previous difficulty exists in discovering what are their genuine productions.

It is the task of the Critic not merely to distinguish real from counterfeit pieces, but also to detect whatever may have been added or omitted, even in authentic Works. A slight mistake in one copy becomes, by some awkward or over-ingenious attempt at emendation, a very material one in the next; and if the first transcript be lost, the error may sometimes become incurable. If the Writer has chosen an obscure and intricate style, the smallest alteration will inextricably perplex his meaning. But even the characters of the most faithful copyists are changed by the defacing powers of age. If

State of
MSs.

* See an article full of curious research on *Popular Illusions* by Dr John Ferriar, in the *Memoirs of the Philosophical Society of Manchester*, vol. iii. p. 53.

† Preface to his *Fables*.

‡ "L'entention de ne jamais tromper nous expose à être souvent trompés." (*Mozart*, 143.)

§ See the observations of Bishop Kaye, on *Tertullian*.

¶ Warburton, on *Jehon*. *Introd.* p. x.

|| See his Account of the Prophecies of Arise Evans. *Append.* to vol. i. of *Jovin's Res.* on *Eccles. Hist.*

Q 2

• *Encyclopædia*, vol. xi. p. 82. 99. 102. &c.

† *Pseudomant.* v. *Oper.* tom. v. ed. Bipont.

‡ Beutley's *Remarks* on a late Discourse on *Free-thinking*, &c. 43.

§ *Encyclopædia*, SECTUS EMPIRICUS.

History.

we should suppose the transcriber not to have mistaken the shape of the letters which he saw, or the sound of the words dictated to him; neither to have been led astray by the temptations of conjecture, nor overtaken by moments of carelessness; still the moth and the dust, and the various injuries of time, will render doubtful what, in its original state, was clear and correct. These are accidents which may befall all ancient manuscripts, and therefore are not peculiar to the Works of the Fathers. To consider them alone as serious objections would indicate a capitious and uncritical spirit. But very different and very important are the alterations designedly made in the Works of the Fathers, made with the positive intention of misrepresenting their opinions; some in ancient, and others in later times.* It was a pernicious notion of some Writers, that the end sanctified the means, that falsehood might be called into the aid of Truth. Hence they framed, or at least tolerated, relations manifestly spurious and absurd. Documents were shamefully altered; and it is therefore highly necessary to point out the Writings, or parts of Writings, attributed to the Fathers, which after impartial examination appear to be supposititious or doubtful.†

Interpolations or forgeries.

* On the subject of falsifications, were written a Treatise by Barthol. Gerson, *De Péter. Heretic. Ecclesiast. Codic. Corrupt.* and one by T. James, *Of the Corruption of the Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, &c. of the Church of Rome*, 1688. But it is a subject which requires much care, much acuteness, and, above all, much candour and honesty and good feeling. A deep sense of the paramount importance of Truth is the best preservative against rash accusations and hasty inferences.

† Rufinus, for instance, dreadfully mutilated the Works which he undertook to translate; and Jerome, at one time his admirer, confesses that in different parts of his own version of Origen he had omitted what was noxious, i.e. in other words, what was contrary to his own opinions, or to the notions and views of his contemporaries; and in defence of this method he alleges the examples of other Fathers. To this cause we must attribute the shreds of different colour and substance, which are not unfrequently complained of by the perplexed annotator and the disconcerted reader. Interpolations have, it is said, been forced into the Writings of Cyprinus by the defenders of Papacy, who even wished to suppress the Letter of Firmilian, because it was thought injurious to their cause; and whole books were destroyed by fire, in consequence of the public Decrees of Popes and Councils. Even at a much earlier period the Christians declare that Heretics had published various Works under the assumed names of the Apostles and of the principal Fathers of the Church, in order to give to their own opinions the sanction of authority. The same deplorable practice was followed by interested persons, that they might sell their manuscripts at a higher price. Hence we find the most imposing names affixed to Works in which those illustrious persons had no participation. Thus the Treatise of Novatian on the *Trinity* is ascribed to Tertullian; the Book of Rufinus on the *Symbol of the Apostles*, to Cyprinus. Ignorance has also conspired with the love of gain and of celebrity. For instance, the Works of Sextus the Pythagorean are attributed to Sextus the Martyr. Nay, more, authors themselves have sometimes circulated their Works, either through ambition or through mistaken zeal, under false but attractive titles. In Jerome's lifetime, a Letter was published both in Rome and in Africa, purporting to be written by him in which he was introduced expressing his regret that he had

Of such ancient Authors as have professedly treated of the Lives and Writings of the Fathers, collections have been made by Sufferedus Petri, Aubertus Miræus, and with much diligence and erudition by J. Albert Fabricius.* In this class are reckoned Jerome, of whom we have the useful Work *De Viris Illustribus sive Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, Gennadius of Marcellis, Isidore of Seville, Ildensius of Toledo, Honorius of Autun, Sigebert of Gemblour, Henry of Ghent, &c.† In more modern times the study of Ecclesiastical Biography has been promoted by the labours of Tritheim, Possevin, Bellarmine, Labbé, Oudin, Cave, and others. To avoid frequent reference, it may be here necessary to state that the Writers whom, in addition to others more particularly mentioned, we have chiefly consulted in the following sketches, are Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca et Latina*; Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*; and more especially the learned and candid Du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*. Much information may also be derived from Cellier, *Histoire Générale des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclesiastiques*; and Lumper, *Historia Theologico-Critica de Vita, Scriptis, atque Doctrina Sanctorum Patrum*.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the First and Third Centuries. Works on Ecclesiastical Biography.

We have noticed only those Writers of whom any Works are extant. Catalogues of those whose Writings are wholly or nearly lost, may be found in the above collections. From fragments still existing, it would appear that we have particularly to lament that the numerous Works of Dionysius of Alexandria, who appears to have united great talent with admirable moderation and benevolence, are no longer remaining to us.

Lost Writings.

translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew. This fact we have from Jerome himself, and indeed, if recorded by any other person, it would scarcely have obtained belief. Many of the remarks above made will be found more fully detailed in the celebrated Work of Dailly, *du Vrai Usage des Pères*, a Work abounding in talent and erudition. As the principal design of Dailly is to prove, that the Fathers could not be taken as judges in the particular controversies which were agitated between the Church of Rome and the Protestants, his Treatise is rather a collection of the errors, than of the excellencies of the Fathers. But still it casts great light on many subjects connected with this portion of Ecclesiastical History. So far from meaning that the Fathers should not be studied, he recommends that we should read them carefully and impartially, striving from what we find negatively rather than affirmatively, i.e. holding as suspicious articles which are not contained in them; it being hardly credible that men so excellent should have been ignorant of the necessary and principal points of Faith; but not immediately receiving as infallible what we meet in them; because being but men, though Saints, they may be sometimes mistaken, either through ignorance or passion, from which they were not entirely exempt, as clearly appears from their extant Writings.

* J. Greg. Walch, *Biblioth. Patristica*.

† The *Bibliotheca* of Photius also is highly valuable. It contains extracts from a great number of Works now lost.

GREEK WRITERS.

II. CENT.

JUSTIN MARTYR.
ATHENAGORAS.
HERMIAS.
THEOPHILUS.
IRENÆUS.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

III. CENT.

HIPPOLYTUS.
ORIGEN.
GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.
METHODIUS.

LATIN WRITERS.

II. CENT.

TERTULLIAN.

III. CENT.

MINUCIUS FELIX.
CYPRIAN.

Ecclesiastical
Writers of
the IInd
and IIIrd
Centuries.

Instead of dividing the Fathers into Greek and Latin, they may be arranged chronologically: in that system, Tertullian succeeds to Clement, Minucius Felix to Tertullian, and Cyprian to Gregory.

GREEK WRITERS.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

CIRCAIT A. D. 140.

JUSTIN was a native of Flavia Neapolis,* the ancient Sichem of Samaria. It is probable that he was born of Gentile parents, and educated in the Religion which they professed. In early life he evinced that ardent and disinterested love of Truth, which finally conducted him to its attainment. The pretensions of Philosophy, which naturally awakened the curiosity of every mind susceptible of reflection, soon drew him to inquire into the peculiar principles of its various Schools. In the first place he applied to a Stoic preceptor, whom he abandoned on discovering that a knowledge of the Deity formed no part of the instructions which that Sect deemed necessary to be acquired. The Peripatetics next attracted his attention; but the anxiety of the teacher to fix the price of his lessons, appeared to him so inconsistent with the character of a true Philosopher, that he resolved to give a different direction to his pursuits. Accordingly he turned his thoughts to the Pythagoreans, but here also he experienced disappointment: a previous acquaintance with Music, Astronomy, and Geometry was indispensably required; but his eagerness to enter upon the investigation of subjects more closely connected with the end of human existence, led him to consider the time devoted to the study of Physical Sciences an unnecessary delay. At length he met with a Platonic Philosopher, to whose speculations on incorporeal objects he listened with intense enthusiasm. In order to meditate on abstruse reasonings, so congenial to his contemplative disposition, he sequestered himself in the depths of solitude. It was in this retirement that, as he was one day walking at no great distance from the sea-shore, he was followed by an aged man of a comely mien and venerable aspect, who directed him to the study of the Sacred Writings, and pointed out the necessity of seeking by prayer that Divine assistance which opens, as it were, the gates of light to the humble inquirer after Truth. The impression left by this conversation was never obliterated. Discarding the profession, though not the garb of Philosophy, Justin diligently examined and embraced the Christian Religion. Such is the account of his conversion which is found in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*:

it may, perhaps, be doubted whether it was meant to be strictly historical. In his *Apology* he observes that the circumstance which induced him to inquire into the real character of the Christians, was the extraordinary fortitude with which they yielded their lives in defence of their Faith; a conduct which was utterly irreconcilable with the hypothesis of imposture.*

During the Persecution under Antoninus Pius he wrote in Rome his *First* and larger *Apology*, which is often, but erroneously, called his *Second*.

The *Second*, which, by an error equally common, is named the *First*, was not written, according to Eusebius, till the time of Marcus Antoninus.

Of these *Apologies*, the *First* gives a detail of the Manners, Rites, and Doctrines of the early Christians. The *Second*, which is less extensive, is a complaint of the treatment of the Christians, and the proceedings of Crescens, a Cynic Philosopher, from whose malignity Justin anticipated the sufferings which shortly after entitled him to the name of *Martyr*, by which he is usually distinguished. The exact time when he was executed is uncertain; it appears to have been between the years 163 and 170. The *Acts* of his Martyrdom still extant, seem in the main to convey a true narration of his courageous behaviour.

In addition to his *Apologies*, Justin composed a *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. This work contains various arguments to demonstrate that Jesus was the Messiah. Its genuineness, though commonly admitted, has by some writers been called in question. Although valuable in many parts, it is written without sufficient method, and Trypho is an adversary who allows himself to be overthrown with little resistance.

Of the *Treatise on Monarchy*, in which, according to Eusebius,† Justin demonstrated the unity of the Deity by the authority of the Sacred Writings, and by the testimony of Profane authors, we have probably the second part in the extant piece so entitled. It contains some fragments ascribed to Orpheus, Pythagoras, and the Tragic Poets, which bear undeniable marks of spuriousness.

Among the Works considered doubtful, may be reckoned the *Oration to the Gentiles*, the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, and the *Epistle to Diognetus*. The *Epistle to Zena* and Serenus appears to have been written at a later date.

The remaining books ascribed to Justin are commonly Other Works.

* *Apol. i. init.** *Apol. ii. sec. 12.*† *Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 13.*

History. rejected as spurious. Such are the *Confutation of certain Aristotelian Opinions*; *Christian Questions, propounded to the Gentiles, and Gentle Questions, propounded to the Christians*; *Book of Answers to 146 Questions to the Orthodox*, a Treatise which is stored with much curious matter, but which was doubtless not composed by Justin, since in it are many words, as Hypostasis, Person, Consubstantial, &c. not then in use in the Church; many passages contradictory to the genuine works of Justin, and even citations from Irenæus, (who is there called a Martyr,) from Origen, and from the Manicheans; whence it may be concluded that it was the production of some Writer of the VIth or VIIth century. To these Works may be added the *Exposition of Faith*, in which the mysteries of the Trinity are mentioned in a style foreign from that of the early Ages, and the errors of the Arians, Nestorians, and Eutychians are distinctly attacked.

Several Writings of Justin are lost; among others, a *Treatise against Heresies*, mentioned by Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius.

Character of his style.

The Works of Justin show a considerable knowledge of the opinions of ancient Philosophers, and an extensive acquaintance with the substance of the Holy Scriptures, of the meaning of which, however, he is sometimes but an indifferent interpreter. His style, though neither luminous nor energetic, without ornament and without elegance, is not altogether destitute of a pleasing vivacity, and generally wears an appearance of honesty and earnestness, which is in the highest degree adapted to command respect. His manner of reasoning, however, is often loose and rambling, sometimes fanciful and puerile. On the whole he appears to have been a very pious and sincere, though somewhat enthusiastic and credulous man.

Editions of his Works.

The most complete Edition of his Works is the following: S. Justinus Mart. *Opera, quæ extant, omnia, &c. Operâ et studio unius ex Monachis Congregationis S. Mauri, Parisiis*, 1742, fol. Reprinted at Venice in 1747. The Editor, Prudentius Maranus, has diligently marked the various readings, and added copious notes and dissertations. His opinions, however, received a bias from the Church to which he belonged, and his interpretations are not considered as being always just, or his emendations as often fortunate.

The *Apologies* (which were also published by Grabe in 1700, &c.) were edited, together with the *Dialogue with Trypho*, by Syann Thirlby in 1722. The notes of this splendid work are sometimes ingenious and learned, often petulant and rash. In the Dedication, which is remarkable for its Latinity, is a violent attack on Bentley, and other eminent Critics. The *Dialogue with Trypho* was edited by Samuel Jebb, Lond. 1719, 8vo.

ATHENAGORAS.

CIRCITER A. D. 178.

Athenagoras, an Athenian Philosopher, lived about the middle of the IInd century. No mention of him is found in Eusebius or Jerome; but we learn from a fragment* of Philip Sidetes, (who flourished at the commencement of the Vth century,) that he was at first a Heathen, and that his conversion was consequent upon the perusal

Conversion.

of the Scriptures, which he had undertaken with the view of writing a Work against the Christians. He is also said to have been the first President of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, and the master of Clemens Alexandrinus. The source, however, from which this account is derived, prevents us from attaching to it any great degree of credit.

Two Works, which evince considerable learning and ability, remain in his name: an *Apology*, called an *Embassy*, addressed to M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Aurelius Commodus, and a *Treatise on the Resurrection*. They are written in a style which, though embarrassed with parentheses, is Attic and elegant. The exact time when the *Apology* was written (and, as it has been maintained, presented*) is uncertain: some place it as early as the year 168; others deny that it can be placed before the year 177. In this Work he refutes the three chief calumnious accusations by which, with reckless falsehood, the Christians were assailed—those of Atheism, Cannibalism, and Infamous crimes committed in their Assemblies. In his other Treatise he shows, chiefly by reasoning, the possibility of a Resurrection.†

The best Edition of the Treatises of Athenagoras is that of Dechair, published at Oxford, 1706. They were also translated into English, and published with two Preliminary Dissertations,‡ by David Humphreys, of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1714.

HERMIAS.

Usually appended to the works of Justin§ is a small imperfect Tract, entitled *Διατριβὴ τῶν ἑξω φιλοσόφων*. It is a satirical piece, written with much neatness, and in a lively tone of agreeable humour, in ridicule of the contradictory opinions of the Philosophers on the principles of things, the Soul, and God. It was composed, in all probability, before the extinction of Paganism, and perhaps about the end of the IInd century, by Hermias, of whom nothing certain is known. The following pleasing analysis of it is extracted from Dr. Ireland's *Paganism and Christianity compared*.|| "He begins with the Soul, but is utterly at a loss what to determine concerning it from the definitions of the Philosophers; whether it be fire, air, or motion,—whether it be intelligence, or nothing but an exhalation. Some describe it as a power derived from the stars; and some call it an additional essence, the result of the four elements compounded. One calls it harmony, one, the blood, one, the breath of man, and another, a monad. These contests concerning the nature of the Soul are a sure pledge of differences as to its duration. 'For a moment,' says he, 'I fancy myself immortal; but this illusion is presently dissolved by one who maintains, that my Soul is as subject to death as my body. Another is determined to preserve its existence during 3000 years. I pass into other bodies,

* See, however, Bayle, *Dict. Hist. Art. Athenag.*

† The romance *De vrais et faux Amour*, which was published in French, purporting to be a translation from the Greek of Athenagoras, by Martin Fumée, Seigneur de Genillé, is a forgery.

‡ The First Dissertation is "concerning the Notions of the Jews about the Resurrection of the Dead;" the second "on Athenagoras and his Remains;" in this last he examines the passages of Athenagoras, concerning "the Trinity, concerning Prophecy or Inspiration, and concerning a Plastic Nature, or Energetic Life of Things."

§ It is also added to Worth's edition of Tatian.

|| P. 329. note.

* Published by Dodwell in *Append. Dissert. Iren.*

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IInd and IIIrd Centuries.

Legatio pro Christianis

On the Resurrection.

Editions.

Irenæus Contra Hæreses

History. and become a beast or a fish; nor is it possible for me to call myself by any determinate name. I am a wolf, a bird, a serpent, a chimera. I swim, I fly, I creep, I run, I sit still, and am made to partake of all opposite conditions in rotation.* He indulges the same vein of humour in the disputes about God and Nature; and describes the fluctuations of his mind under the successive tuition of a number of Pagan masters each teaching him a different lesson. 'Anaxagoras tells me that all things are derived from an intelligent Mind, the cause of order, motion, and beauty. In this I should acquiesce, if Melissus and Parmenides did not object, who contend both in verse and prose, that the Universe is One, self-subsisting, eternal, infinite, immovable, and unchangeable. Awed, therefore, by this double authority, I begin to drop my attachment to Anaxagoras. Yet neither do I rest with Melissus and Parmenides; for Anaximenes now proves to me that all things are produced from Air. I begin, therefore, to lean towards his Philosophy; but on a sudden I hear a voice calling to me out of Etna, and commanding me to believe that the system of the world arose from the collision of Love and Hatred, by whose operation alone can be satisfactorily explained the existence of things similar and dissimilar, finite and infinite. Thanks to you, Empedocles, and in gratitude for so important a discovery I am ready to follow you, even into the crater of your volcano.' &c. He then passes rapidly through a number of other systems:—the Heat and Cold of Archelaus; the God, Matter, and Ideas of Plato; the Active and Passive Principles of Aristotle; the Æther, Earth, and Time of Pherecydes; the Atoms of Leucippus; the Existence and Non-existence, the Plenum and Vacuum of Democritus; the Fire of Heraclitus; and the Numbers of Pythagoras. Imitating, too, the well-known sentiment of Anacreon, he declares, that his enumeration is yet imperfect, and that other multitudes of names rush upon him from Lybia, &c."

THEOPHILUS.

CIRCITER A. D. 181.

Autolyus. Theophilus, according to some Writers, a convert from Heathenism, or, according to the less probable opinion of others, from Judaism, was Bishop of Antioch; and wrote, about the year 181, three Books in defence of the Christian Faith, addressed to Autolyus, a learned Heathen, with whom he was acquainted. In the first Book, he treats of the nature and attributes of God, of a future life, and of the Resurrection of the Body. In the second Book, he marks the contradictions of Philosophers and Poets on the subject of their Deities, enlarges on the account of the Creation, maintains the antiquity and truth of the Mosaic History, (in demonstration of which he has subjected to the work a chronology of events from the Creation to his own time,) and endeavours to show that the Poets had borrowed some of their relations from the Sacred Scriptures. In the third Book, he refutes the accusations made against the conduct and doctrines of the Christians. The whole is fraught with a variety of learned researches and moral thoughts, and is written in an eloquent, though diffuse, ornamented, and Asiatic style.

It is placed with Tatian* and Hermias at the end of

* Some account of Tatian will be found in a subsequent Chapter on the Heretics of the IInd and IIIrd Centuries.

the Works of Justin Martyr, in the edition of the Benedictines, &c., and has also been published with notes by Conrad Gesner, in 1546; Fell, in 1684; and by J. C. Wolfius, in 1724, in 8vo.

Jerome informs us that Theophilus had made a *Concordance* of the Works of the Evangelists, and speaks of *Commentaries* on the Gospel, which were ascribed to him, but corresponded not with his diction and elegance. The *Four Books of Commentaries, or Allegorical Scholia on the Four Gospels*, now extant in Latin, under his name, were compiled by a much later writer. Some of his Tracts are lost.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IInd and IIIrd Centuries.

Supposititious works.

IRENÆUS.

CIRCITER A. D. 192.

The exact time of the birth of Irenæus is not known. By some it has been supposed to have taken place towards the close of the reign of Trajan, or the commencement of that of Hadrian. Dodwell places it as early as the year 97, Massuet as late as 140. Though the name of his Country, and the nature of his education are unknown, it may be inferred, with an appearance of probability from the tenour of his writings and History, that he was an Asiatic Greek, and professed Christianity from early youth. He received instructions from Papias and from Polycarp, both disciples of St. John the Evangelist. Having proceeded to Gaul, he promoted the cause of Religion as a Priest under Potlinus, the first Bishop of the Church of Lyons. The zeal with which he was animated inspired respect, and he was selected by the Martyrs of Lyons to carry letters respecting the Montanists to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome. After the martyrdom of Potlinus in the year 178, he was elected his successor in the See of Lyons. In this capacity he extended his care to the state of Christianity throughout Gaul, and exerted himself with great activity in reclaiming Heretics, the number of whom was in his time considerable. He wrote in Greek *Five Books against Heresies*. In the first Book he describes, and in the four succeeding he undertakes to refute, the errors of various Sects, and particularly the Valentinians. He also composed two

Education, &c.

Works.

Letters, one to Blastus, concerning *Schism*, and another to Florinus, also a Heretic, concerning *Monarchy*, in which he proved that there is but one God, and that he is not the author of Evil. When Florinus embraced the opinions of the Valentinians, Irenæus composed a Work, entitled *επι ἀποκρίσεως, or the Ogdoad*, doubtless relating to the octonary number of the Æons of the Valentinians. It is from the end of this Work that Eusebius* has cited a remarkable passage, in which Irenæus adjured the transcriber in the name of Christ, and of his glorious Advent, in which he will judge the living and the dead, to compare and diligently to correct his transcript according to the Manuscript whence it was made, and even to insert the adjuration.† He was also the author of a Tract, concerning *Knowledge*, directed against the Gentiles; another addressed to

Address to his transcriber.

* Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 20.

† The same request is made by Rufinus in his Preface to his translation of Origen, de *Principiis*. Gregory of Tours entreates all Priests, by the coming of Christ, and the terrible day of Judgment, not to suffer parts only of his Works to be copied and parts to be neglected. (Hist. lib. x. § 19.) His adjurations have been ineffectual in preserving his Work from mutilations. (Barthol. German. de *Feyer. Heret. Ecclesiast. Codic. Corrupt.*)

History. Marcianus, being a Demonstration of the Apostolical Preaching; and *Dissertations* on different subjects.* We have already noticed his conduct on the occasion of the dispute respecting Easter;† it was marked by consistency blended with charity and moderation. He is commonly said to have suffered martyrdom; but the silence of Tertullian and Eusebius renders this point very doubtful. Some passages from the various Writings of Irenæus may be found in Eusebius, and in the *Catena*, (or short explanations of Scripture, formed from various citations from Christian Writers;) but the only entire Work extant is his *Treatise on Heresies*; and of that, with the exception of part of the first Book, and some Greek fragments collected from the Works of the Fathers, we have but a very barbarous and incorrect, though ancient, Latin translation. Irenæus declares, in the Preface, that in consequence of his residence among the *Cæliæ* he had been accustomed to a barbarous dialect, and that his style was simple and unpolished.‡ His manner appears to us (although it is scarcely in our power to form a correct opinion from his present disfigured Writings) to have been succinct and clear, but neither elegant nor powerful. Photius complains that he sometimes adulterates the certainty of Truth in Ecclesiastical doctrines by false reasoning.§ On the whole, however, he was highly esteemed by the ancient Fathers, not only for the excellence of his character, but for the extent of his knowledge. Tertullian, in particular, calls him "a most diligent inquirer into all kinds of Doctrines."¶

Style. Among the best Editions of Irenæus are those of Grabe (published at Oxford in 1702, in fol.) and that of Massuet, a Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Maur, (Paris, in 1710, in folio.) As the latter Editor is ever anxious to prove that the authority of Irenæus is not opposed to the discipline and doctrines of the Church of Rome, it may be necessary to join to him the learned Work of S. Deyling, entitled *Irenæus Evangelicæ veritatis Confessor ac testis à Renati Masueti pravis explicationibus vindicatus. Editio altera, auctior et emendatior. Lipsiæ, 1721.* Several fragments of Irenæus were published by C. M. Pfaff, in 1715. For further information see Dodwell, *Dissert. in Irenæum*.

Editions.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

CIRCITER A. D. 194.

Titus Flavius Clemens, a converted Philosopher, was a Presbyter of Alexandria, (which, according to some writers, was his birth-place,) and flourished in the time of Severus and Caracalla. A disciple of Panteus, he was instructed by several other masters, of whom he has mentioned the residence,¶ but not the names: from his account, however, we may remark, that he must have travelled in Greece, in Italy, in the East, and in Egypt. He was appointed master of the Catechetical School of Alexandria; in which office, on his retirement during the Persecution raised by Severus, he was succeeded by Origen: who, together with Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, is reckoned among his disciples. Such are the most important facts to be gleaned

from the very meagre records of his life which antiquity has left us.

Clemens may, perhaps, be esteemed the most profoundly learned of the Fathers of the Church. A keen desire of information had prompted him to explore the regions of universal knowledge, to dive into the mysteries of Paganism, and to dwell upon the abstruser doctrines of Holy Writ. His Works are richly stored and variegated with illustrations and extracts from the Poets and Philosophers, with whose sentiments he was familiarly acquainted. He lays open the curiosities of History, the secrets of motley superstitions, and the reveries of speculative wanderers, at the same time that he develops the cast of opinions and peculiarities of discipline which distinguished the members of the Christian State.

The three principal works of Clemens still extant, are his *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, his *Pedagogue*, and his *Stromata*; designed, in all probability, to form a regular series of instructions, in imitation perhaps of the three degrees of knowledge required by the ancient mystagogues.*

His first Work, the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, (*προτροπή πρὸς τοὺς ἔθνη*) is a Discourse, intended to convert them from the errors of Paganism, of which he traces the origin, and discovers the folly, to the truths of Christianity, of which he delineates the nature, and urges the importance. In the course of this address he shows, with his usual erudition, that many of the Philosophers and Poets have intimated the Unity of the Deity.

Having thus endeavoured to root out the prejudices in favour of Idolatry, he proceeds in the second Work, called the *Pedagogue*, (which is divided into three Books,) to direct and conduct the convert to the knowledge of the duties of a Christian life. It may be considered, therefore, a system of Moral Institutes. It is written without sufficient method, and contains many rules of conduct, of which the overstrained rigour or palpable obscurity has been severely exposed by modern Writers.

Having by this course attempted to prepare the mind for the reception of more recondite doctrines, Clemens discloses his further views in his larger Work, entitled *Stromata*, or Pieces of Tapestry, which when curiously woven, and in divers colours, present no unapt resemblance to Writings formed of various subjects strung together without order.† Clemens himself compares this Work to a thickly planted mountain, in which trees of different kinds, both fruitful and barren,—the cypress, the plane-tree, the laurel, the ivy, the apple-tree, the olive, the fig,—lie confusedly grouped together; and this irregularity, he adds, was purposely chosen, that

* The *Αρωαδωγὰς*, the *Μίτρα*, and the *Ἐπίεσις*. This was remarked by Daniel Heinsius.

† Casellius Vindex, a Latin Grammarian, and Plutarch, also wrote *Stromata*. See the account which Aulus Gellius gives of such Works in his Preface to the *Noctes Atticæ*. It may not be amiss to give the explanation of the learned Casaubon: *Solito veteres stragulam vestem pellicula involvere et hanc contringere, etiam Jurisconsulti sunt testes. ... Constat autem ex veterum testimoniis, et stragula superiora, et involucrum istud, quod antiquiores ἐπεφασκιδιον, recentiores ἐπεφασκιδιον, vocarunt, variis coloribus distincta fere fuisse. Inde transferat eam doctrinam ad res significandas varietate insignes: ejuismodi fuit præca ἐπεφασκιδιον dictus, ob coloris auri virgine per totum illius corpus perductas, inquit Athenæus, lib. 7. Similiter et viri docti Excerpta sua ex variis auctoribus, aut propria eliam scripta, sed veterum referentia testimonio veluti ἐπεφασκιδιον vel ἐπεφασκιδιον appellare, ad Clemens Alexandrinum, &c. (Animad. in Athen. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 4.)*

* Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 26.

† Encyclop. vol. xi. p. 98.

† Lib. i. in Prefat.

§ Cod. 120.

¶ Omnium auctorum curiosissimus explorator. Cont. Valent. c. 5.

¶ Strom. lib. i. p. 274.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the 11th and 12th Centuries. Style.

Works.

Protreptic con.

Pedagogue.

Stromata.

History. mysteries might be concealed from the uninitiated, and yet not hidden from more advanced disciples, even as the fruit-trees perplexingly intermixed on the mountain would be unobserved by the plunderer, without escaping the notice of the labourer, who might transplant and arrange them in a well-disposed and pleasing scene.* In this Work, (from which, as being the most considerable of his Writings, he is sometimes surnamed *Stromateus*;) having undertaken, among other points, to prove that the Philosophy of the Hebrews has the strongest claim to antiquity, he subjoins an exact chronology which ends at the death of Commodus; a circumstance which gives us reason to believe that he was writing in the reign of Severus. In the fifth Book, which is replete with citations, he speaks of the art of instruction by allegories and symbols; and traces the origins of many of the truths found in the Greek Writers to the notions of the Barbarians and of the Hebrews. The eighth and last Book, is an imperfect Treatise on Logic, bearing no reference to Christianity, and belonging, perhaps, to another work. Instead of it, in some manuscripts in the time of Photius,† was a Tract, still extant, entitled *What rich man can be saved?* which is mentioned by Eusebius as a distinct production;‡

The *Stromata*, though written in a style neither clear nor succinct, and abounding with erroneous assertions, contain a great variety of fragments from the lost works of the ancient Poets, which have not yet been collected and amended with the acumen and diligence which a task at once so delicate and so laborious requires.

Besides the above-mentioned Works, and many others now lost, Clemens wrote eight Books of *Institutes*, or *Sketches*, of which Photius has given a most unfavourable judgment. He informs us, that they treated of various passages of the Old and New Testament, which Clemens briefly explained and interpreted; and that, though some of his notions were correct, others were grossly erroneous. Among other proofs of this latter assertion he states, that Clement maintained the eternity of matter and of ideas; the metempsychosis, and the existence of various worlds before Adam; and the merely apparent incarnation of the Word. He quotes a sentence in which Clemens asserts that it was not the Word of the Father that was incarnate, but a certain virtue of God proceeding from the Word, which, having become intelligence, penetrated into the souls of men. All which assertions he endeavoured to establish by the Sacred Scriptures.§ Dupin supposes that Clemens wrote this Work before he had been thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion, whilst he was still attached to the opinions of Plato. It is possible, however, that some corruptions may have been introduced into them by the Heretics, who, if we may believe Rufinus, altered the Writings of Clemens. It is also possible that this Work may have been rather a collection of the opinions of preceding Ecclesiastical

Writers, whether Heretics or Catholics, than a statement of his own.*

The best Edition of Clemens Alexandrinus is the splendid one of Archbishop Potter,† printed at Oxford in 1715, 2 vols. in folio, Greek and Latin, and reprinted at Venice in 1757, with additions: the reprint is less esteemed. Fabricius published some additional fragments at the end of the second Volume of his edition of the Works of Hippolytus. For further particulars see Le Clerc, *Bibl. Univ.* tom. x. p. 175; Jortin's *Remarks on Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 126, &c. N. Le Nourry, *Dissertationes Tres de omnibus Clementis Alexandrini Operibus*, &c.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IInd and IIIrd Centuries. Editions.

HIPPOLYTUS.

CIRCITER A. D. 220.

But little is recorded of the life of Hippolytus;‡ It appears that he was a disciple of Irenæus,§ and that he lived in the reign of Alexander Severus. He is called by ancient authors both Bishop and Martyr;|| but the seat of his Bishopric,¶ and the time and place of his Martyrdom, are not certainly known. In the year 1551 there was found not far from the Church of St. Lawrence, near Rome, a marble statue, representing, it is supposed, Hippolytus seated on a chair; on the sides of which was a Paschal Cycle, for sixteen years, beginning from the first year of Alexander Severus, A. D. 222. There was also on it a catalogue of the Writings of Hippolytus. The statue was placed in the Vatican; and the Paschal Cycle, which is the most ancient remaining, was published by Scaliger,** by Gruter,†† and by Bucherius;‡‡ Several other Works of Hippolytus are mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, but they are either lost or unpublished.§§ Various Treatises have appeared under his name, which deserve not to be considered as genuine.|||| His manner of writing is said by Photius

Paschal Cycle.

* R. Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Convent. du Nouv. Test.* ch. ii.

† Mosheim observes, *Potterus, vir egregius, Græcæque literarum peritissimus, inagister de Clemente meruit. Multa enim loca feliciter medicamentum affudit: multos ex veterum libris aptè illustravit. Sed non licuit per morbum oculorum et gravissimam ingruam summo viro facere omnia, quæ potuisset. Igitor Latina interpretatio multis laborat adhuc maculis, multaque Clementis sententia luce et perspicuitate caret. Difficilem namque superest, penam Clementis retrahere non raro et dignitatem parum cognita nris, nec minus difficile æquæmora, verum et ordinem cogitationum ejus perspicere. (De Reb. Christ. ante Const. p. 323.)*

‡ Some confusion has arisen from the circumstance that several persons in Ecclesiastical History bore the name of Hippolytus.

§ Phot. Cod. 121.

|| Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 20. Hier. in *Meth.*

¶ Hier. de *Vir. Illustrib.* c. 61. Gelastus (to the Work ascribed to him, *De Dubiis Naturæ in Christo*) seems to call him Metropolitan of the Arabians. Le Moine imagines that Hippolytus was Bishop of Portus Romanus, now Aven, in Arabia Felix. By others it was supposed that he was called *Portuensis* from *Portus Romanus*, near Ostia, in Italy. Heumann contends that his title *Episcopus* arose from a Civil and not an Ecclesiastical office. See a variety of conjectures in the note of Harles on *Fab. Gr.* tom. vii. p. 184.

** See his *De Emend. Temp.* p. 721.

†† Thea. Inscript. p. 140.

‡‡ De *Cyclo Victorio et aliis Cyclo Paschaliibus*. Fabricius refers the reader to the dissertations of Fr. Bianchini, *De Calendar. et Cyclo. Cæsar. ac de Paschal. Canon. S. Hippolyti*, &c.

§§ Mabillon says, that he saw at Rome an ancient MS. containing the Books of the four great Prophets, and a short Commentary of Hippolytus on the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. (*Hor. Insicun.* p. 94, 95.)

|||| Perhaps some doubt may exist respecting some Tracts, particularly *The Demonstration concerning Christ and Antichrist*, published by Marquardus Gadius, and inserted by Combès in his Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Casimir Oudin considers as genuine the fragment of the Book *Against the Greeks and against Plato*, &c.

• *Strom.* lib. vii. ant. *fol.*

† Cod. 111.

‡ Lib. iii. c. 23. lib. vi. c. 14. This Tract was found among the MSS. of the Vatican, in which it was attributed to Origen. It was published in Greek under the name of Clemens, by Combès in his *Act. Nov. Hist. Pat.* There is a separate edition of it with copious notes by C. Segner.

§ To this Work we may, perhaps, refer the extracts of Theodotus still extant; the extracts from the Prophets published by Combès; and the Adumbrations on some of the Catholic Epistles, still remaining in Latin.

History.

to have been plain, serious, and concise; but not distinguished by the purity of Attic style. His remarks, like those of early Commentators, were not always exact; but men who lay the foundations of any Science ought to receive commendation for what they have elucidated, not censure for what they have omitted.* See S. Hippolyti *Episc. et Mart. Opera, non antea collecta, &c.* curante L. Alb. Fabricio, Hamb. 1716, folio, with a second volume published in 1718. It is a valuable Edition.

ORIGEN.

CIRCITER A. D. 230.

Education.

ORIGEN, who was called *Adamantius*, was born in Egypt, about the year 185, the sixth of the reign of Commodus. From early youth he was trained by the pious assiduity of his parents in the knowledge of the Christian Religion. The study of the Sacred Scriptures, of which it was his daily task to commit to memory certain portions, preceded the cultivation of profane literature. His mind, naturally quick and active, was carried beyond a bare acquaintance with the obvious sense of the passages, on which it was employed, into an investigation of their more abstruse and mysterious meaning. His father, whom he embarrassed by proposing difficulties which he was unable to explain,† admonished him to rest satisfied with the simple interpretation of Scriptural expressions, without pursuing inquiries beyond the compass of his youthful intellect; yet, in his heart, he rejoiced and offered thanks to God, who had blessed him with such a son. Oftentimes, adds the Historian, he would, it is said, uncover the breast of his child, whilst he slept, and embrace it with respect as the shrine of the Holy Spirit. His education was also directed by Clemens Alexandrinus, and by the Philosopher Ammonius.‡ From their instructions, aided by the propensity which he already evinced, to dive into obscure and intricate questions, we may, doubtless, derive that habit of indulging in allegory, for which he was afterwards noted. His knowledge, at whatever period of his life it was acquired, was vast and various. He was familiar with the opinions of the different Philosophic Schools, and of the various Sects of Heretics. He had learned Rhetoric, and the Dialectics, and was not unacquainted with the Mathematical and Physical Sciences. His skill, moreover, in Hebrew, unusual in his Age and Country,§ was deemed by the Ancients considerable, though modern critics have formed a less favourable judgment.

Acquirements.

A. D. 202. Conduct during the Persecution

Origen was seventeen years of age, when, in consequence of the Persecution of the Christians by Severus, Egypt witnessed the sufferings of many Martyrs, and among others of his father Leonides. On this trying occasion he displayed a violent desire to seal by his blood the sincerity of his Faith. His mother endeavoured to deter him by entreaties from a rash exposure of his life. Finding, however, that the imprisonment

of his father had redoubled his impatient zeal, she was forced to prevent him from leaving the house, by concealing his apparel. Thus confined, he could only write a letter of exhortation to his father, in terms like the following: "Remain firm, O my father, and let not your affection for us influence you to change your sentiments." After the execution of Leonides, his property was confiscated, and Origen was left with his mother and six brothers in extreme indigence. In this state he was relieved by a wealthy matron of Alexandria, who received him into her house.*

Ecclesiastical Writers of the third and third Centuries.

He continued to attend with so much application and ardour to the study of profane learning which he had commenced, that he was soon enabled to derive a competency by teaching Grammar. As at this time, in consequence of the Persecution, there was no person at Alexandria to instruct the Catechumens, some Paganus applied to him, notwithstanding his youth, for instruction in the Christian Religion. In this employment his zeal and charity were conspicuous. The tenderness with which he followed the martyrs to their prisons, to the public Courts, to the place of execution, and the affection with which he embraced them, repeatedly exposed him to the outrages of his enemies, inasmuch that he was often driven to change his lodgings in order to elude their pursuit: from the same causes he obtained, at the same time, a rapid increase of pupils and of converts. Appointed by Demetrius, the Bishop, to direct the Catechetical School, and anxious to avail himself of this opportunity of promoting the cause of Religion, he discontinued his Lectures on Grammar, sold, to avoid being burthensome, his books on human learning, and contented himself with four obols a day, which were allowed him by the purchaser. He then adopted a system of rigid abstinence; he fasted and worked during the day, and spent the greater part of the night in the study of the Sacred Scriptures; sleeping but little, and that little on the bare ground.

Chosen Catechist.

His exemplary conduct excited the warmest admiration. Many persons were most anxious to expend a portion of their fortune in ministering to his wants, but no consideration could induce him to relax his extraordinary severity. It is a singular circumstance, that notwithstanding his propensity to seek an allegorical sense, he should have founded his austere practice on a too literal interpretation of Scripture. Thus he explained and observed, according to the exact letter, the injunction of our Saviour to provide but one coat, to have no shoes, and to take no thought of the morrow. And having taken a similar view of the text which speaks of "some who had made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake,"† he gave a proof alike of sincere faith and love of purity, as of youthful ardour and want of discretion. His conduct, in this instance, though it might be at first praised by such as were struck with astonishment, was subsequently condemned by rational Christians. Origen himself joined in disapproving of it, when mature reflection had convinced him that it flowed from a false principle and might lead to dangerous consequences. It is but just, however, to add, that the motive

Severe mode of living.

and the fragments preserved by Theodoret. The pieces Of the Twelve Apostles and Of the Seventy or Seventy-two Disciples, were written by Hippolytus Theodorus in the Xth or XIth century, or by some other late writer. (Lardner, *Cred.* vol. ii. p. 408.)

* Phot. *Cod.* 121 and 202.† Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 2.

‡ There was another Origen among the disciples of Ammonius.

§ *Contra Iulianum gentiumque nostrorum. Hieron. de Vir. Illust.* c. 54. Ep. 22. (al. 25.)

* Here he was obliged to bear the company of a celebrated Heretic, whom numbers, even of the orthodox, attracted by his eloquence, came to hear. Origen, however, scrupulously avoided being present with him at prayers, so great was the horror which he felt for false doctrine.

† Matt. xix. 12.

History. which had influenced him to commit this act of excess was the desire that, as females were among his pupils, all suspicion and calumny might be removed.

Effects of his instruction. But, whatever might be his faults as an expounder of Scripture, the disinterested and affectionate fervour which he exhibited, was attended by the most happy effects. Even Philosophic Pagans, undismayed by the violence of the Persecution, which, under the government of Aquila, then fell upon the Christians, came to rank themselves among his disciples. The zeal which he felt, he imparted: several of his pupils closed their lives by martyrdom.

His increasing fame soon multiplied the number of his hearers to so great a degree, that he was obliged to intrust to his friend Heracles the task of instructing the new converts; reserving to himself the tuition of such as had arrived at a superior measure of knowledge. It was about this period, in the reign of Caracalla, that he was visited, for a short time, the ancient Church in Rome.

Effects of his instruction. His application to study continued indefatigable, and he copied his famous *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*. In his *Hexapla*, by the side of the Hebrew text, written two ways, in Hebrew and in Greek characters, he arranged in columns the translation of Aquila, that of Symmachus, that of the LXX., and that of Theodotus; with two other Versions, the authors of which were unknown, together with a seventh of the Psalms only. The *Tetrapla* contained only the first four of the Versions.

Transit of Origen. Origen left Alexandria on different occasions. At one time he went into Arabia, at the request of the Governor; at another he retired, in consequence of a war, into Palestine. In this latter journey, having stopped at Cæsarea, he was desired by the Bishops of the Province, to expound the Scriptures in the Church, and to instruct the people in their presence, though he was not as yet a member of the Priesthood. Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, complained of a step which he represented as an infringement of the rules of the Church: Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theocistus, Bishop of Cæsarea, replied that it had been customary to permit laymen, when duly qualified, to preach before the people, and supported their assertions by enumerating some precedents. Origen, however, being recalled by Demetrius, returned to his former occupation. He was afterwards obliged to interrupt it at the solicitation of Mammæa, mother of Alexander Severus, who, anxious to be instructed by a person whose reputation was so widely spread, caused him to visit Antioch, where she was then remaining with her nephew the Emperor Heliogabalus. Having stayed there but a short time, during which he explained to her the truths of the Christian Religion, he resumed his residence at Alexandria, and commenced various commentaries on the Sacred Writings, chiefly at the desire and by the assistance of Ambrose, whom he had converted to the orthodox Faith from the heresy of Valentius. The industry of Origen, in the prosecution of this immense task, is almost incredible. The night scarcely brought relaxation after the labours of the day. It is said, that, in addition to other Works which engaged his attention, he commented upon the whole of Scripture.*

A. D. 215. * Epip. *Harra* 64. c. 3, &c. So indefatigable was Origen, that Jerome (*Ep. 29*) calls him Chalcenterus, (χαλκέντερος) an epithet applied to Dulsymus the Grammarian, who wrote 3500 books. *Erasm. Adag.*

In the year 228, being obliged to proceed to Achaia, on account of some Ecclesiastical affairs,* probably the confutation of Heretics,† he passed through Palestine, and was ordained Priest by the Bishops of that Province.‡ This ordination was to Origen the source of a violent persecution. Demetrius, his Diocesan, in- censured at a step which he considered as an unauthorized interference with his duties; and actuated, it appears, by feelings of jealousy, forgot his former praises, and reproached Origen with the indiscreet act which he had committed in his youth.§

On his return to Alexandria, where he continued with his usual ardour his studious pursuits, he felt the effects of the hostility which had been excited against him. Envy never pardons. It was ordained by a Council that he should not be permitted to teach, nor even to reside in that city; but, nevertheless, he should retain his dignity of Priest.¶ Hence it may, perhaps, be inferred that his doctrine, as well as his ordination, had exposed him to censure. Certain it is, that to his real errors the malignant activity of fabricators had added many inventions¶ calculated to strengthen, if not to implant, unfavourable prejudices. Thus banished from Alexandria, he left the office of Catechist to Heracles, and retired again to Cæsarea, where he was again received with every mark of respect and affection by Alexander and Theocistus, who intrusted to his care the public exposition of the Scripture.** Demetrius, however, dissatisfied with the first condemnation against Origen, accused him before some Bishops of Egypt; and, with their concurrence, deprived him of his Priesthood, and put him out of the communion of the Church. This sentence of deposition and ex- communication was transmitted to the different Bishops, and obtained the assent of all except those of Palestine, Phœnicia, Arabia, and Achaia, who were intimately acquainted with Origen, and showed themselves determined not to withdraw their protection. The complaints of Origen, if we may judge even from the citations of his enemies, were marked by dignified moderation. The death of Demetrius took place soon after this event; he was succeeded by Heraclas: on his election, the chair of Catechist was occupied by Dionysius, both former disciples of Origen. From these promotions, we may, perhaps, conclude that the virulence of persecution was diminished, yet the judgment against him appears not to have been revoked.

During the Persecution of Maximin, when Ambrose was exposed to its violence, Origen wrote to him a zealous exhortation to martyrdom, in which he represents the possession of large property, and the ties of a wife and children, as circumstances which ought rather to animate than to deter the sufferer, inasmuch as they enhance the merit of his sacrifice. Yet even Origen is said to have concealed himself at this crisis.

* Euseb. lib. vi. c. 3.

† Hier. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 34, &c.

‡ Euseb. lib. vi. c. 23.

§ Euseb. lib. vi. c. 8, &c. See, however, the manner in which Mosheim has explained the dispute between Origen and Demetrius. *De Reb. Christ.* p. 680.

¶ Phot. Cod. 113.

¶ Pamphil. *Ap. pr. Origen. Ap. Hier. Op. tom. iv. p. 196.* Origen complains, that the account of a dispute which he had held with a certain Heretic had been in many parts falsified.

** Epiphanius pretends that Origen left Alexandria in consequence of the reproaches which he incurred by offering incense to Idols to avoid being the victim of the brutality of his enemies. See this improbable story in *Adv. Har.* 64. c. 2.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the 11th and 11th Centuries.

A. D. 225.

A. D. 231.

He is deposed and excommunicated.

A. D. 235.

History.

A. D.
238.

When peace was reestablished, Origen continued his exertions at Cæsarea, and, during his travels in the cause of Revealed Truth, by his knowledge and powers of persuasion he induced Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra in Arabia, who had fallen into Heresy respecting the Incarnation, to return to the Catholic Faith; and he reclaimed from their error some Arabians, who taught that the soul died with the body, and resumed life at the Resurrection.*

Though above sixty years of age, and employed almost daily in delivering discourses, often extemporaneous, he wrote many *Epistles*; † and, among others, one to the Emperor Philip and one to Severa, several *Commentaries*, and his Eight Books against Celsus.‡

A. D.
250.

In the Persecution of Decius, Origen, whose reputation had marked him out as an object on which severity should be exercised, endured a series of cruelties, which served but to display his constancy and courage. He detailed in letters, now unfortunately lost, but which are represented as breathing a spirit of piety and consolation, how he was confined in prison, and loaded with chains; how, for the space of several days, his feet were violently stretched in stocks; and how his enemies threatened to burn him alive, and subjected him to torments designed to overcome his patience without causing his death.§ The crown of martyrdom, for which he panted, he never obtained. About this time the death of his friend Ambrose left him in indignance.

A. D.
253.

At length, under the Emperor Gallus, and in his sixty-ninth year,|| after having devoted his days to the explanation of the Scripture, the conversion of the Gentiles, and the instruction of the converted; after having, under all circumstances, confessed his belief in Christ, and assisted such as suffered from the same confession, this no less learned than pious, humble, and unassuming man resigned a life of continued labour and of unabated zeal, repaid by persecution, alike from his fellow Christians and from the Pagans. Driven from his Country, stripped of his sacred offices, excommunicated from the Church, then thrown into a dungeon, racked by torture, and doomed to drag his aged frame and dislocated limbs in pain and poverty, "till the weary wheels of life at length stood still;"—surely he presents a picture on which it is impossible to dwell without very mournful feelings. Nor is the impression diminished on finding, that, notwithstanding the fervour of his piety, the modesty of his language, and the purity of his morals, his memory has been branded, his name anathematized, and his salvation denied.¶

Death.

Works of
Origen.

The Works of Origen were extremely numerous. Some assert that he wrote six thousand volumes; * but, if this be correct, the expression must be applied to small Tracts and other detached pieces, in which sense every Homily, or Letter, may be esteemed a volume.

Their state.

If we possessed a collection of his Writings mentioned by Ecclesiastical Authors, we should in all pro-

bability derive considerable knowledge on the subject of the doctrines and discipline of the ancient Church.* But the greater part is lost, and in those which remain in the Latin version of Rufinus, so many additions and retrenchments have been confessedly made, that it is difficult, or rather impossible, to ascertain what portion was composed by Origen, and what portion was inserted by his translator.† Allusions to Latin words, expressions unknown to the Ante-Nicene Fathers, mention of practices not introduced into the Church at the period at which the original Work was written—such are the evident interpolations which perplex and mislead the investigator. The translations of Jerome also were, it is said, disfigured by unwarrantable alterations. The version, still extant, of the *Commentaries* on Matthew, which, according to Huet, may have been made in the time of Cassiodorus, is both barbarous and incorrect; whole pages are added or retrenched.

The style of Origen is divested of rhetorical embellishments and quaint conceits, and is considered rather plain and perspicuous, than lofty and measured. It is often succinct, and generally appropriate. The mind of the writer appears to be stored with varied researches, which he draws forth, and combines with ease and dexterity; but not to have been gifted with rich, original, inventive powers. As a disputant, though sometimes weak and puerile, he is occasionally acute, ingenious, and eloquent.

His Works on the Sacred Scripture are divided by Jerome into three classes:—*Scholæ*, or brief explanations of difficult passages; *Homilies*, or discourses addressed to the people; *Volumes*, or larger commentaries. Of these, the contents of most, and the titles of some, have perished. From information found in various Writers, catalogues have been made by Du Pin, Fabricius, and others, to whom the reader is referred for details, which it fills not within the plan of our Work to offer.

The Treatise against Celsus, written, according to some, in the year 246, though, according to others, not before 249, is still extant in the original Greek. As it is one of Origen's latest, so it is considered his best production. The style is polished with greater care, and the remarks display erudition.‡

Origen informs us that there were two Philosophers named Celsus, both Epicureans; one lived under Nero, the other under Hadrian and the succeeding Emperors. This last is the person, whose Work, entitled *λόγος ἀληθής*, he undertook, at the instigation of Ambrose, to refute.§ Yet from the objections of Celsus,

Ecclesiastical writers of the third and third centuries.
Rufinus.

Commentaries.

Eight Books against Celsus.

Celsus.

* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 37.

† *Ibid.* lib. vi. c. 36.

‡ *Ibid.* lib. vi. c. 36.

§ *Ibid.* lib. vi. c. 39.

|| *Ibid.* lib. vii. c. 1. Eusebius, who was a great admirer of Origen, has detailed his life in the Vith Book of his *History* most amply; there is no Ecclesiastical Writer of whom more is known.

¶ See the account of the disputes, &c. on this subject in Bayle,

Dict. Hist. Art. Origène.

** Hier. in *Rufin.* *Epist.* Har. 64.

• Pour Origène, contemporain de S. Cyprien, et qui seul, si nous l'avions entier, nous donneroit peut-être sur ce que nous cherchons plus de lumière et de satisfaction que tous les autres, si ne nous reste que fort peu de choses, et la plupart encore malheureusement déformées et changées, les ardeurs et presque innombrables labours de ce grand et admirable esprit n'ayant pu se garantir de l'outrage du temps; moi de l'envie et haine des hommes qui les ont encore pirement traités que tant de vicieux et d'anciennes qui ont coulé depuis lui jusqu'à nous. (Daille, du *Vrai Usage des Pères*, l. i. c. 1.)

† Rufinus himself, in his translation of the *Commentaries* on the *Romans*, acknowledges that he had supplied deficiencies: ce qu'il étoit obligé d'avoir coulé beaucoup; sans qu'il en ait beaucoup d'obligation; car la plupart des personnes subsisteroient fort qu'il ne fut cyrénien; ce travail, et qu'il ne nous donnât pas la peine de lire ces penes quand nous cherchons celles d'Origène. (Tillem. *Mém.* tom. iii. p. 223.)

‡ Huet. *Origén.* &c.

§ Orig. c. *Cels.* lib. i. and lib. iv. it was probably the latter Celsus

History. as noticed by Origen, it is difficult to believe that he could have followed the tenets of Epicurus; it would appear more probable that he belonged to the later Platonic or Alexandrine School.*

This Work was brought from Constantinople by a person sent purposely by Pope Nicholas V., who offered an ample reward to any one who should translate it into Latin. But, on his death, the task was not undertaken till Theodore Gaza induced Christopher Personæ, Prior of the Convent of St. Balbina, to publish a version.† It was better translated by Gelenius in the XVIIth century. It was afterwards published in Greek and Latin by David Hæschelius; and in 1658 it was edited with great correctness, and learned notes, by W. Spencer, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

In 1700 appeared a French translation, with notes and conjectures, by Mr. Bouhereau.

No part of the Writings of Origen has exposed him to greater censure than his Treatise *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*. The Greek text is no longer found: the translation of Rufinus alone is extant. The licenses taken by Rufinus (who confesses that he altered or omitted several passages,) pretending that none of the Works of Origen had been more corrupted by the Heretics) were severely attacked by Jerome, who himself published a version, which has not reached our time. It is no longer in our power, therefore, by distinguishing the author from the translator, to discover the exact nature and extent of the errors, of which Origen has been accused. It is from this Work that his adversaries have chiefly drawn the proofs of their charges, and that Heretics have brought arguments in support of their opinions. It cannot be denied that it is obscure and perplexed; and that the Philosophy of Plato is more apparent in it than the authority of the Church. || Besides the Works of which we have spoken, Origen wrote ten Books of *Stromata*, in imitation of Clemens Alexandrinus, in which he compared the opinions of the Heathen Philosophers with the doctrines of Christianity, and confirmed the Scripture maxims by Plato, Aristotle, Numenius, and Cornutus; ¶ two Books, and also two Dialogues, on the *Resurrection*; ** a great number of Epistles, and other Works, which are lost. The Treatise to Africanus respecting the History of Susanna, which he defends; the exhortation to Martyrdom, written during the Persecution of Maximin; the Book on the interpretation of the Hebrew names and measures contained in Scripture, and the Book on Prayer, are still preserved.

to whom Lucian dedicated his *Pseudomantis*. M. Aurelius was then dead.

* This opinion is maintained by Mosheim, in his Preface to the German version of this Treatise.

† See the extract from Simon's *Lettres Choisies* in Bayle, *Dict. Hist. Art. Person.*

‡ *In Prolog. Huet, Origen.* Fragments of this Treatise are found in the *Philocalia*, and in the letter of the Emperor Justinian on the errors of Origen, v. *Concil.* edit. Labbei, tom. v. &c. For a brief account of its contents, see Phot. *Cod.* viii.

§ *Cont. Ruffin*, i. p. 135.

|| Tillemont, *Mém.* tom. iii. part. iii. p. 255. Fabric. *Biblioth. Græc. lib. vii.* p. 230, 233.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 34. Hieron. *Ep.* 84. Origen, in *John.* p. 237. In the Xth Book he explained the Epistle to the Galatians, and passages of the Prophet Daniel. Jerome looks upon this work as one of those which contained the greatest number of errors, particularly on the Resurrection, in which account no one ventured to translate it. *Ep.* 61. n. 8. 65. c. 2.

⁸⁸ Hier in *Raffa*, lib. II.

Among the Works of Origen it is usual to insert the *Philocalia*, which is a collection of extracts from his writings, on various questions relating to the Sacred Scriptures, made by Gregory Nazianzen* and Basil the Great. It was published, with annotations, by Tarinus in 1619; and is subjoined, with a few additional notes, to Spencer's edition of the *Treatise against Celsum*.

Several Works are ascribed to Origen, which bear every mark of being supposititious: such are the two Commentaries on Job, and that on St. Mark; the ten Homilies on different passages of the Gospel, collected by Merlinus; Scholia upon the Lord's Prayer, and upon the Hymns of the Virgin, of Zachary, and of Simeon, which were more probably written by Peter of Laodicea; the Book on the Celibacy of the Clergy; that against Artemas and the Theodotians; that on Penance and Sighs; and others. To this list may probably be added, (though mentioned as genuine in the *Philocalia*;) the Dialogue against Marcion, in which Origen is introduced defending the doctrines of the Church: it appears from internal evidence not to have been written before the time of Constantine.† James Gronovius endeavoured to prove, that the *Philosophumena*, giving an account of the opinions of the different Greek Schools, which is inserted in the Xth Volume of his *Theol. Antiq. Græc.* was written by Origen; but he was refuted by J. C. Wolf.

Of Origen's entire Works, we have a complete Edition in four volumes, in folio. It was commenced by Charles de la Rue, a Benedictine of the Congregation of St. Maur, and on his death continued by his nephew, Charles Vincent de la Rue,† who published the last volume at Paris in 1759. It was republished by F. Oberthür, without commentary, at Würzburg, in 15 vols. 8vo. The Greek fragments of Origen upon the Scriptures were published, with a Latin translation and notes, by Huet, who added to the work the celebrated *Prolegomena*, under the title of *Origeniana*,‡ in which the life and opinions of Origen are largely detailed and learnedly discussed. Montfaucon gave an Edition, in 2 vols. folio, of the remains of Origen's *Hexapla*, which have been also published at Leipzig in 1769-70, in 2 vols. 8vo., by Bahrdt.

Pamphilus, a Presbyter of Cæsarea, in Palestine, who suffered martyrdom during the Persecution of Maximin, in the year 309, laboured to collect the Works of ancient writers, and particularly of Origen, the greater part of whose writings he transcribed. When in confinement, he composed, with his friend Eusebius, (who is

• Naz. Ep. 88.

† Huet, *Orig.*, p. 276. The genuineness is, however, defended by Wetstein. Tillemont conjectures that it may be ascribed to one Adamantius, who lived about the year 330. (*Mém.* tom. iil. part. iil.) The authors of the *Philocala* remark that a passage cited by Eusebius (*De Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. 22.) from a Treatise of a Christian Writer, called Maximus, *εὐχέλαι*, occurs in the same words in this Dialogue. Fabr. *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 226.

¶ Of the progress of this Work the reader will find an account in the *Memoirs of the Life of Hucl*, written by himself, which have been translated into English by Dr. John Aikin.

|| A list of Works on Origen may be found in Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* tom. vii. and in J. G. Walch, *Biblioth. Patristic.* p. 273. See also L. W. Brüggemann's *View of the English Editions, Translations, and Illustrations of the Ancient Greek and Latin Authors.*

History.

also surnamed Pamphilus,* on account of his attachment to him, and who wrote a *Life of Pamphilus*, which is almost wholly lost.) five Books in defence of Origen. To these Eusebius added a sixth after his death. Of this *Apology* the 1st Book, translated by Rufinus, is usually found among the Works of Origen and of Jerome. The other Books, with the exception of a few fragments, have perished. Jerome maintained, in his *Apology* against Rufinus, that Pamphilus had written no part of this *Apology*.† This opinion, though defended by some writers, is refuted by Tillemont, Huet, Bull, and De la Rue, which last has admirably edited the *Apology*.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

CIRCITER A. D. 243.

Education.

Gregory, called also Theodorus, and afterwards surnamed Thaumaturgus, on account of the number of Miracles which he is said to have worked during his life and after his death, was born at Neocæsarea, a city of Pontus, and descended from a family, illustrious for its nobility and wealth, but addicted to the Pagan worship. On the death of his father, Gregory, then fourteen years of age, though hitherto educated in superstition, was touched with a feeling of respect for the Christian Religion. His mother was anxious that he should apply himself to Rhetoric, with a view of embracing the profession of the Law. His sister being obliged to accompany her husband to Palestine, Gregory, and his brother Athenodorus, availed themselves of this opportunity of proceeding to Berytus, where there was a celebrated School of jurisprudence. In their journey they visited Cæsarea, where Origen, who had retired to that city in consequence of the measures of Demetrius, succeeded by force of reasoning, happily blended with the most bland, engaging, and affectionate manner, in drawing them first to the study of Philosophy, and thence, by insensible steps, to the knowledge and profession of the Christian Faith. After having spent five years with Origen, Gregory, desirous of expressing his gratitude for the advantages which he had derived from his precepts, and his regret at parting from a guide, whose tenderness had inspired the fondest attachment, pronounced before a numerous assembly, among whom was the subject of his panegyric, a very eloquent discourse, which is still extant, and which has been considered one of the most finished pieces of antiquity. Domestic affairs occasioned his return home: they appear not, however, to have retained any hold on his affections, if it be true that he abandoned his house, lands, and possessions, in order that, disengaged from earthly ties, he might attend in solitude to his spiritual concerns. From this state of retirement he was reluctantly drawn by Phedimus, Bishop of Amasea, who consecrated him Bishop of Neocæsarea, although, it is said, there was at that time but seventeen Christians in the city. Conversions, however, were soon numerous in consequence of his zealous exertions; and, if his Biographers ‡

deserve credit, by the effect of his various Miracles. But the accounts of his life, excepting such as are derived from his own Works, seem to us, in many parts, too destitute of probability to deserve being repeated. It appears that he was sought after, but not found, during the Persecution of Decius; and that he was present with Athenodorus at the Council at Antioch, held against Paul of Samosata.⁹ Rufinus calls him a Martyr, but as this title is not given to him either by Basil or by Gregory Nyssen, it is probably used in a lax sense. His death can scarcely be placed before the year 270, under Aurelian.

Besides the *Panegyric on Origen*, Gregory wrote a *Works*. *Paraphrase on Ecclesiastes*, (which is still extant, and wrongly attributed, in some ancient manuscripts, to Gregory Nazianzen.) We have also his *Canonical Epistle*, which is addressed to a Bishop of Pontus, after the Goths had desolated Asia under Gallienus; and prescribes the degrees of penance, which ought to be required of such persons as had been guilty of offences, particularly of an idolatrous nature, during that period. The *Creed* (which it is pretended that Gregory received from St. John the Evangelist) is, though interpolated, perhaps a genuine production; but the *Exposition of Faith*, which is ascribed to him, is doubtless different from that mentioned by Basil, and composed by a later, though an ancient, Writer. The four *Sermons*, and the *Treatise on the Soul*, addressed to Tatian, which were published among the Works of Gregory, are reckoned by Du Pin as supposititious pieces.

The Works of Gregory Thaumaturgus were edited by Gerhard Vossius in 1604, in 4to. The *Panegyric* was separately published by Hæschelius, with short notes at the end of his edition of Origen's *Treatise against Celsum*. See also *SS. Patrum Gregorii Thaumaturgi, Marcelli Aegyptii et Basilii Seleuciensis Opera Græc.-Latina*. Paris, 1622, in fol.

METHODIUS.

CIRCITER A. D. 290.

Methodius, Bishop of Olympus, † or Patara, ‡ in Lycia, and afterwards of Tyre, in Palestine, suffered martyrdom at Chalcis, in Syria, during the Persecution of Diocletian, perhaps about the year 311. §

We have still remaining his *Banquet of Virgins*, a singular dialogue in praise of Virginité. A female, named Gregorium, is introduced relating to her friend Eubulus, (which is said to have been the surname of Methodius,) the discourses made in an assembly of ten Virgins, each of whom (as she feigns) Arete, in whose gardens they met, had requested to speak on the subject of Virginité. The first of these launches forth into excessive praises of its excellency, of which Christ came to set an example; the second, to prevent a dangerous inference, argues that Christ meant not utterly to abolish marriage, which is a permitted, though an imperfect, state; the third enters into a description of the

Symposium
Decem
Virginum.

* Socrat. l. iii. c. 7. Phot. Cod. 13.

† Adv. Rufin. lib. ii.

‡ Particularly Gregory Nyssen, in his *Oration on the Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*. His account is full of wonders, which are faithfully copied by Tillemont, *Mém. tom. iv. part ii. p. 685*. He asserts, among other absurdities, that Gregory Thaumaturgus received a Creed (which the reader may find extracted in Fabric. *Bibl. Græc. tom. vi. p. 253*) from St. John the Evangelist in a vision. Scultetus calls this *Oration Somnium Somnorum*. (*Medall. Theol. Patr. p.*

883.) Comp. Van Dale, *Pref. Diss. de Oront.*; and Dodwell, *Dissert. Cyprion* iv. sec. 10. Euseb. *Hist. Ecclæ.* lib. viii. c. 29. &c.

⁹ See Suidas, in voc. *Πρωτοκρίτης*. Kuster reads Aurelian instead of Julian, on the authority of MSS.

† Hier de Vir. lib. c. 63.

‡ Suidas, in Lex. in voc. *Μαθουλα*.

§ Jerome adds, that others place his Martyrdom in the Persecution of Decius and Valerian. In this they are followed by Suidas. Du Pin refers it to the year 302 or 303. It was, perhaps, as Saxius thinks, between the years 300 and 305. (*Onomast. i. p. 390*.)

History. mystical union of Christ with the Church, as with a spouse, asserting that the words "increase and multiply" were fulfilled by the increasing greatness of the Christian state; the fourth enlarges on the efficacy of Baptism in restoring Paradise, and conferring immortality; the fifth gives counsel for the preservation of this virtue; the sixth maintains that it ought to be attended with good works; the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth Virgins successively lavish their encomiums, and explain, in a very allegorical manner, passages of Scripture to support their opinions.

This Dialogue was published with notes, and a Latin version, by Leo Allatius, in 1656; by Peter Possinus in 1657, in fol.; and inserted by Combefis in his last Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Fabricius published it with notes at the end of the second volume of the Works of Hippolytus, Hamburg, 1718. The extant fragments of his works were collected and published with the Works of Amphilocheus, &c. by Combefis, Paris, 1644, in fol.

Besides this piece, Methodius wrote a large Work against Porphyry; a *Dialogue on the Resurrection*, to refute the opinion of Origen*—that men were not to be raised again in the flesh—of which Epiphanius has cited a large fragment;† another *Treatise against Origen*, concerning the Pythones; a *Dialogue between a Catholic and Valentinian*, on Free Will and the Origin of Evil; *Commentaries on Genesis and the Canticles*, all mentioned by Jerome, besides a *Treatise on Created Things*, cited by Photius; and a *Sermon on the Martyrs*. The Sermon entitled *Simon and Anna*, and that on *Palm Sunday*, appear to have been either written by, or to have received touches from, some later hand.

Methodius is sometimes acute and sometimes solid, but generally turgid and verbose, fond of far-fetched thoughts and fanciful comparisons.

LATIN WRITERS.

TERTULLIAN.

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, the most ancient of the Latin Ecclesiastical Writers whose Works still remain, was a native of Carthage,§ and flourished during the reigns of Severus and Caracalla.|| The son of a Proconsular Centurion,¶ he appears from his Writings to have been at first a Heathen, or at least to have entertained but little respect for some articles of the Christian Faith.** He was afterwards a Presbyter,†† and officiated, in all probability, either in Rome or in Carthage. It is certain that he was married: a circumstance which militates against the supposition of the celibacy of the ancient priesthood,‡‡ After having remained in the Church till he had reached the middle age of life, he separated from it and adopted the opinions of Montanus. This change appears to have arisen from the austerity of his character, to which the

harsh and rigorous principles of the new sect were peculiarly adapted, and from the vehemence of his temper,* which the envy and ill-treatment of the Roman Clergy† may perhaps have contributed to exasperate. Whatever may have occasioned this alienation, there is no reason to believe that it was ever removed. His life (of which the above meagre summary contains almost the only particulars of importance not wholly uncertain) is said to have been extended to decrepit old age;‡ but the time and manner of his death are unknown.

The Writings of Tertullian, as far as they tend to illustrate the History of Christianity during the IInd and IIIrd Centuries, have been analyzed and examined with admirable precision and candour by the present learned Bishop of Lincoln, in a Course of Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge.§ In noticing a Work, to which we have had such frequent occasion to refer, we may be allowed to express our conviction, that, if the volumes of the remaining Fathers were investigated with similar undivided attention to the distinct testimony of each particular writer, with similar diffidence of drawing inferences from ambiguous expressions or doubtful narratives, and with similar rejection of that spirit of system and hypothesis which has so often converted the very resources of erudition into instruments for the multiplication of error—it would then be a far easier task, than it is at present, to frame an Ecclesiastical History, which, exempt from the opposite extremes of credulity and captiousness, might be calculated to guide, correct, and promote the studies of the theological student.

Considerable difficulty has attended all attempts not merely to assign the particular dates of Tertullian's Works,|| but even to discover which were written before and which after his adoption of Montanism. The imperfection of the methods which have been pursued is pointed out by Bishop Kaye, who considers the following classification as one, in adhering to which we shall perhaps "not deviate very widely from the truth."

Works probably written while Tertullian was yet a member of the Church:—*de Patientiâ*; *de Oratione*; *de Baptismo*; the two books *ad Uxorē*; *ad Martyras*; *de Patientiâ*; *adversus Judæos*; *de Præscriptione Hæreticorum*.

Works certainly written after he became a Montanist:—First Book against Marcion; Second Book against Marcion; *de Animâ*; Third Book against Marcion; Fourth Book against Marcion; *de Carne Christi*; *de Resurrectione Carnis*; Fifth Book against Marcion; *adversus Præstem*; *in Scorpianum*; *de Coronâ Militiæ*; *de Virginibus Velandis*; *de Exhortatione Castitatis*; *de Pugnâ in Persecutione*; *de Monogamiâ*; *de Jejunio*; *de Pudicitia*.

Works probably written after he became a Montanist:—*adversus Valentinianos*; *ad Scapulam*; *de*

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IInd and IIIrd Centuries.

Writings, &c.

Classification of Tertullian's Writings.

* It was, perhaps, in consequence of his attack on Origen that Methodius is not mentioned by Eusebius.

† Har. 64. See also Phot. Cod. 234.

‡ Cod. 235.

§ Hieron. de Vir. Illust. c. 53.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

** Hoc et non rursus aliquando; de vestris sumus.—*Apology*, c. 18. *Persecutionem, hoc genus hominum quod et ipsi retro sumus, necesse dicitur dominum laqueum, naturam tenent sursum.*—*De Patientiâ*, c. 1.

†† He may, however, possibly allude rather to the general state of the Gentiles when unconverted than to his own private case.

‡‡ Hieron. de Vir. Illust. c. 53.

§§ On this subject see Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, &c. i. c. 6.

* *Miserimus ego semper arger coloribus impatientie.*—*De Patientiâ*, c. 1.

† Jerome attributes Tertullian's adoption of Montanism to this last cause, *de Vir. Illust.*, c. 53.

‡ Hieron. de Vir. Illust. c. 53.

§ *The Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian*, 2nd edit. For the sake of brevity, we have generally quoted it under the title of *Bishop Kaye on Tertullian*.

|| See P. Allix, *Dissertati. de Tertulliani Vitâ et Scriptis*. Mosheim, *Comment. Chronologico-Hist. de Ætate Apostolica*. Tertull. &c. See also the list of Treatises relating to Tertullian in J. G. Walsh, *Bibl. Patristicæ*, p. 29. For an account of Dr. Neander's new German work, *Antiquitates Græcæ des Tertullianus*, see the Preface to the second edition of Bishop Kaye on Tertullian.

History. *Spectaculis; de Idolatriâ*; the two Books *de Cultu Fœminarum*.

Works respecting which nothing certain can be pronounced:—the *Apology*; the two Books *ad Nationes*; the tract *de Testimonio Animæ*; *de Pallio*; *adversus Hermogenem*.

Of Tertullian's Works against the Valentinians, against Marcion, against Praxeas, and against Hermogenes, the reader will find some notice in a subsequent paper on the Heretics of the IInd and IIIrd Centuries. Of the *Apology* we have given a slight sketch at p. 94, and of the tract *de Fugâ* at p. 99, of this volume. The subjects of the rest may be thus very succinctly known.

Subjects of his different Treatises.

De Pœnitentiâ shows the necessity of Penitence, and gives a description of the public confession of guilt, called Exomologesis.

De Oratione, chiefly an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, contains also some account of the Ceremonies commonly used by the Christians during Prayer; and touches on the innovations resembling the Gentile practices, already introduced.

De Baptismo was written to establish the necessity of Baptism, in refutation of the opinion of a female, named Quintilla, who maintained that Faith alone is sufficient for salvation. In this tract Tertullian speaks strongly of the efficacy of Baptism in procuring the remission of sins and the descent of the Holy Ghost, and connects it with Regeneration: he also discusses many questions relating to this rite.*

Ad Uxorem. In the First Book he exhorts his wife, if she should survive him, not to marry again; in the Second, he advises her, if she should wish to marry again, to take a Christian husband.

Ad Martyras contains consolations to the Christians who were suffering on account of their Religion, and a warning against indulging in disputes whilst they were in prison.

De Patientiâ; a forcible exhortation to the exercise of patience.

Adversus Judeos; to prove that the Mosaic Law was of a temporary nature, and that the Messiah was foretold by the Prophets.

De Præscriptione Hæreticorum. In this tract Tertullian wishes to show, that the doctrine of the Heretics ought not to be admitted, by reason of its novelty; that it is not necessary to enter into a dispute with them on passages of the Scriptures, inasmuch as they neither received the Scriptures entirely, nor interpreted them in a uniform manner; but that the pure Faith was to be sought in Churches which were founded by the Apostles, and which could produce a regular succession of Bishops from their time.†

De Animâ; on the nature and qualities of the Soul. It is in this tract that, among other erroneous notions, is found the argument, that the Soul is a corporeal substance formed with the Body.

In Scorpium, (meant to be a remedy for the poison

of Heretics, as it were of Scorpions,) directed against the Gnostics, is on the necessity and excellence of Martyrdom.

De Coronâ; a justification of the conduct of a Christian soldier, who refused to place on his head the chaplet usually worn when the Emperors distributed largesses to the army.

De Virginitatibus Velandis; to show that virgins should be veiled in Churches.

De Exhortatione Castitatis, and *de Monogamiâ*, represent second marriages as, in fact, adultery.

De Jjuniis; in praise of the extreme fasts of the Mountainists.

De Pudicitâ; to show that the Church has not power to remit the sins of fornication and adultery, or to readmit into its communion, even after penance, such as had once fallen into these crimes after Baptism.

Ad Scapulam. An Address to Scapula, Governor of Africa, exhorting him to discontinue the severities which he exercised against the Christians.

De Spectaculis; to show that a Christian cannot, without incurring the guilt of idolatry, be present at Public Games or Spectacles, which were instituted in honour of the Heathen Deities. After having shown their effects on the minds of such as were present, he undertakes to evince that all the circumstances of those sights, such as the attire of the actors, &c., were suggested by Satan, in order to deceive men by their similarity to the Christian ceremonies; or to draw them, even unconsciously, into a violation of the Christian precepts. He concludes with a well known passage, which, though too severely stigmatized and invidiously mutilated by Gibbon,‡ is certainly marked by declamatory virulence.

De Idolatriâ; an attempt to show in how many different ways Idolatry might be committed.†

De Cultu Fœminarum; against ostentation in the dress of females.

Ad Nationes; in two Books, of which the latter is imperfect; a defence of the Christian Religion, written with more care but less vehemence than the *Apology*.

De Testimonio Animæ; to prove that the Soul bears a natural testimony to the existence of one God and to a future life.

De Pallio; composed in order to vindicate himself from the taunts thrown out against him by the Corinthians, in consequence of his quitting the Roman *Toga* for the *Pallium*, or mantle, worn by the Greeks and by Philosophers. This singular piece of learned extravagance and obscurity is selected by Mallebranche to support the severe censures which he passes on the style and character of Tertullian.‡ It was separately edited by Salmasius, in 8vo., 1656.

Several Works of Tertullian are lost: several supposititious pieces pass under his name. In the latter class may be reckoned some *Pœms* ascribed to him, deficient in metre and destitute of merit. We may also perhaps add a small *Catalogue of Heresies* subjoined to the Book *de Præscriptione*, and not found in the Codex of Agobard, the most ancient MS. of Tertullian's writings. The Book concerning the *Trinity* (a subject, however, on which he appears to have written) is certainly not genuine, and perhaps belongs to Novatian. The

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IInd and IIIrd Centuries.

Supposititious Works.

* See Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 427.

† *Præscriptio*, a law-term, is an exception, made before the merits of a cause are discussed, showing in *Animæ* that the plaintiff ought not to be heard. On the reasons which induced Tertullian to except against all arguments urged by Heretics out of Scripture and to appeal to Apostolic tradition, see the remarks of Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 291, and in the *Addenda*, p. 584, where some observations on the reasoning of Tertullian in this Tract, by the learned translator of Schleiermacher's *Essay on St. Luke*, are examined.

• *Dreline and Foll*, &c. ch. xvi.

† *Encyclopædia*, v. 65.

‡ *De la Recherche de la Vérité*, lib. i. c. 8.

History.
Logic and
character.

Treatise on *Jewish Meals*, is also the production of a different though ancient author.

The language of Tertullian is harsh, uncouth, inflated, and obscure. His Latinity, of which the expressions are often affectively drawn from the Works of the older Writers,* and often borrowed from the technicalities of Jurisprudence, in which he is said to have been skilled,† is full of unnatural and barbarous constructions. Yet it cannot be denied that bursts of great force and vivacity occasionally flash through his dark and distorted sentences. His spirit, austere and yet fiery, was reflected in a style at once rough and vigorous. His diction has been compared by Balsac‡ to the brilliancy of ebony. There is an impetuosity, a vehemence, and an acrimony in his manner, which combine to astonish, to stun, and sometimes to disgust. His acquisitions were varied and copious, not select or well digested. His understanding was acute rather than comprehensive; and his method of reasoning is often rather ingenious than solid. His fancy predominated over his judgment, and his zeal often clouded his intellect. He possessed too a satirical spirit, which occasionally adds poignancy to his remarks. Above all, he felt a certain fondness for enthusiastic exaggeration; which, while it led him to neglect the milder tones of simplicity, and the softer touches of delicacy, hurried him into the pursuit of quaint conceits, smart retorts, and wild hyperboles. Hence the subtleties which overcast his thoughts, the constant allusions and the new or newly applied expressions which distinguish his style.

St. Cyprian, it is reported, never passed a day without reading some part of Tertullian's Works; and used to say, when he called for the book, "Give me my master."§ Indeed, though he has not cited him, or adopted his manner of writing, he has imitated him in the choice of some of his subjects, and borrowed many of his thoughts.

The chief Editors of Tertullian are Rhenanus, Pamelius, La Cerdà, and the learned Rigault, (Rignault,) whose candid remarks gave offence to persons of the Roman communion, to which he belonged. The Edition of Rigault, published in Paris in 1664, in folio, is excellent. Semler gave a new edition (1769—1773) in five volumes, 8vo., to which a sixth volume was added by Schætz in 1776. The Edition of Oberthur appeared in 1780 and 1781, in 2 vols. The best Edition of the *Apology* is that of Havercamp, (Leyden, 1718, 8vo.) It has been translated into English (together with the *Apologies* of Justin Martyr, Minucius Felix, &c.) by W. Reeves. For further information on the different Editions and translations of Tertullian, see Lumper, *Histor. Theod. Crit. de Fil. Eccl. Sanct. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 745.

MINUCIUS FELIX.

CIRCITER A. D. 210.

Minucius Felix is supposed to have lived about the beginning of the IIIrd century. Jerome, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, places him between Tertullian and Cyprian; || of these Fathers the former

furnished Minucius with many thoughts, the latter borrowed from him many passages. Nothing certain is known respecting his Country; it has been conjectured, however, that he was an African. That he followed the legal profession appears not only from the testimony of Lactantius* and Jerome,† but from the opening of his Dialogue in defence of the Christian Religion.‡ This Dialogue, on which his fame rests, is entitled *Octavius*—the name given to the Christian advocate, who is introduced as answering the objections of the Heathen disputer, called Cæcilius.§ Minucius himself being arbitrator. It opens with a free and vehement attack, in which, on the one hand, the condition and attainments of the Christians are bitterly reviled, the Doctrines of their Religion—such as a particular Providence, the Resurrection, &c.—ridiculed, and the most absurd calumnies repeated: while, on the other hand, the uncertainty of human knowledge, the superior wisdom of adhering to ancient opinions, and the consequent prosperity of the Romans, are insisted upon. This attack is followed by a spirited reply, in which the folly of Heathen Fables is severely exposed; the proofs of the Existence, Providence, and Attributes of the Deity set forth; the circumstances of the rise of Roman greatness laid open; some of the Doctrines of the Christians defended, and the charge against their manners refuted; and their purity, fortitude, and other virtues, warmly praised. The Heathen adversary then acknowledges himself vanquished and converted.

Jerome informs us, that in his time there was a Work Tract concerning Destiny, ascribed to Minucius Felix: but, though it was the production of an eloquent writer, its style corresponded not with that of the *Octavius*|| it was perhaps attributed to him in consequence of a promise which occurs in that Dialogue, that he would treat more largely on that subject.¶

The *Octavius* was for a long time considered as the Eighth Book of Arnobius. This error had been observed by Hadrian Junius,** and was fully shown by the celebrated Jurisconsult Baldinus, (Baudouin,) who published the Work separately in 1560, and prefixed a learned Dissertation on its author and its contents. Several editions since that time have appeared; among which may be reckoned those of Wowerius, of Elmenhorstius, of Heraldus, and of Rigaltius. All the Notes of these Commentators were reprinted in the variorum edition in 1672. The Dissertation of Baldinus, the entire observations of Rigaltius, and a selection from the notes of other Writers, together with his own judicious remarks and corrections, were published by J. Davis, Master of Queen's College, Cambridge. There is also a good edition by James Gro-novius, 1709.

Octavius is a Work, which, though not remarkable Style, &c.

Cyprian, in which he is followed by Baldus, who thinks Minucius flourished after the middle of the IIIrd century, (Dissert. c. 2.) Baronius places him near the end of the reign of Severus, A. D. 212. Cave in the year 220, in his *Hist. Lit.* (Part i. p. 66.) but in the year 207 in his *Chronological Table of the three first Ages of the Christian Church*. On this subject may be consulted Tillamont, *Mém. tom. iii. p. 1. Notes sur Minuc. Felix*.

* Lactant. *Div. Inst.* lib. v. c. 1.

† *De Vir. Illust.* c. 58. *Ep.* 83. (al. 84.)

‡ *Octav.* c. 2.

§ Cæcilius has also the name of Natalis, Octavius of Januarius, and Minucius Felix of Marcus.

|| *De Vir. Illust.* c. 58.

¶ *Octav.* c. 36.

** *Anim.* lib. vi. c. 1.

* Ruhaken. *Præf. ad Schætzii Editionem*. See Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 67.

† He is not, however, to be confounded with another Tertullian, who was a Jurisconsult. See Fabric. *Biblioth. Latin.* tom. iii. p. 347.

‡ In a Letter to Rigault.

§ Hieron. *De Vir. Illust.* c. 53.

|| *De Vir. Illust.* c. 58. But in *Ep.* 30. (al. 50.) where perhaps chronological order is not strictly observed, he places Minucius after

History. for extraordinary research or powerful ability, is written in a very lively, varied, elegant, and agreeable manner. The arguments on both sides are set forth with grace and force, and illustrated with learning and intelligence. In the tone of flowing declamation and of poignant railery, which pervades it, the style of a lawyer is perhaps obvious; but it is not calculated to warp the judgment rather than to stimulate the attention of the reader. Minucius Felix was evidently versed in the Writings of Cicero, which have imparted a superior degree of ease, correctness, and polish to his diction.

CYPRIAN.

CIRCITER A. D. 248.

Life, &c. Thascius Cæcilius* Cyprianus, a native of Africa, and probably of Carthage, was converted to Christianity, according to Pearson,† in the year 246. Previously to that period he taught Rhetoric with great applause,‡ and appears to have lived in a state of affluence and splendour. Of his feelings after having received Baptism he has given a description in a florid letter, addressed to Donatus: shortly after which it is probable that he wrote his Treatise on the *Vanity of Idols*, in which he shows the Unity of God, the absurdity of Paganism, and the truth of the Mission of Jesus Christ—the two first points treated in the same manner as they are by Minucius Felix, the latter as it is by Tertullian. The first proof which he gave of the sincerity of the change which his opinions and habits had experienced, was a voluntary distribution of his property among the Poor.§ He was appointed Presbyter, and afterwards rose to the dignity of Bishop of Carthage, which was conferred on him by the universal suffrage and pressing wishes of the People. While the Persecution of Decius raged, he took shelter in retirement; when it had subsided, he applied himself to remedy the relaxed state of discipline which it had occasioned. His conduct during the disastrous pestilence which afflicted Carthage, affords a noble example of piety and judgment united with the keenest sensibility. When the streets were strewed with the carcasses of the dead, and the living fled with selfish fear, abandoning their nearest and dearest friends, Cyprian assembled the Christians, and strongly, as well as successfully, inculcated the great duties of that humanity, which, like the beneficence of the Father of the Universe, embraces within its circle not merely persons of the same persuasion, but the Gentile and the Persecutor. In the reign of Valerian, when Paternus was Proconsul of Africa, he was banished to Curubis, from whence he was recalled as soon as Galerius Maximus succeeded to the Proconsulate. His return was followed by his Martyrdom.

The last scenes of his life,|| as well as the part which he took during the disputes concerning the Lapsed,¶ and the rebaptizing of Heretics,** have been already described. The line of conduct which he adopted with regard to Novatus, will be touched upon in a succeeding paper.

* So called from a presbyter named Cæcilius, by whom he was converted. Hier. de Vir. Illust. c. 67.

† An. Cyprian, p. 6.

‡ Lactant. Div. Inst. lib. v. c. 1. Hier. de Vir. Illust. c. 67, &c.

§ Hier. de Vir. Illust. c. 67.

|| Encyclopædia, p. 106.

¶ Ibid. p. 104.

** Ibid. p. 105.

Our accounts of Cyprian are chiefly derived from his *Life*, written by his Deacon, Pontius, (which we have before mentioned,*) the *Act of his Martyrdom*, and various passages in his Works.

Cyprian appears, it must be acknowledged, to have been extremely anxious to enforce the importance of Ecclesiastical authority. Much allowance ought, however, to be made for his peculiar situation, surrounded by men, of whom some wished to relax, others to carry to an unnecessary pitch of rigour the discipline of the Church, some to derogate from the Episcopal dignity, and others to give undue influence to the Church of Rome. It is much to his honour that he always maintained the independence of the different Sees; and that he applauded in strong terms the custom of giving to the People their share in the election of Bishops. Discountenancing secret measures, he referred all matters of consequence to his clergy and congregation.

A *Life* of Cyprian has been written by Le Clerc,† in a manner very different from that in which Ecclesiastical memoirs are usually drawn up. Of the observations which it contains, some are acute, some judicious, some, we think, ill-tempered.

The style of Cyprian is oratorical. It contains scarcely any allusions to Philosophy. Though familiar with the Works of Tertullian, his taste led him to avoid the perplexed and uncouth style of that Writer, and he is generally clear, flowing, and unembarrassed.

The correspondence of Cyprian consists of eighty-one Letters, comprising Epistles addressed to him, (of which an analysis may be found in Du Pin.) They cast great light on the History, both internal and external, of the Church, particularly in Africa.

The Book on the *Discipline and Dress of Virgins*, is chiefly an exhortation to avoid the ornamental attire and other corruptions of the Age. He speaks of virginity as being the state nearest to martyrdom; as removing from its possessor the curse pronounced against the first woman—as raising her to an equality with the Angels.

The Treatise respecting the *Lapsed*, and that on the *Unity of the Church*, were written after the Persecution of Decius.

The Treatise on the *Lapsed* was directed, with expressions of deep censure, against those persons of the party of Felicissimus, who were desirous of extending reconciliation, on easy terms, to such as had fallen away. Cyprian observes, that Martyrs cannot give absolution of sins, which is a power belonging to the Church alone. He relates certain stories of apostates, whom he represents as having been punished from Heaven for attempting to receive the Eucharist.

The Treatise on the *Unity of the Church* contains severe reflections on Schism and Heresy.

In the Book on the *Lord's Prayer* may be found many general remarks on Prayer.

For an account of the Tract to Demetrian, see *Encyclopædia*, p. 104.

The Book of *Mortality* was composed in consequence of the pestilence which raged in the reign of Gallus.

The *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, written during the Persecution of Gallus, is a collection of texts from Scripture, calculated to animate the Christians to submit with courage to the sufferings which attended the profession of their Religion.

* *Encyclopædia*, p. 107.

† *Biblioth. Univ.* tom. xii.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the 11th and 12th Centuries.

Life by Le Clerc.

Style.

Genuine Works.

History. The Treatise on *Good Works and Alms* was written probably in A. D. 254, when Cyprian collected considerable sums to redeem some Christians captured by Barbarians.

The Book on the *Advantages of Patience*, written in consequence of the disputes respecting the baptism of Heretics, was sent in the beginning of the year 256, with a letter to Jubaianus. That on *Emulation and Envy* (*de Zelo et Livore*) appeared sometime afterwards.

The Work of *Testimonies to Quirinus*, against the Jews, contains a variety of Scriptural passages: the First Book treats of the temporary nature of the Jewish Law; the Second, of the Mission of Christ; the Third, of the Moral Precepts of Revealed Religion.*

* Rivet considered the genuineness of this Tract doubtful (*Crit. Sacr.* lib. ii. c. 15.) Baluzius, who examined various manuscripts, admits that it has been interpolated. (*Not. ad Cyprian.* p. 596.) In the opinion of Lardner "there can be no doubt but St. Cyprian published a Work with this title; but it seems that the Books of *Testimonies* which we now have, or at least some part of them, are liable to

Among the Books which have been wrongly ascribed to Cyprian, are the following:—*De Spectaculis*; *De Bona Pudicitia*; *De Laude Martyrii*; *Ad Novatianum Hæreticum*; *De Baptismo Hæreticorum*; *De Aleatoribus*; *De Montibus Sinā et Sion*; *Adversus Judæos*; *De Singularitate Clericorum*; &c.

The Works of Cyprian were translated into English, not without care and elegance, by Nathaniel Marshall, in 1727; and into French, with notes, by Lombert, in 1672.

The most complete Editions are that of Bishop Fell, published at Oxford in 1682; (this contains the *Annals Cyprianici* of Pearson, to which are added the *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ* of Dodwell;) and that begun by Baluzius and finished by Dom. Prudent. Maran, 1726, in folio. This splendid edition was reprinted at Venice, in 1758.

objections that have not been fully cleared up." (*Credibil.* &c. Part. ii. ch. xlv.)

Ecclesiastical Writers of the 11th and 13th Centuries.

Editions, &c.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XLII. OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

HERESIES OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

History.
Importance
and diffi-
culty of the
subject.

To the Philosophic inquirer into the principles of Human nature, there is no portion of History which appears, at first sight, better calculated to extend his knowledge than that detail of mental disorders which an account of ancient Heresy presents. And, indeed, an accurate sketch of the rise and progress of erroneous opinions would throw considerable light on the operations of our faculties. But such a sketch, even under the most favourable circumstances, would be a task of no ordinary difficulty. Few have the patience, and fewer still the ability, to examine in all its bearings, and to deliver in all its force, the reasoning of the author whose speculations they undertake to explain. Even when not influenced by prejudices, an ingenious expositor will be always apt to blend his own sentiments with the theories of others, and insensibly to substitute a brilliant hypothesis for a tedious copy. Hence it is, that, even in modern times, under the existing wide diffusion of Literature, we can hardly expect to discover, with exactness, the system of one writer from the representations of another. And this observation is true, if extended to authors whose character forbids the suspicion of wilful deceit, and to subjects of a mere abstract nature, not involving any personal interest, and not appealing to any particular passion. A recent Metaphysician, of distinguished talents, after having forcibly shown, by numerous instances of misconception, the necessity of consulting the opinions of authors in their *own Works*, makes the following remarks, which will find an echo in the language of every man who has calmly applied himself to the investigation of Truth :—" From my own experience, I can most truly assure you, that there is scarcely an instance in which, on examining the Works of those authors whom it is the custom more to cite than to read, I have found the view which I had received of them to be faithful. There is usually something more or something less, which modifies the general result; some mere conjecture represented as an absolute affirmation, or some limited affirmation extended to analogous cases, which it was not meant to comprehend. And, by the various additions or subtractions thus made, in passing from mind to mind, so much of the spirit of the original doctrine is lost, that it may, in some cases, be considered as having made a fortunate escape, if it be not at last represented as directly *opposite* to what it is. It is like those engraved portraits of the eminent men of former Ages, the copies of mere copies,—from which every new artist, in the succession,

has *taken* something, or to which he has *added* something, till not a lineament remains the same. If we are truly desirous of a faithful likeness, we must have recourse once more to the original Painting.*" But no such means of verification remain for us in our researches into the tenets of the ancient Heretics. Their Works have been destroyed by time, by accident, or by injudicious zeal. The Fathers (however honest their motives, and however pure their intentions) have handed down to us a picture, drawn sometimes by inflamed, sometimes by ill-informed, adversaries; and who can pretend to trace where the resemblance lurks amid darkened and distorted features? Devoted to the cause of Christianity, with an ardour to which the present state of Society offers no parallel, and alarmed not merely at the dangerous doctrines, but sometimes, perhaps, at the disgraceful conduct of the various Sects, the orthodox Christians were too ready to admit reports without patient and cautious investigation; hence they occasionally impute sentiments not held, and draw (a fault of most controversial writers) consequences, which, however logically deducible from certain principles, were not contemplated by the persons who maintained those principles. The excellence of the end in view, sometimes, we think, prevented them from examining the nature of the means by which they hoped to attain it. Without the remotest design of delivering what was positively false, they appear to us not sufficiently anxious to ascertain what was exactly true. In fact, their object was not to give a luminous view of the sources and windings of error, but to draw a hasty outline of its hideousness, and to deter the Faithful from advancing a step into its impious circle. Thus systems which, in their first state, were obscure and perplexed, are now become almost hopelessly unintelligible. Conjecture alone can now pretend to delineate the original structure of the strange labyrinth of early Heresy; conjecture alone can discover the relation of scattered and disjointed parts, and fill up the chasms of a mighty wreck. These expressions, the result of dispassionate examination, are not, however, applicable to every particular relation of every particular Heresy, but to the general state of the inquiry. They are offered as an excuse for the very unsatisfactory analysis which we now present.

So large a portion of error is to be ascribed to the

* Dr. Thomas Brown's *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. ii. p. 45.

History. intermixture of Philosophical principles with the peculiar tenets of Christianity, that Tertullian has not scrupled to call Philosophers the Patriarchs of Heretics. The fact is, perhaps, not difficult to explain. There exists in the Human mind an unquenchable desire of knowledge; a desire almost uniformly strong in all states and gradations of Society, though its immediate objects and channels, susceptible as they are of infinite variety, will differ according to our different ages, capacities, and acquirements. The same desire which draws the early efforts of the Savage towards civilized life, urges on his more enlightened neighbour to speculations of a higher order and more extensive range.* The feeling is implanted by Nature; the direction is determined by circumstances. When Revealed Religion first disclosed its truths to mankind, this desire of knowledge received a different bias, but lost nothing of its inherent activity. Announced with extraordinary zeal, by men whose manners were simple as their morals were pure, recorded in Works bearing the most incontrovertible marks of honesty and truth, supported, too, by a long chain of striking evidences, and adapted, moreover, to the wants and feelings of mankind, Christianity gradually produced conviction even on the Philosophic classes. Thus the effect of this new belief may for a time have been to calm the disquietude of thought, to suspend the restlessness of curiosity. But the elements of agitation still existed, and were soon again excited. The spirit of inquiry no longer turned itself towards the discovery of general facts, but towards an investigation of all their possible bearings, consequences, and modifications. The Christian duties were received; the Christian doctrines were admitted; but then arose the attempt to explain these duties in all their branches and relations, and to accommodate these doctrines to our present faculties and preconceptions. The Passions still worked; the Imagination still wan-

dered. The mind of the Philosopher, which had at first grasped with avidity (if we may so express ourselves) the new system, and remained fixed in momentary tranquillity on its recent acquisition, soon broke from this unaccustomed state of rest. Questions which had long exercised its powers, and which are, perhaps, insoluble in this our present circumscribed sphere of existence, insensibly suggested themselves again. Explanations were sought in Christianity, and not found. The great mystery, for instance, of the Existence of Evil in the works of Perfect Goodness, was thought still covered with obscurity. The Philosopher, therefore, without rejecting his last acquired belief, returned back to his old opinions, and endeavoured to explain the facts which were revealed on principles which he had long before embraced. And from this alliance of Philosophical works with Christian dogmas sprang most of the Heresies of the IInd and IIIrd centuries.

We shall endeavour, under each separate Heresy, to point out the principal Works in which it is more particularly examined. The chief ancient Treatises on Heresies in *general* are those of Irenæus, of Philaster, of Epiphanius, of Augustine, and of Theodoret; to which may be added the short catalogue of Heresies affixed to Tertullian's *de Præscriptione*, and the anonymous Work entitled *Prædestinatus*, (which was first published by Sirmond, in 1643.) At a later period, the subject was treated by Joannes Damascenus, and several other Writers.* In modern times, it has exercised the learning of Ittigius, Langius, Lardner, Pluquet, and many others; but notwithstanding the high merits of some writers on particular Sects, as for instance, the masterly production of Beausobre ou Manicheism, we know not of any *general* work which gives a full and luminous view of the History of Heresies, their causes, origin, connection, and extent.

Heresies of
the IInd
and IIIrd
Centuries.

* See Pluquet, *Diction. des Hérésies. Discours Préliminaire.*

• J. G. Walch, *Biblioth. Theolog.* tom. iii. c. vii. sec. 10.

HERETICS OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

NAZARENES.
EBIONITES.
ELXAL.
SATURNINUS.
BARDESEANES.
TATIAN.
CERDO.
MARCION.
BASILIDES.
CARPOCRATES.
VALENTINUS.... *Different Sects of Valentines.*
OPHITES.
PRAKEAS *Patrigonians.*
THEODOTUS AND ARTEMON.
HERMOGENES.
MONTANUS.

NAZARENES AND EBIONITES.

History.

Sects arising from attachment to the Mosaic Law. Early Jewish Christians.

THOUGH the Heresies of the IInd and IIIrd centuries arose chiefly from an attempt to combine the dogmas of Philosophy with the tenets of the Christian Religion, there were two Sects which sprang from an attachment to the Mosaic Law, as far as we can trace, under the following circumstances. Till the time of Hadrian, the Jewish converts of Palestine, of whom a great number had retired to the small town of Pella beyond the Jordan,* still cherished the hope that the glory of their ancient Capital would be restored; and still adhered, for the most part at least, to the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic Law.† When, however, that Emperor had raised Ælia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem, and excluded the professors of the Jewish Faith from entering its precincts, the Christians seem to have divided themselves into two classes. One class rejected those usages, the necessity of which they felt could not be maintained consistently with a true knowledge of Christianity, and the observance of which served to identify them with the Jews in the opinion of the Romans; and, as a pledge of their sincerity, they elected Marcus, who was a Gentile, as their Bishop. Another, but far less numerous class, continued to unite a belief in the chief doctrines of the Christian Religion with the maintenance of those practices in which they had been educated. These last, in process of time, if not at first, were divided into two Sects, the Nazarenes and the Ebionites,—a division which appears not to have been accurately observed by ancient Writers.‡

The Nazarenes, a name which in the primitive times

seems to have been commonly applied by the Jews to all Christians,* were not generally considered as being, strictly speaking, Heretics.† They appear to have believed that Christ was born of a Virgin, and partook, at least in some manner, of the Divine nature.‡ They maintained that the Mosaic Ordinances were to be observed by the Jews, without pretending that they were obligatory on other nations.§ They did not attach any importance to the additional ceremonies of the Pharisees, or the interpreters of the Law.||

The Ebionites, who are supposed by many to have received this appellation from one Ebion,¶ and by others, with more probability, from their poverty, proceeded much further than the Nazarenes, and were accordingly regarded as decidedly hostile to genuine

Heretics of the IInd Century. Nazarenes.

Ebionites.

Origen informs us that the Ebionites were divided into two classes; some asserting, others denying, the miraculous conception of Christ. (*Cont. Cels. lib. v.*) Compare Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 27. Theodoret, *Fædal. Heret.* lib. ii. c. 1. &c.

* Epiph. *Har.* 19 and 29. See, however, Mangey's *Remarks upon Nazaren.* p. 9 and 52.

† Epiphanius, however, who has written on the subject, (*Har.* 29.) ranks them among Heretics; but his account is very confused and unsatisfactory. The state of feeling in the IInd and IIIrd Ages towards those, who, though they believed in Christianity, still observed the Mosaic Law, but did not force the observance of it on others, may be learned from Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho.*

‡ Ναζωραῖοι ἢ Χριστοὶ ἡμετέροις ἰσχυρῶς οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ παῖρα ἢ παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. J. Damascen. *de Heres.* sec. 29. On which see the note of Mich. Le Quen, and also his VIIIth Dissertation prefixed to the Work.

§ See, however, Augustin, in *Fædal.* lib. xix. c. 18.

|| Hieron. in c. 8. *Enchir.* v. 9. &c.

¶ So Tertullian, c. *Marcon.* lib. iv. c. 3. &c. and many other writers. Compare, however, Orig. c. *Cels.* lib. ii. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 27. &c. "I do not know," says Mangey, "any fact of antiquity better proved, than that there was once such a person (as Ebion,) and that he gave name to this Sect." (*Rem. upon Nazar.* p. 56.) But the Ebionites themselves, who surely ought to have been acquainted with the subject, asserted that they were so called from their poverty; αἰετὶ δὲ ἕξαι ἐμνηστεύει, ἰσχυρῶς φέρουσι πτωχοῦ, καὶ οὐ, φανερὸν οὖν ἡμετέροις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ οὐδὲν παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ πτωχοῦ καὶ ἀποστατοῦ, μηδὲ ἑταίρου καὶ ἡμετέροις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρῶς φέρει πτωχοῦ. (Epiph. *Har.* 30. c. 17.) Simon says it may well be that those writers who have thought that there was a man called Ebion, author of this Sect, had better grounds on which to establish the fact than a certain Spanish Historian, (Illeceus, lib. vi. *de la Hist. Plantif.*) who invented a man called Hugo, a Sacramentarian Arch-heretic, from whom the Heretics of France have been named *Hugonists.* (*Hist. Crit. du Nouv. Test.* p. i. c. 8.)

* Epiph. *de Menuria et Ponderib.* c. 15. *Oper.* tom. ii. p. 171, ed. Petav.

† Et qui Christiani ex Judæis potissimum putabantur (namque tum Hierosolyma non nisi ex circumcissione habebat Ecclesia sacerdotum) multum cohortes custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit, quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymam aditæ arceret. Quod quidem Christianæ fidei profuerat: quia tum paræ omnes Christiani Deum sub legis observatione credebant. Nimirum id Dominus ordinante depositum, ut legis ærestris a libertate Fidei atque Ecclesiæ tolleretur. Ita tum primum Marcus ex gentilibus apud Hierosolymam Episcopus fuit. Sulp. Sever. *Hist. Sacr.* lib. ii. c. 31. See the manner in which Mosheim has explained this passage. (*De Reb. Christian. ante Const.* p. 325.)

Illece, perhaps, the different accounts of some writers, e. g.

History. Christianity. They looked upon Christ as a Prophet, but denied his miraculous conception, affirming that he was born like other men, according to the common course of nature.* They deemed the practice of the Mosaic rites not merely necessary to themselves, but essential to all who hoped for salvation; and, consequently, they rejected the authority of St. Paul, which militated against their conclusions. They seem also to have admitted the superstitious customs and traditions of the Jewish doctors. Yet they are also said to have rejected the Prophets with abhorrence, and though they retained the Pentateuch, to have entertained for it but little veneration.†

Both these Sects had their own Gospel; that of the Nazarenes,‡ sometimes called the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, sometimes the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, has been considered by some Writers of eminence as being the original Hebrew of St. Matthew, with various additions derived from tradition. That of the Ebionites is represented as having been more corrupted.§

The Ebionites, moreover, are said to have forged several books under the names of St. John the Apostle, St. James, St. Matthew, and other Disciples;|| they also used the *Voyages of St. Peter*, by St. Clement, but disfigured by alterations and falsities.¶

For further information on the subject of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, see Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccles. An. 72*; Iuligius, *Dissert. de Hæres.* sec. 1. c. 6.; Le Quien,

Dissert. Damascenica, diss. 7. *De Christianis Nazarenis, et eorum Fide, necnon de Ebionitis*; Mangey's *Remarks upon Toland's Nazarenus*; Mosheim, *Meditationes de Ebione in Obscuro. Sacr.* p. 233; W. Wilson's *Illustrations of the Method of Explaining the New Testament by the Early Opinions of Jews and Christians concerning Christ*, &c.

Heretics of the 11th Century.

ELXAI—ELCESAITÆ OR HELCESAITÆ.

The Elcesaitæ were followers of Elxai, (sometimes called Elxæus and sometimes Elcesai,) who lived in the time of Trajan.* Educated in the Jewish faith, acquainted with the Christian Religion, and conversant with the notions of the Oriental Philosophy, Elxai seems to have attempted a combination of parts gleaned from these various doctrines, and to have grafted the whole on the tenets of an ancient Sect of Ossenians, (supposed by Scaliger† to have been the same as the Essenians,) into which he had gained admission. Such, at least, is the impress left on our minds by an examination of the details of Epiphanius, who professes to have seen one of the works of that Heresiarch.

Attached to Jewish notions, the Elcesaitæ turned towards Jerusalem in their prayers, kept the Sabbath, practised circumcision, and observed other ceremonies; but, retaining little, if any, entire part of the Old Testament, they expressed detestation of Sacrifices, which they maintained had never been offered by the ancient Patriarchs.‡ Though they believed in the existence of one unbegotten and Supreme Being,§ (whom they thought to honour by frequent purifications,) they contended, that external compliance with idolatrous rites was irreprehensible, as long as the inward mind remained uninfluenced. They regarded it, therefore, as the part of an intelligent man, on trying occasions, to renounce his faith in words, provided he preserved it in his heart.||

It has been doubted whether the Elcesaitæ ought to be reckoned among the Christian or the Pagan Sects; and Epiphanius¶ acknowledges his uncertainty on that point. They spoke, indeed, of Christ as of a great King, representing him as clothed in a human but invisible form, of stupendous dimensions; ** but it is not clear whether they applied the title to our Lord or to some expected Messiah.†† Since, however, as we learn from Origen,‡‡ they retained various passages of the New Testament,§§ (though they rejected the whole of St. Paul's Epistles,|||) it must, we think, be concluded, that they had partially admitted the Christian Religion.

* Epiph. *Hæres.* 19. c. 1. Eusebius places the rise of this Sect much later (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 38.) See Tillem. *Mém. Art. Les Elcesaites*. Lardner's *Hist. of Heretics*, book ii. c. 22, which chapter, after the end of the third section, was added by the editor, J. Hogg.

† Not, in Euseb. *Chron.* p. 37. See, however, Baruaque, *Annal. Sect.* tom. i.

‡ Epiph. *Hæres.* 19. c. 3.

§ Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.* lib. ii. c. 7.

|| Epiph. *Hæres.* 19. c. 3.

¶ Epiph. *Hæres.* 19. c. 3. Theodoret gives a singular account of their belief. Among other doctrines, he says, that they taught two Christs, one above and one below; and that they believed Jesus to transmute into other bodies, and every time to appear differently.

(*Hæret. Fab.* lib. ii. c. 7.) Compare Epiph. *Hæres.* 30. c. 3.

** Epiph. *Hæres.* 19. c. 4. †† Ibid. c. 5.

‡‡ See an extract from Origen's Homily on the Eighty-second Psalm

in *Kueh. Hist. Eccles.* lib. vi. c. 38.

§§ Ibid. Epiph. *Hæres.* 19. c. 2.

||| *Hist. Eccles.* Theod. *Hæret. Fab.* lib. ii. c. 7.

Consilium
de
Venerabilibus
Sacerdotibus

* Epiph. *Hæres.* p. 30, where he describes at some length the practices of the Ebionites. See also Iren. i. lib. c. 24. Tertull. *De Fugiu. Peland.* c. 6. 6. *De Præceptis*, Heret. c. 33, &c.

† Epiph. *Hæres.* 30 and 13. Simon thinks that the Ebionites, who received no other than the five Books of Moses, were descended from some Samaritans, who embraced Christianity in imitation of the Nazarenes. (*Hist. Crit. du Nouv. Test.* p. i. c. 8.)

‡ *Ἐξουρὶς ἐν τῇ πόλει Μαρτίνου Ἐβωνίτων ἀναγινώσκοντες Ἐβωνίταις καὶ αἰνῶν γὰρ παύσει τοῖς, αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς γένεως Ἐβωνίταις ὑπομένουντες ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοῖς ὑπομένουντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀναγινώσκοντες. (Hæres. 30. sec. 9.)* Casselmann would read *ἐν ἐβωνίταις*, an alteration not supported by MSS. (*Exercit.* 16. ad *Ann. Baronii*, sec. 115.) In *Evangelio, quo stantur Nazarenis et Ebionitis, quod nuper in Græcæ de Hebræo sermone translatum, et quod vocatur à plerisque Mathæi authenticum, &c.* Hier. in *Metth.* c. 12. Conf. Id. *Adv. Pelag.* lib. iii. *De Viris Illustribus*, sec. 3, &c. Simon, who has treated the subject with much learning, considers the Gospel of the Nazarenes as the original Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, written for the early Christians of Palestine; containing, however, some additions which were inserted by the Nazarenes, but which are not to be rejected as falsehoods. (*Hist. Crit. du Nouv. Test.* p. i. c. 7.) Grabe considers it not as being the Gospel of St. Matthew interpolated, but as being composed by Jewish converts some time before our present Gospels were written. He supposes that the Nazarenes and Ebionites afterwards affixed to it the name of St. Matthew in order to facilitate its reception. (*Spicileg. Patr.*) Mill also thinks that it was written at Jerusalem before the Gospel of St. Matthew; but is of opinion that, even in its first state, it contained many errors. (*Proleg. in Nov. Test.*) Whitby (as well as Le Clerc) looked upon it as the Gospel of St. Matthew translated from Greek into Hebrew, with additions drawn from tradition. (*Pref. Discourse to the Four Gospels*, p. 46.) Jones, who has diligently collected the opinions of others, also regards it as an early translation of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew into Hebrew, with the addition of many fabulous relations and erroneous doctrines, composed in the name of the Twelve Apostles by some convert Jews, to favour their notions of mixing Judaism and Christianity together. (*Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Test.* part ii. c. 31.) See also Fabric. *Cod. Apocryph. N. T.* tom. i.

§ *Ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἀναγινώσκοντες ἀπὸ Μαρτίνου ἰσχυρίζονται ἐν τῇ ἀναγινώσκῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναγινώσκῃ. α. v. 2.* (*Epiph. Hæres.* 30. sec. 13.) The Gospel of the Ebionites appears to have been different from that of the Nazarenes, only inasmuch as it was more corrupted by mutilations and additions; for instance, they omitted the first two chapters of St. Matthew. (*Epiph. Hæres.* 30. sec. 13.) which the Nazarenes appear to have retained.

|| Ibid. *Hæres.* 30. sec. 22.

||| Ibid. sec. 15.

History. Elxai (whom they regarded as a newly revealed power, and to whose race they showed the most abject devotion*) had composed a work, which they imagined to have fallen from Heaven.†

The other tenets of the Elcesaites seem to be mostly of Philosophic origin. They are said to have been addicted to Astrology and Magic.† They set a high value on water, esteeming it as they were a divinity, and as the fountain of life.‡ Elxai is represented as having taught them to swear by salt and water, and the earth, and bread, and Heaven, and the air, and the wind. And sometimes, it is added, he spoke of seven other witnesses, namely, Heaven, water, Spirits, holy Angels of prayer, oil, salt, and the earth.¶ Of confidence he expressed great aversion, obliging his disciples to marry.¶

This Seet is said by Eusebius** to have become extinct almost as soon as it appeared; but followers of it lived in the time of Epiphanius. In Pera, beyond the Dead Sea,†† they were also called Sampseans, a name of which the origin is doubtful. It is derived by Barnage from Samps in Arabia; but by Scaliger and Le Clerc, who have the authority of Epiphanius in their favour, from a Hebrew word signifying the Sun.

Classification of the Gnostics.
Gnostics of Syria.

The Gnostics may be divided into three Schools; that of Syria, that of Asia Minor, and that of Egypt.†† The chiefs of the Syrian School were Saturninus and Bardesanes.

SATURNINUS.

Saturninus, or Saturnilus, of Antioch, published his opinions in Syria about the beginning of the IInd century, but appears not to have acquired any considerable note.

System of Saturnius. According to his system, there is one Supreme Deity—the unknown Father—who created Angels, Archangels, Principalities, and Powers. Seven Angels formed the

Such appears to have been, in the main, the theory of Saturninus. Maintaining that one of the Seven Angels was the King of the Jews, he rejected the Old Testament. Maintaining also the evil nature of Matter, he asserted that the body of Christ was not real, and he denied the resurrection of the human body; hence he recommended that the flesh should be mortified in every man, and hence his disciples abstained from marriage and from animal food.¶

Consequence of the above opinions.

* Epiph. *Har.* 53, c. 1. Elxai appears to have much influenced the Ebionites. (Epiph. *Har.* 19, c. 5. &c.).

† Epiph. *Hær.* 19. c. 1. Orig. ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 38. Compare Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.* lib. ii. c. 7. On similar impostures, see Jortin's *Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 249. The reader cannot fail, we think, to observe many circumstances of similarity in the conduct of Elxsi and of Mahomet.

† Theodorat, *Har. Feb.* lib. ii, c. 7.

8 Epiph. *Hier.* 19. c.2. Fire he considered as of an opposite nature to water. Epiphanius introduces him as using the following strange expressions: *Τίνα σφαιρίδι μὴ σφίρι τοῦ ἁγίου, ἵνα σφαιρίδι, ἐλάτῃ γὰρ ἵνα τοῦ σωτῆρος ἁγίου γὰρ, σφίρι, αὐτοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, αὐτοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου μὴ σφαιρίδι σφίρι τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου, ἵνα μᾶλλον ἵνα τοῦ ὁσίου τοῦ ὁσίου.* (*Ibid.* c.2.) His object seems to have been to withdraw his disciples from Sacrifices to the observance of Purifications. But how can any system be framed from the disconnected fragments which are left to us?

|| Epiph. *Hab.* 19. c. 1. M. J. Matter, in his new work, thus attempts to explain the theory of Elxai: *L'esprit, les anges de la prière, l'huile et le sel, appartiennent à un ordre de choses spirituel, l'esprit ou le pneuma est un don du plérôme; les anges mettent l'homme en rapport avec le plérôme, et y portant ses prières; l'huile et le sel sont les emblèmes de la communication du pneuma. Quant aux génies du ciel, de l'eau, et de la terre, ils appartiennent à un seul autre ordre de choses: ce sont des puissances cosmogoniques.* (*Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme*, tom. II, p. 328, Paris, 1828.)

¶ Epiph. *Mar.* 19. c. 1.

•• *Hist. Eccl.* ib. vi. c. 38.

†† *Her.* 53. c. 1. *Id.* in *Anac.* c. 7.

‡‡ The Gnostics have been divided into *Judaizing* Sects, *Anti-Judaizing* Sects, and *Eclectic* Sects. The inconvenience of this division is pointed out by M. J. Matter, *Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme*, tom. i. p. 244.

* The school of Saturninus maintained that the creation of the world is attributed in Genesis to the Seven Angels under the plural Elohim, whereas the breath of life is communicated to Man by Jehohah Elohim. Many of their ideas are also to be traced to Philo.

D'après Philon, ce qui distingue l'homme de l'animal, c'est son âme, son esprit, son intelligence. L'homme a en commun avec l'animal, son corps, son âme animale, son âme végétative.

« L'homme est une âme simple, *ψυχὴ ὁλοκή*, ou le principe animal sans organisation corporelle, *ψυχὴ ἀλογη*. Ce qui forme la nature de l'esprit, c'est le pneuma de Dieu. C'est là ce que Dieu, Jehohah, a donné à l'homme, en chargeant les puissances inférieures de faire le corps. L'âme expliquant, par cette circonstance, le mot *expliqué* dans la Bible, lorsqu'elle s'appuie sur le corps, elle est expliquée, et non expliquant. » (Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme, t. I, p. 231.)

+ *Deumina d summa potestate lucida imagine apparente, &c.*
(Iren. Adv. Hæres. lib. i. c. 24.)... *ναρ εν μαρτυρῃ αὐτῆς ἀποκαλύπτει τὴν φύσιν...* (Epiphani. Har. 23. c. i.) Instead of *φωτῆς*, it ought, perhaps, to be *φανερῆς σινιῆς*. (See Dionys. Petav. *Animad.* and *Knipchen*. tom. ii. p. 40.)

† Cū factus esset, et non potuisset erigi plasma propter imberbil-
tatem Angelorum, et quasi vermiculus scarizaret, &c. (Iren. Adv.
Hær. lib. i. c. 24.) See also Epiph. Hær. 23. c. i.

§ Epiph. *Har.*, 23. c. i. See, however, Le Quien, *Annot.* in J. Damascen. p. 81.

|| Such is the theory which Mosheim, with more ingenuity than certainty, has attempted to elicit from the perplexed account of Irenæus. (*De Reb. Christian.* p. 337.) It is extremely difficult to discover what were really the notions of Saturninus on the creation of Men and the Origin of Evil. Irenæus says that Saturninus was the first who taught that there are two kinds of Men made by the Angels, one good and the other bad; the Demons, he adds, assisted

¶ The above account is chiefly drawn from Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* lib. i. c. 24. Epiph. *Hær.* 23. and Theodoret, *Hær. Fobul.* lib. i. c. 3.

BARDESANES.

Barbesanes, a man highly celebrated for his eloquence, ingenuity, and extensive learning,* was a Syrian,† born at Edessa, and flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Apollonius, the favourite of L. Verus, having attempted to draw him by threats into a renunciation of the Christian Faith, he replied, with admirable firmness, that "he feared not death, from which he could not escape, though he should comply with the Emperor's desire." He is said to have afterwards fallen into the Valentinian Heresy, which he subsequently recanted, but without being able entirely to disengage himself from the false notions which he had once adopted.

The errors of Barbesanes arose chiefly from an attempt to explain the Origin of Evil. Admitting a Supreme Being pure, happy, beneficent, and wholly exempt from imperfection, he thought it absurd to trace Evil to His agency. He sought, therefore, a distinct cause, which he considered to be Satan. To avoid the objection that this was merely removing the difficulty one step, he described Satan not as the *Creature* but as the *Enemy* of the Supreme Deity. Satan, however, had no other divine attribute than that of self-existence;‡ for Barbesanes did not consider that attribute as involving any other.§ He had no further part in the government of the world than as much as is necessary for the solution of the existence of Evil. In the system of Barbesanes, the Good Principle is alone omnipotent, infinite, containing all things, the Judge of the world. The Evil Principle is confined to the Earth; for our Saviour declares, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven;"|| his perverse nature is wholly insusceptible of amendment.

The Supreme Being created the world¶ and its inhabitants. The human Soul, then formed, after His image, pure and innocent, was not clothed with flesh, but with a subtle and ethereal body, conformable to its nature; an ancient opinion, which appears to have been of Jewish origin. This Soul, however, being afterwards seduced into transgression of the Divine Law by the artifices of the Prince of Darkness, was driven from Paradise, and imprisoned in a gross and carnal body; such, according to Barbesanes, being the meaning of the "coats of skins"*** with which God clothed Adam and Eve after the Fall, and such the "body of this death"†† from which the Apostle longed to be delivered.‡‡

* Hier. de Vir. Ill. c. 33. *Barbesanes, cuius etiam Philosophi admirantur ingenium. Id. in Op. c. 12, &c.*

† He is sometimes called Babylonian, whence it has been thought that there were two persons named Barbesanes. See, however, Lardner's *Credob.* part ii. ch. xxviii. sec. 12. and Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* tom. i.

‡ *Ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀνθρώπου λογίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀνθρώπων, are the expressions of the Barbesanist in Orig. Dial. c. Marc.* Yet he represents God as alone immortal. Probably, therefore, Barbesanes thought that Satan was the production of Matter, which he regarded as eternal, and that he would perish on the dissolution of his component particles. See Beaus. *Hist. de Manich.*

§ The Barbesanist (in Orig. Dial. c. Marc.) protests against the assertion that he held more than one God.

|| St. Luke, ch. x. v. 18.

¶ It ought to be remarked, that in this respect Barbesanes differed from other Gnostics.

*** *Gemesa*, ch. iii. v. 21. Compare Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. iii. p. 466, &c.

†† *Epistle to the Romans*, ch. vii. v. 24.

‡‡ Orig. Dial. c. Marc.

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This was Man degraded. Corruptions and disorders, the work of the Evil Principle, were permitted to afflict the moral world. Hence the internal conflict in the human breast between reason and passion. On this theory, then, the union of the soul with the present body is the cause of Evil. The flesh is represented as being the sepulchre in which the soul is buried.*

In order to teach men how to subject this depraved body, of which they are forced like captives to drag the chains through this period of existence, came Christ, clothed not in gross flesh, the penalty of sin, but in an ethereal frame, similar to that in which the Angels, when sent on missions by the Deity, had appeared on earth and conversed with man.†

Abstinence, fasts, meditation—these enable us to break the bonds of the maleficent power, the passions, which enslave the soul—these, therefore, he considered it as the duty of his followers to observe.

Such as attended to the preaching of Christ, would, after the dissolution of this "tenement of clay," rise to the seat of happiness, invested with a certain subtle, celestial, and incorruptible body;‡ that body, which, according to the interpretation of the Barbesanists, St. Paul calls "the temple of the Holy Ghost.§

In defence of this notion, they particularly insisted on the declaration of the Apostle, "that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption."||

Barbesanes appears not to have rejected any part of Scripture, though he admitted some apocryphal books.

It is hardly necessary to remark, that the system of Barbesanes offers no solution of the great mystery which it was intended to remove. The difficulty will always return. If the Maleficent Principle is beyond God's control, God is not the Omnipotent Ruler of the Universe; if he is under God's control, then God has permitted the existence of Evil.

Again, the Soul, according to this system, though created pure, was seduced by the Evil Spirit. But the Soul must have been by nature, at least, susceptible of being seduced into sin. Why was it not created without this susceptibility?

Besides, the hypothesis of Barbesanes is not merely unsatisfactory with regard to moral Evil, but not even applicable to the subject of physical Evil.

In examining the opinions of those Heretics who supposed the body of Christ not to have been real flesh, one important remark will naturally suggest itself—the History of the Crucifixion must have been considered as resting on unquestionable evidence, otherwise it would have been much easier to have denied the fact than to have attempted the difficult task of explaining it away on the strange hypothesis of false appearances, which fascinated the senses of the spectators.¶

* Orig. Dial. c. Marc.

† *Ὁ θεὸς φανεῖ, ἐν ὁμοίᾳ τῷ Ἀγγέλῳ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν Χριστῷ.* Words of the Barbesanist. (*Hist.*) In answer to the objection drawn from St. John's Gospel, (ch. i. v. 14) "The Word was made flesh," he pretended that "flesh" in that passage was used in the sense of "body," *σῶμα καὶ εἶς τῶν αἰῶν ἱεῖ.* (*Hist.*) Christ came into the world through the Virgin Mary, without having been formed in any respect of the substance of Mary. *ἀπὸ μαζῶν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ μαζῶν.* (*Hist.*)

‡ *Ibid.* He appealed to the expression of St. Paul, (1 Corinth. ch. xv. v. 37) "Thou sowest not that body that shall be."

§ 1 Corinth. ch. vi. v. 15.

|| St. Paul, ch. xv. v. 50.

¶ See Flouquet, *Hist. des Heret. Art. Barbesane*, and Bergier, *Dict. de Théolog. Art. Barbesaniste*.

History.
Works.

Besides writing Treatises upon the persecution which the Christians in Syria experienced, Bardesanes composed many Works in Syriac, which were translated into Greek by some of his numerous disciples: of these are particularly mentioned one against Marcion, and other Heresiarchs; and another, an excellent *Dialogue*, (said to have been dedicated to the Emperor Antoninus.) *On Dying*. From this last Work Eusebius has cited* an elegant and learned fragment, in which Bardesanes undertakes to prove that Man is not conducted by instinct and necessity, as the brute creation, but by reason and liberty. He shows that although all men are of the same nature, yet there are innumerable diversities of laws, religions, customs, and manners, sometimes in the very same Country and under the same climate; and he considers this a circumstance as explicable only on the supposition of freedom of choice. He observes, moreover, and it is an observation which deserves to be attentively noted, that the Christians, though dispersed in so many different parts, could by no means be induced to deviate from their own peculiar laws and customs; and chose to suffer poverty, dangers, ignominy, and death itself, rather than to commit what Christ had declared to be criminal. Of his *Commentaries on India*, some fragments remain.† He also wrote a variety of *Hymns*, which, being rapidly diffused, contributed, doubtless, to lend very powerful attractions to the errors which they conveyed. They were superseded in the IVth century by the *Hymns* of Ephrem the Syrian, composed in the same rhythm, and to the same tunes. These last have thrown light on the opinions of Bardesanes, against whom some of them were directed.

The best account of this Heresy is contained in the *Dialogue against the Marcionites*, ascribed to Origen. For further information, see Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. c. 30.; Epiphani. *Her.* 56.; Theodoret. *Har. Fab.* lib. i. c. 22.; Augustin. *Her.* 35.; *Chron. Edessen.* ap. Jos. Simon Asseman. *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. i. p. 389. See also F. Strunzius, *Hist. Bardesanis et Bardesanitarum*; and particularly Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* tom. ii. lib. iv. c. 9.

TATIAN.... *Encratite*. SEVERUS.... *Severians*.

Tatian.

It may be here the most convenient place to notice the Heresy of Tatian and his followers. Tatian, surnamed from his native Country the Assyrian, after having acquired the learning of the Greeks, and visited various Countries, came to Rome; in which city, being shocked at the disgusting and cruel superstitions that prevailed, he began to feel that attachment for the Christian Religion, which, on further investigation, ripened into conviction. On the martyrdom of Saint Justin, whose acquaintance he had cultivated and whose instructions he had received, he returned to Syria, where he published the errors which have caused his name to belong as much to the catalogue of Heretics as of Ecclesiastical Writers. Some time prior to the adoption of these opinions, he composed a Discourse against the *Gentiles*, which alone of his numerous Works is still extant. The scope of it is to demonstrate that the Greeks were not the inventors of the Sciences,

but had first received them from those who were styled Barbarians, and afterwards corrupted them, especially Philosophy. In this Treatise he also defends the Christian Religion, describing in attractive terms the conduct of its followers. He discourses of the nature of God; of the Word; of the Resurrection of the Body; of Free-will; of the Soul, (which he regards as in itself mortal, though to be raised up with the body;) of Devils; the whole interwoven with sarcastic remarks on the absurdities of Paganism and the vices of Philosophers. This Treatise is learned and eloquent, but not sufficiently finished, and not methodically written. It is found annexed to the Works of Justin, edited by the Benedictines. A good separate edition, containing the notes of W. Worth and other critics, was published at Oxford, 1700, 8vo.*

The spring of Tatian's Heresy is said to have been vanity,† first excited by the celebrity of his master, afterwards left uncontrolled by his death. The fame of his own pupils contributed to nourish his ambition. The desire of being the founder of a Sect occasioned his fall. Such are the causes recorded; but, ignorant as we are in a great measure of the exact principles of the Heretics, we are still more ignorant of their latent motives. When we mention any, it is rather to state the opinion, than to vouch for the knowledge and candour, of ancient reporters. If in the present instance we might indulge in conjecture, we should be inclined to think that Tatian, fatigued and harassed by the obscurity of Philosophy,‡ had sought satisfaction in the clearness of Christianity, but was soon startled by the difficulties which occurred; thus dissatisfaction returned, and his notions, drawn from the Græco-oriental Philosophy, were again called into play. So difficult it is to repress the bent of nature, when confirmed by the force of education: so much easier it is partially to adopt new, than wholly to eradicate old opinions.

Tatian is said to have formed the Sect called *Encratite*, or the *Continents*, in the reign of M. Aurelius. He invented *Eons* and *Principalities*.§ He maintained that the Creator was but a subordinate Deity,¶ whose words, "Let there be light," he represented not as a command but as a prayer addressed to the Supreme God.¶ To different Deities also he ascribed the Law and the Gospel.** These steps were made, in order, it would appear, to defend the opinions which distinguished his Sect; and these opinions, doubtless, originated in the supposition that Matter was the source of Evil. Hence they asserted that Christ had not a real, but only an apparent body;†† hence they endeavoured by excessive rigour to mortify the flesh; hence they condemned marriage;‡‡ appealing to the words of St. Paul, "He that soweth to his flesh shall of his flesh reap corruption;" hence, too, they abstained from animal food.§§ They also avoided wine, and even at the Eucharist used but water;|| whence they are sometimes called *Hydroparastate*.

* Respecting this Work, see La Ciere, *Hist. Eccl.* an. 172. sec. 1.; Bull, *Defens. Fid. Næ.*; Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* tom. iii. 378-396; Fabric. *Bib. Græc.* ed. Harles. tom. vii. p. 88.

† Iren. *Adv. Her.* lib. i. c. 31. Hier. de *Vir. Illust.* c. 29.

‡ See his account of his conversion, *Or. c. Græc.*

§ Epiph. *Her.* 46.

¶ Clem. Alexandr. *Excerpt. ex lib. Hypotyp.*

¶ Orig. de *Orat.* lib. ii.

** Clem. Alexandr. *Strom.* lib. iii.

†† Hier. in *Gal.* p. 200.

‡‡ Iren. *Adv. Her.* lib. i. c. 31.

§§ Theod. *Har. Fab.* lib. i. c. 20.

|| Epiph. *Her.* 46.

* *Præpar. Evangel.* lib. vi. c. 10.

† See Porphyry, de *Abst.* lib. iv. &c.

‡ *Tat. Or. c. Græc.*

§ *Ibid.*

Oratio c.
Græcos

History. *parakletas*,* "offerers of water;" probably the same as the *Aquarii*.† They likewise denied the salvation of Adam;‡ it was, probably, in defence of this system that Tatian wrote some of his lost Works. He compiled a Gospel, or rather a kind of Harmony, formed out of passages taken from the Four Evangelists; that is, it may be supposed, passages were selected or omitted, according as they coincided with, or differed from, his peculiar views. Thus he expunged the genealogy of Christ, (a point in which it was similar to the Gospel of the Hebrews,§ with which it has been confounded,) and retrenched all that related to His human nature, and His descent from David—facts, the knowledge of which would alone enable us to determine that the *Harmony*, still remaining, and sometimes ascribed to Tatian, but in which Christ is often called "the Son of David," is, in many respects, at least, a different Work; and, probably, by a different author.¶ Theodoret informs us, that he met with above 200 copies of this *Harmony*, which were used, as compendious Works, by unsuspecting Christians. Tatian also wrote a Book of Problems, or Questions, on the most obscure parts of Scripture, which questions his pupil, Rhodon, intended to resolve.** Besides these Works, he composed a Treatise respecting Animals,†† another against those who reject divine things, and another *On Perfection according to the Saviour*. He also undertook to put the *Epistles* of St. Paul into more elegant language.‡‡ His Sect was widely spread.

The Encratites are sometimes called from their master *Tatians*, or *Tatianists*,§§ though it would appear that the former were a branch of the Sect which had carried to greater heights the doctrines of the latter.¶¶

The Encratites used the *Acts* of St. Andrew, of St. John, of St. Thomas, the *Gospel* of the Egyptians, and other Apocryphal Writings. They also used some of the Books of the Old Testament.¶¶ Origen*** asserts that they discarded the *Epistles* of St. Paul, but Eusebius†† ascribes this measure only to the *Severians*, so called from Severus, who considerably extended the Heresy of Tatian.

Severus conceived that the existence and intermixture of Good and Evil in the world showed it to be subjected to opposite Principles: some beneficent, and

others mischievous; subordinate, however, to the Supreme Being. These Principles, by a kind of compact, had distributed on earth an equal proportion of blessings and evils. Man, presenting an union of virtues and vices, was formed by the joint efforts of good and evil Spirits. His duty, therefore, was to distinguish what he had received from these respective Powers. Now every man was made up of two great properties, Sensibility and Reason. Sensibility produces the passions which engender misery; but Reason gives birth to such pleasures only as promote tranquility. Severus, therefore, inferred that the former was the gift of noxious, the latter of beneficent Powers. As a consequence he regarded the seat of reason as the work of beneficent, and the seat of the passions as the work of maleficent beings; from the head to the navel was formed by the former, and from the navel downwards by the latter. Man, thus formed of two contrary parts, was placed upon the earth; round him the good beings had placed such aliments as serve to support the body without exciting the passions; while the evil beings had placed all that extinguishes Reason and influences passion. As the miseries of men have been chiefly caused by drunkenness and lust, Severus concluded that wine and women were the productions of the evil principle.*

The Severians rejected the *Acts* of the Apostles. They seem to have retained the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, but to have interpreted them in a peculiar manner.† Probably as a necessary conclusion to their opinion respecting the evil nature of Matter, they denied the resurrection of the body, which the Encratites admitted.

Apparently another, though later branch of the Encratite, were the *Apotactici*, or *Renouncers*; so called, because, besides following the opinions of Tatian respecting marriage and other subjects, they renounced all property, considering such as possessed any thing, together with such as lived in the marriage state, as being incapable of salvation. Epiphanius argues very justly against them, not for giving up their property if they were so disposed, but for condemning all others that did not follow the same line of conduct.‡ They termed themselves *Apotactical*,§ concluding that by this austerity they imitated the Apostles. They also appear to have been called *Sacophori*, or Sack-bearers.

Respecting Tatian's Heresy, see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. iii. p. 460, and *Excerpta ex Philos. Orient.* p. 806; Epiphani. *Her.* 46. c. 1.; *Orig. de Oratore*, c. 13.; Hieron. *Comm. in Galat.* ch. vi. See also Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccl.* An. 173; and the Dissertations affixed to Worth's edition of Tatian.

* For this development of his opinion, see Pluquet, *Dict. des Hérésies*, Art. *Severe*.

† The Severians must not be confounded with the followers of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, who, in the Vth century, formed a party among the Rutenians. Berger, *Dict. Theol.* Art. *Severe*.

‡ See his companion between the conduct of these Heretics and of those persons in the church who renounced their goods or forbore from marriage. (*Her.* p. 61.)

§ *Apotactici, qui se ipso nomine arrogantissimè vocaverunt, eo quod in eam communionem non recipere volunt conjugibus et res proprias possidentes: quales habet catholici et monachi et clerici plurimi. Sed idem isti heretici sunt, quoniam se ab ecclesiis separantes, nullum operis continent esse habere, qui videntur his rebis, quibus ipse carere, &c.* (*Aug. Her.* 40.)

* Theod. *Her. Fab.* lib. i. c. 20.

† Made a different Heresy by Augustine (*Her.* 61.) and Philast. (*Her.* 77.) This practice had been followed by some Catholics in persecution, see Cyprian, Ep. 63. Tillet, *Mém.* tom. ii. part ii. Art. *Les Encratites*. On the ancient prejudice in the East against wine, see P. E. Jablonsky, *Panth. Egyptior.* part i. p. 131. Mosh. de *Rel. Christ.* p. 399.

‡ Theod. *Her. Fab.* lib. i. c. 20.

§ This is a strong proof, as Lardner has observed, that there were Four, and but Four Gospels, which were in esteem with Christians. (*Credib.* part ii. ch. xii.)

¶ Du Pin, *Biblioth. Ant. Tatian*.

¶¶ On this subject see Mill, *Proleg. in Nov. Test.* p. 353; F. Wetstein, *Proleg. in Nov. Test.* p. 65; Vales, *Not. ad Euseb.* lib. iv. c. 29; and Lardner's *Credib.* &c. part ii. ch. xxvii. Asseman says that Tatian's *Diatessaron* is in the Vatican library, in the Arabic language. (*Lib. Or.* tom. i. p. 619.)

*** Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 13.

†† Tat. *Or.* c. *Græc.*

‡‡ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. c. 29.

§§ Aug. *Her.* 25, &c.

¶¶ Epiph. *Her.* 47.

* Ibid.

† In *Col. lib.* v. p. 274.

‡‡ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. c. 29.

Heretics of the II^d Century.

History.

MARCONITES.

CERDO—MARCON—LUCIAN—APELLES.

CERDO AND MARCON.

Gnostic
School of
Asia Minor.

The next School of Gnostics (if the word be taken in its widest sense) may be called that of Italy, or Asia Minor; not because it was confined to those Countries, for it was widely spread, but because it had its rise there.*

It was distinguished from the other Gnostic Sects, by its marked opposition to Judaism; by its rigorous ascetical discipline; and by its pretended claim to possess alone, in consequence of superior critical knowledge, the genuine Scriptures. Its chiefs were Cerdos and Marcon.†

Cerdo.

Cerdo came from Syria to Rome in the time of Antoninus Pius, about the year 141.‡ Our accounts of his opinions are meagre and inconsistent.§ According to Epiphanius,|| he held two opposite Principles; one Good and Unknown, God, the Father of Jesus; the other Evil and Known, the Creator, who spake in the Law, and appeared to the Prophets. According to the more ancient authority of Irenæus,¶ though he made a distinction between the God declared in the Law and the Prophets, and the God who was Father of Jesus Christ, he called the former *Just*, the latter *Good*. Theodoret** develops this view by giving Cerdo's illustration. The Creator, who was also the Author of the Mosaic Law, is *Just*, for He requires that "an eye should be given for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;" but the God proclaimed in the Gospels is *Good*, for He commands, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," and if any man "take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." The former, he contended, directs us to love a friend, and hate an enemy; but the latter teaches us to love even our enemies.††

In consequence of this view he despised the authority of the Old Testament,‡‡ and maintained that the object of Christ's mission from the Unknown Father was to overthrow the Empire of the Creator of the World.§§

But as he, doubtless, looked upon Matter as evil, he would not allow the truth of the birth, and the reality of the Passion of Christ. He supposed that He had assumed the mere phantom of a human form, and had suffered only in appearance.¶¶ He was also

led in consequence to deny the resurrection of the body.* Heretics of the 11th Century.

These errors Cerdo recanted, and afterwards taught again.† The result was his ejection, or perhaps previous secession, from the Church. The system of Cerdo was embraced and amplified, more boldly maintained and more successfully taught by his disciple Marcon, a native of Sinope in Pontus, who flourished in the reign of Antoninus Pius.‡

Improbability of the story of his fall in Epiphanius.

Epiphanius traces his alienation from the true faith to an act of incontinence, in consequence of which he was not only excluded from the communion of the Church by his father, the Bishop of Sinope, notwithstanding his professions of repentance, but also by the Elders of the Church of Rome, to the Bishopric of which his ambitious views had been directed.¶ Beausobre** has shown, with his usual acuteness, the incredibility of a story, on which the ancient authors, who professedly wrote against Marcon, have been wholly silent, though the tenor of their argument, falling in with their indignation and animosity, would frequently have led them to allude to such a circumstance if currently reported in their time. His subsequent conduct, at least, appears not to have exposed him to any accusation of immorality.

Tertullian relates that Marcon, regretting the errors which had occasioned his repeated ejections from the Church, applied for readmission, and that his application was granted, provided he could bring back to the Catholic faith those persons whom he had drawn into Heresy. To this condition he assented, but death prevented him from fulfilling it.†† There is great reason to suppose that Tertullian has here confounded Marcon with Cerdo.‡‡

Tertullian's account of his recantation.

Marcon is described as a man fond of innovations,§§ of an ardent temperament, and of considerable acquisitions.¶¶

It is certain that his followers were very numerous.¶¶ They are represented by Justin Martyr as being of all ranks, and in divers places.*** The variety of Works written against him sufficiently evince the fact.††† About a thousand Marconites were converted by Theodoret in his diocese.‡‡ These followers are said to have held their founder in high veneration. Many of them, however, differed from him on several points,§§§ and divided

Numerous followers.

* Epiph. *Har.* 41, &c.

† Iren. *Adv. Hær.* lib. iii. c. 4. p. 77.

‡ Valer. *Ann. in Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 2. Lardner, *Hist. of Heretics*, book ii. c. 9.

§ It is apparently owing to the situation and pursuit of his active city, that he is called a sailor by Rhodon, (*ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 13.) and frequently by Tertullian, (*Adv. Marc.* lib. iii. c. 6, &c.)

¶ Tertull. *Adv. Marcon.* lib. v. c. 19, &c. On the time in which Marcon lived, see Lardner, *History of Heretics*, book ii. ch. x. sec. 2.

¶¶ *Har.* 42. c. 1. This story is also found in the Catalogue of Heresies, added to Tertull. de *Præscript.*

•• *Histoire de Manich.* tom. ii. p. 77.

†† *De Præscript.* *Har.* c. 30.

††† Tillem. *Mém.* tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 195, &c.

‡‡ Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. iv.

|| Hieron. in *Quaest.* c. 10.

¶¶ See Lardner, *Hist. of Heretics*, book ii. ch. x. sec. 9.

*** *Apol.* i. p. 70, 92.

††† Among others, Justin Martyr, Dionysius of Corinth, Theophilus of Antioch, Philip of Gortyna, Modestus, Melito, Apollinaris, &c.

‡‡ Ep. 113. tom. iii.

§§§ Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. iii. c. 2.

• Matter, *Hist. du Gnosticisme*, tom. i. p. 334.

† Ibid.

‡ Iren. *Adv. Hær.* lib. i. c. 28. Euseb. *Chron.* p. 169. Philast. *Her.* 41, &c.

§ Aug. *de Hær.* c. 21.

¶ *Har.* 41. c. 1.

¶¶ *Adv. Hær.* lib. i. c. 27.

•• *Har. Fab.* lib. i. c. 24.

†† It was justly observed that Cerdo had not attended to the precept of the Law, "If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and thou wouldest fain help him, thou shalt surely help with him" (*Exod.* ch. xxiii. v. 4.) Nor had Cerdo weighed the expressions of the Gospel, which show its author to be *Just*: "With whatever measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." (*Matt.* ch. vii. v. 2. *Luke*, ch. vi. v. 38.) Theod. *Har. Fab.* lib. i. c. 24.

|| Epiph. *Har.* 41, &c.

¶¶ Ibid. Philast. *Har.* 44.

§§ Ibid.

History. body was but a phantasm, he urged that in the Old Testament, Angels had conversed and eaten with men, being only apparently clothed with human bodies;* he referred to the passage in the *Epistle* of St. Paul to the *Philippians*,† in which it is said, that "Christ, being in the form of God, emptied Himself, and took the form of a servant," that is, as Marcion pretended, not the reality, "and was made in the likeness of man," that is, in the outward shape or resemblance of man, "and found in fashion as a man," that is, not in substance or flesh.‡

Future Judgment.

It was also in consequence of these opinions, that he denied the Resurrection of our present material body.¶ He allowed, however, the truth of a Future Judgment, but the Demiurge was to be Judge or Punisher.¶ Rejected by the Supreme God, the wicked would be seized by the fire of the Demiurge:** the Souls of the virtuous, on the other hand, would partake of eternal happiness in the presence of the Benevolent Being and of Christ.††

According to Irenæus, Marcion also taught, that Cain, and others like him, the people of Sodom, and the Egyptians, and all the nations in general, notwithstanding the immorality of their lives, were saved by the Lord, when he descended into the Lower Regions; for they came to Him, and he took them up into His kingdom; but that Abel, Enoch, and Noah, and the Patriarchs, and all the Prophets, and other men who had pleased God, had not obtained salvation; for, as they knew that their God always tempted, and as they suspected he was then tempting them, they did not come to Jesus, nor believe in His annunciation, therefore their Souls remained in the Lower Regions.‡‡ Epiphanius, also, mentions that, in the opinion of Marcion, the Lord descended into the Lower Regions, and saved Cain, Corah, Dathan, Abiram, and Esau, and all the nations who worshipped not the God of the Jews; but left there Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and Solomon.§§ This singular doctrine is repeated by Theodoret,|| and is alluded to by Tertullian,¶¶ no doubt, therefore, of his having held it, or, at least, some very similar notion, can reasonably be entertained. The following appears to be the most plausible explanation: it was commonly supposed that Christ, in order that the dead might be enabled to obtain salvation through faith in His name, as well as the living, had descended into Hades, and preached there: now Hades comprehended not merely the seat of torment for Souls, but also the place of rest, the bosom of Abraham; in this last, Christ found the just men

mentioned in the Old Testament; to them He announced the Supreme Deity hitherto unknown; but having been warned in the Scriptures to avoid such Prophets as preached another God, even if they wrought signs or wonders, which came to pass, because Jehovah thus proved their fidelity,* they suspected that the Demiurge designed to try them, and rejected Christ. The Lord, therefore, passed to Tartarus, and preached to the wicked who were suffering punishment, and they embraced the offer of mercy, and were saved.†

Though Marcion admitted that Jesus was Christ, the Son of the Good God,‡ he would not allow that He was the Christ, or Messiah, foretold by the Prophets, and Son of the Demiurge.§ This last was, according to his account, a Saviour promised to the Jewish nation, and yet to come, in order to free them from their enemies.|| The latter was designed to restore the state of the dispersed Jews, the former to deliver the whole human race. He denied that the descriptions given of Christ in the Old Testament corresponded with the accounts of him in the New.¶ He contended that these Prophecies were not necessary in order to establish the mission, the truth of which was sufficiently proved by the manifestation of His power in miracles;** the reality of which miracles, therefore, (though it may be thought their evidence would be weakened, if not destroyed, by his previous suppositions,††) this Heresiarch must have allowed.‡‡

Marcion appears to have admitted, in the main,§§ the Gospel account of the death and resurrection of Christ, (though, consistently with his notion, he could surely not have granted the reality of His sufferings.||||) He ascribed His crucifixion to the Powers subject to the Demiurge, who had jealously observed that the Good Being was destroying the Law.¶¶ The Creator was not aware that the death, or the apparent death, of Christ, (for a pure Spirit could not suffer death,) would procure the salvation of mankind,** i. e. their deliverance from the ancient Law, and their adoption as children of the Perfect Father, and heirs of eternal life.

Thus, then, Marcion endeavoured to trace the difference between the Deity, all-powerful and perfectly Good, and the Demiurge, just in his intentions, but weak and imperfect, and also between the Christ of the former and the Christ of the latter; consequently, between the doctrine of the former and the doctrine of the latter; and, consequently, also, between the conduct in the Lower Regions of those who admitted the one, and that of those who admitted the other.†††

* Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. iii. c. 9.

† Ch. ii. v. 6-8.

‡ Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. iii. c. 11. Tertullian shows the consequences which result from supposing the body of Christ to be merely illusory. He also, very justly, quotes St. Luke, ch. xxiv. v. 39, 39. See Marcion's way of evading this proof. (*Adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 43.)

§ See Orig. *Dial. c. Marc.* sec. 5.

¶ Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. i. c. 24. Epiph. *Har.* 42, 43.

¶¶ Orig. *Dial. c. Marc.* sec. 3, 4.

** Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. i. c. 27.

†† *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 24. lib. iv. c. 34. Epiphanius was probably mistaken in asserting (*Har.* 42.) that Marcion admitted the transmigration of souls. (See Lardner, *Hist. of Heretics*, book ii. ch. x. sec. 17.)

‡‡ Iren. *Adv. Marc.* lib. i. c. 27.

§§ *Har.* 42. c. 4.

|||| *Ibid.* lib. i. c. 24.

¶¶ *Adv. Marc.* lib. iii. c. 24.

• Deut. ch. xiii. v. 3.

† This is the explanation of Bonasobire, *Hist. de Manich.* tom. ii. p. 3.

‡ Athanas. *cont. Sabell.* tom. ii. p. 42.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. i. c. 15. lib. iii. c. 6. 20. lib. iv. c. 6. See, also, Orig. *Dial. c. Marc.* sec. 1.

¶ Tertull. *Adv. Marc.*

¶¶ *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 3.

†† *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 3.

‡‡ Orig. *Dial. c. Marc.* sec. 1. Compare Lardner, *Hist. of Heretics*, book ii. ch. x. sec. 32. and Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 492, note.

§§ He retouched the fact of the garments of Jesus being divided, because foretold by the Psalmist. (Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 42.)

|||| Tertull. *De Carne Christi*, c. 5. *Adv. Marc.* lib. iii. c. 8.

¶¶ Tertull. *De Carne Christi*, lib. iii. c. 5. Orig. *Dial. c. Marc.* sec. 2.

** Orig. *Dial. c. Marc.* sec. 2.

††† See Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* tom. i. p. 358.

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Marcion seems to have differed from the Gnostics of his Age in not professing to be acquainted with secret traditions, under the cover of which he could neglect and despise received notions: he confined himself to the Scriptures; but then he pretended to be able to discern parts genuine and parts corrupted, and parts spurious, in these Scriptures. He corrected what he conceived to have been altered with as much boldness and presumption as he rejected what he imagined to have been interpolated. His system, ushered forth at a time when the Church was exposed to the attacks of the Pagan Philosophers, of the Jews, and of the numerous Sects of Heretics, was peculiarly dangerous,* inasmuch as it tended to shake and confound the very foundations on which the weight of Christian evidences must rest. Entire fabrications were, perhaps, less to be dreaded than such attempts, because less specious and less likely to entangle the inexperienced examiner. Marcion, doubtless, availed himself of the circumstance, that a great variety of forged Works, tales and legends, Gospels and Acts, were circulated in all quarters, in order to give an appearance of plausibility to his efforts. He observed, that in the time of St. Paul's false Apostles had endeavoured to corrupt Evangelical truths, and connecting this remark with supposed contradictions in the Sacred Volume, he very rashly concluded that, even in the earliest time, the contents of the New Testament had suffered from falsification. A slight view of the chief alterations which he made, will be sufficient to give an idea of the extent to which he carried his critical reform. Marcion wholly rejected the Old Testament,† as proceeding from the Demiurge, whose Law it was, in his opinion, the object of Christ's mission to destroy.‡ To attempt to unite the Old with the New Testament, according to his interpretation, was to put "new wine into old bottles," and "a piece of a new garment upon an old."¶ He wrote a work called *Antitheses*,¶ in which he opposed passages of the Old and New Testament, with a view of showing from the disagreement of the Law and Gospel, that the same God could not be the author of both. For instance, he contrasted (without considering that the scheme of Revelation, gradually developed, was adapted to the different capacities and situations of Man under the old and under the new dispensations) the *Lex Talionis*, in the Old Testament, with the Forgiveness of Injuries in the New; the interference of Moses in a quarrel between the two Israelites, with the non-interference of Christ between the two brethren, on the subject of a division of their inheritance; the Mosaic permission of divorce, with the Christian prohibition of it, except in cases of adultery.* He considered the Deluge as a proof of mutability, and consequent imperfection, in the God of the Old Testament: as if the vicissitudes of human affairs necessarily implied a change in the Divine nature.†† He objected, too, that God was represented as repenting; without observing that it is the poverty of language, and the limited nature of our faculties, which induce the necessity both of describing things spiritual by metaphors drawn from things sensible, and of speaking of the

effects of the Divine operations in modes of expression which are strictly applicable only to the workings of human feelings and passions. He urged as objections the ceremonies of the Mosaic Law, the institution of sacrifices, the distinction of meats, and the command given to the Israelites to plunder the Egyptians, and other points. These objections were refuted by Tertullian, who wrote five Books against his Heresiarch. In the first he shows the absurdity of supposing that the Supreme Deity is different from the Creator; in the second, he exposes the weakness of the arguments by which this absurdity was defended; in the third, he proves that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, who was the Creator and the Author of the Jewish dispensation; he then reconciles the supposed contradiction between the Old and the New Testament, showing, in the fourth Book, that St. Luke's Gospel, and also in the fifth, that St. Paul's Epistles, are in harmony with the Jewish Scriptures. In his Work on the *Flesh of Christ*, he proves against Marcion and other Heretics, that Christ took real and human flesh; and in his *Treatise on the Resurrection of the Flesh*, he refutes those persons who denied that the body would rise again.* We have also a very curious refutation of the doctrine of Marcion, in the *Dialogus contra Marcionitas*, sive de *Reclis in Deum fide*,† ascribed, though wrongly, to Origen. To confirm his doctrine, Marcion expunged from the New Testament all quotations from the Old Testament, and all passages that referred to the Law or Prophets.

Marcion compiled a Gospel,‡ chiefly from St. Luke, (though without calling it by his name,) whom he appears to have selected, because that Evangelist had been the companion of St. Paul, the great opposer of the Judaizing Christians. This preference for St. Luke has also been explained by the circumstance that his Gospel contained not the account of the Marriage at Cana, and of some Parables, not corresponding with Marcion's aversion to all pleasures and enjoyments.§ This reason appears to be insufficient, as Marcion would doubtless have expunged these passages with as much temerity as he rejected the genealogy and baptism of Christ, and the history of the Temptation,|| from the Gospel, which he is said to have received in the main. It is not easy to account for his rejection of a Gospel so deeply revered in Asia Minor, as that of St. John, with whose disciples he was acquainted.¶ On this subject we are unwilling to hazard conjectures. If the Ancients have shown prejudice in avoiding to give us minute information respecting the modes of reasoning by which Marcion was led to pretend that certain passages were spurious, far greater prejudice has in modern times been evinced by the assertion that the Marcionites were "enlightened septs" who present the "first specimen of Biblical criticism."** To have learned exactly the successive steps by

the 11th Century.

Tertull. Adv. Marcionem.

De Carne Christi, De Resurrectione Carnis, Dialog. de Reclis Fide.

Marcion's Gospel.

Circumstances.

* Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* tom. i. p. 351.

† Galat. ch. ii. v. 4.

‡ Orig. *Thad. c. Marc.* sec. 2.

§ *Ibid.* sec. 1.

¶ *Fed. Euphr. Har.* p. 203.

¶ Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. ix. c. 1.

** Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* and Orig. *Diad. c. Marc.*

†† *Ibid.*

* See Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, from p. 474 to 505.

† It was published in 1673 in 4to. with Notes by J. R. Wettstein, who considers it as the work of Origen. See, however, Rivet, *Crit. Sacr.* lib. ii. 13. Beaus. *Hist. de Marc.* tom. ii. p. 84.

‡ *Iren. Adv. Her.* lib. i. c. 27, &c. Marcion omitted the two first chapters of St. Luke.

§ Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* tom. i. p. 334.

¶ The Gospel of Marcion (which some deny to have been grounded on St. Luke) has exercised the pens of Semler, Læffler, Condi, Eichhorn, Schmidt, Storr, Paulus, Hug, Ameth, Schütz, Gratz, Nander, Hahn, and Olshausen. (Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* p. 357. *Fide. Bib. Græc.* ed. Hart. tom. vii. p. 180, note.) See also, particularly, Simon's *Hist. Crit. du Nouv. Test.* and Marsh's *Atheism*, vol. iii.

** Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* tom. i. p. 334.

¶ Eichhorn, cited by Matter, p. 355.

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which Marcion arrived at these false conclusions, would have furnished us with additional instances of the mistakes to which unsound principles of criticism and logic infallibly lead: but, as far as we can now discover, it seems most just to conclude, that, with the exception of slight variations in consequence of different readings, sometimes, perhaps, caprice, and sometimes, perhaps, the adoption of false rules of interpretation and reasoning,* but far more often the desire of removing obstacles to an assumed hypothesis, were, in this case, as in many others, the principal sources of innovation. One useful result must, however, follow from the inquiry; it has led to the examination of Christian evidences, and to the collation of manuscripts in ancient languages, by which we can now illustrate the authority and genuineness of the Canonical Books of the New Testament.

It would be foreign from our purpose to enter into a review of the different texts which Marcion altered; they will be found amply detailed by Epiphanius: some may be considered as only the various readings found in manuscripts,† but by far the most are, we think, gross and deliberate corruptions, designed to prevent the objections to which the system of Marcion was exposed. It ought, however, to be added, that he avoided expunging every text which militated against his opinions. Tertullian supposes that he so acted in order that, since he left what he might have omitted, it might be denied with greater plausibility, that he had erased any passage, or, at least, erased it without sufficient cause.‡ To prove that these alterations were unauthorized, his opponents adopted the only course of argument which remained by which he might be refuted, viz. to establish the superior antiquity, and the consequent genuineness, of their copies of the Gospel of St. Luke.§

Marcion rejected the *Acts* of the Apostles. Indeed his New Testament consisted only of two parts; the *Gospel* being chiefly that of St. Luke, mutilated and

altered, and the *Apostolicon*, consisting of ten of the *Epistles* of St. Paul, also, for the most part, for similar reasons, mutilated and altered. The *Epistles* which he admitted are the following, in the order in which he arranged them: the *Epistle to the Galatians*, first and second to the *Corinthians*, *Epistle to the Romans*, first and second to the *Thessalonians*, to the *Ephesians*, which he called to the *Laodicene*, to the *Colossians*, to *Philemon*, to the *Philippians*. Some variations appear to have been made by the followers of Marcion subsequent to the time of Tertullian.*

The conduct of the Marcionites in general appears not to have been marked by immorality. When Tertullian † taunts them by asking why, if they acted consistently with their opinion, that the Deity, being of absolute Goodness, was not to be feared, they did not comply with the pleasures and vices of the Heathens, and save their lives in times of persecution by offering incense to idols? it is quite evident from the tenour of his argument, that their actual practice (whatever may have been the supposed consequences of their principles) was apparently free from reproach.‡ As a proof of their sincerity, many of them are said to have submitted to martyrdom.§ In times of persecution, according to Epiphanius, they abstained from animal food.|| They were in the habit of fasting, especially on the Sabbath, as being the day on which the Demiurge, or God of the Jews, towards whom they were anxious to show no respect, created the world and rested. The same principle of opposing the Creator, and of combating Matter which is Evil, which led them to subdue the body by fasting, and to embrace martyrdom with the greater cheerfulness as the means of being delivered from this corporeal prison, also induced them to extol virginity,¶ always to despise, and sometimes to forbid marriage, by which the world of the Demiurge is peopled.** Regarding the Good Deity as holding married life in detestation, they admitted none to Baptism but the unmarried,†† none to the Eucharist but such as renounced the connubial state.‡‡ For these two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, they observed, though it appears not in all respects in the regular manner.§§

We are also informed that they had their own

* It is a very melancholy fact, but one which cannot justify the conduct of Marcion, that some, even among the Orthodox, are charged with having retrenched certain passages, because they appeared to them to ascribe too great a degree of human weakness to our Lord. For instance, Epiphanius says, that in the copies of St. Luke which had not been corrected, it was written that Jesus had wept, but the Orthodox had expunged the words: *ἐβόησεν καὶ ἔκλυσε τὰ ὦτα, φεβήσας αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν ἄγγελον*. (Epiph. in *Anac.* c. 31.) The account of Christ's Agony in the garden, and the Angel strengthening him, was also effaced in many copies: *Nec autem ignorandum nolui est, et in Græcia et in Latinis codicibus compluribus vel de adolescentis Angelo vel de sudore sanguinis nihil scriptum reperiri.* (Hist. de Tris. lib. c.) See Daille, *De l'usage des Pères*, p. 63, and Lardner's *Hist. of Heret.* p. 252.

† As instances of emendation, not intended to mutilate, and perhaps even correct. In *Epistle to Galatians*, ch. v. v. 9, he reads *ἵνα*, "corrupteth," for *ἵνα*, "leaveneth."

‡ Epiphanius says, that Marcion changed *ἀγνός*, in first *Epistle to Corinthians*, ch. x. v. 9. into *ἄγνός*. But *ἄγνός* is the reading in our copies. He accuses him with having added *ἵνα*, in *Epistle to Thessalonians*, ch. ii. v. 15. It is in our copies. In second *Epistle to Corinthians*, ch. iv. v. 4. Marcion explained *θεὸς τοῦ κόσμου* to mean the Demiurge: to avoid the objection, Irenæus, and other ancient, place a comma after *θεός*, and refer *αὐτὸν τοῦ κόσμου* to *ἀνθρώπου*; a singular instance of rash criticism.

§ *Et Marcion quædam contraria sibi, illi credo industria erodere de Evangelio suo noluit, ut ex his quæ erodere potuit, nec erant, illa quæ erant, aut negaret, erantque, aut merito erant dicitur.* (Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. iv. c. 43.)

¶ *Ego meum dico verum: Marcion noster. Ego Marcionis affirmo adulterari, Marcion meum. Quis inter nos determinabit, nisi temporis ratio, et præscribens auctoritatem, quod antiquus repperit, et ei præjudicium vitæ rationem, quod posterius revincent?* (Ibid. lib. 4.)

|| See Epiphanius, *Adv. Heret.* c. 10, &c.

* At least this seems the best way of reconciling Epiphanius with Tertullian on c. ix. where the former asserts that the *Epistle to Philemon* was totally corrupted; the latter that it, by reason of its brevity, had escaped the falsifying hands of Marcion.

† *Age itaque, qui Decem non times quod bonum quid non in omnem habundantiam tribuas, omnium quidem fructum vult omnibusque Deum non times?* Quod non frequentius tu, plenius voluptatibus Circæ farnatis, et castæ severitatis et scenæ lascivientis? Quid non et in perperculibus statim oblata occidit animam negotio lucraris?

‡ *Abst, inquit, abst. Ergo jam times delictum, et tunc probasti illum timere qui prohibet delictum.* (Adv. Marc. lib. i. c. 27.)

§ Lardner, *Hist. of Heret.* book iii. ch. x. sec. 26.

¶ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 16. Eusebius, p. 97. Clemens Alexandrinus says, that some men hastened to deliver themselves to be put to death, out of aversion to the Demiurge; (Strom. lib. ii.) he alludes in all probability to the Marcionites.

|| *Har. 42. c. 12.* See, however, Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. i. c. 14.

¶ *Epiph. Adv. Marc.* c. 3.

†† Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. i. c. 10.

‡‡ *Ibid.* lib. i. c. 29, &c.

§§ *Ibid.* lib. ii. c. 5. *Nec alibi conjuncta ad sacramentum Baptismi et Eucharistiam admittens, non inter se conjunxerunt ad eorum fructum implendum, ut ad eorum ipsum creatorum.* (Ibid. lib. ii. c. 34.) Compare Clem. Alexandr. *Strom.* lib. iii. p. 43.

¶¶ They permitted women to baptize. (Epiph. *Har. 42.*) They used water in the cup. (Ibid.) They often repeated Baptism many times. (Ibid.)

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Conduct as
the customs
of the Marcion
ites.

History. churches.* Such seem to be the most important particulars which remain of the manners of the Marcionites. The obvious fact, that nearly all their follies and absurdities may be traced to their very erroneous idea of the Creator of the universe, affords a striking proof of the danger of adopting a single false principle.

Lucian. Lucian, or Leucius,† was one of the disciples of Marcion, who designed, by certain modifications, to improve his system, and who appears to have formed a distinct Sect.‡ We are not, however, informed in what particular respects he deviated from his master. He agreed with him in holding the doctrine of the three Principles,§ Good, Just, and Evil; he proscribed marriage in order to oppose the economy of the Demiurge;|| and he denied the reality of the body of Christ.¶ With him, also, Lucian regarded the souls of animals to be of the same kind as the souls of men; ** and hence it is, that he allowed the resurrection as well of the former as of the latter.†† According to Tertullian,‡‡ he supposed that neither the body nor the soul would be raised, but a sort of third substance: which opinion is represented as being derived from Aristotle.

Temples. Lucian is chiefly known as being the author of numerous forgeries: among others, the *History of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*; the *Proteangelion*, or *Gospel of James*; the *Gospel of Nicodemus*; the *Acts or Journeyings of the Apostles*, &c. §§ Dr. Lardner closes his view of these Apocryphal works with the following judicious remark:—"One obvious conclusion to be drawn from this long account of the forgeries of Leucius is, that the Scriptures of the New Testament, particularly the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, were then received with distinguished respect, and regarded as writings of great authority: otherwise he would not have thought of publishing books under the names of the Evangelists and Apostles. Besides, these forged writings do not oppose, but confirm the general account given us in the Canonical Scriptures. They all take for granted the dignity of our Lord's person, and His power of working Miracles; they acknowledge the certainty of there having been such persons as Matthew and the other Evangelists; and Peter and the other Apostles. They authenticate the general and leading facts contained in the New Testament. They presuppose that the Apostles received from Christ a commission to propagate His Religion, and a supernatural

power to enforce its authority. And thus they indirectly establish the truth and Divine original of the Gospel."

Apelles, also a celebrated disciple of Marcion, considerably altered the system of his master.

He pretended to have received instructions by Revelation, (which he afterwards committed to writing, and published under the title *Θεωπάρεσις*),* from a female fanatic called Philumene; a circumstance which may be considered, indeed, as indicative of a mind, the powers of which were clouded and controuled by an overheated imagination, but is certainly not in itself a proof that Apelles had contrived, with the dexterity of impostors, to turn speculation into a handmaid of sensuality. The chief points in which he differed from Marcion were the following: he held but one Principle;† one God of perfect goodness, nameless, or ineffable, unbegotten, who (probably by emanation) created the Angels, and also another Power;‡ or inferior God, or rather glorious and Fiery Angel,§ namely, the Demiurge, the God of the Jewish nation.|| This Fiery Angel, having drawn down by earthly allurements the Souls of men from their super-celestial seats, encompassed them with sinful flesh.¶ He supposed that the distinction of the sexes, which exists in the bodies, was derived from these Souls, which were male and female.** Apelles, without supposing that the body of Christ was a mere phantasm, denied that He was born of the Virgin Mary; maintaining, that in His descent from Heaven,†† He borrowed a kind of aerial form from the substances of the upper world and the sidereal regions.‡‡ In support of this doctrine, he appealed to the words of Christ, "Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?"§§ and, in illustration of it, he referred to the Angels, whom he represented as assuming a human body, without having entered the womb.|| This ethereal body Christ, on His ascension to Heaven, returned to the stars and the elements from which it had been derived.¶¶ By this theory Apelles doubtless thought to obviate the objection of the Marcionites, that to admit the reality of the body of Christ was to admit the reality of His birth; and therefore His connection with the Demiurge, who created the human body.*** But what, according to his system, was the object of Christ's mission, and what the entire scheme of Apelles? In our opinion, formed from a collation of passages,††† the following: The Demiurge

Heretics of the 11th Century.

Apelles.

Hold one Principle.

Christ's body a real but ethereal substance.

General note.

* *Facient ferus vesper, facient ecclesia* at Marcionite. Tertull. *adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. c. 5.

† Called in Epiphanius Lucian the Elder, (*Hier.* 43. c. 1.) Tertullian (*De Resur. Carn.* c. 2.) and Origen (*c. Cris.* lib. ii.) call him Lucian. He seems to be the same Heretic who is sometimes called Leucius, Leicius, Leucius, Lenitius, Leontius, Leuticus, Seleucus, Lucius, Charinus, Nerocharides, and Leonides. (*Lard. Hist. of Her.* book ii. ch. xiii. sect. 6.)

‡ Epiphanius. *Hier.* 43. c. 1. He adds, that this Sect no longer existed in his time.

§ *Abd.* Photius says, that Lucian represented the God of the Jews as a Evil Being, and Simon Magus as his minister, and called Christ Father and Son. (*Cod.* 114.)

|| *Abd.* In defence of his aversion to the Demiurge, he appealed to Malachi, ch. iii. v. 14, 15.

¶ Phot. *Cod.* 114.

** Philast. *Hier.* 47.

†† Phot. *Cod.* 114. *Abd.*

‡‡ Tertull. *De Res. Carn.* c. 2.

§§ For an account of these forgeries, see Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.*; Jones, *Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the Books of the New Testament*; and Lardner's *Hist. of Heretics*, book ii. ch. xi.

* *Le crédule enthousiasme d'Apelles pour une femme est causé par des croyances analogues qui, dans l'antiquité et dans les temps modernes, dans la Grèce civilisée comme dans la sauvage Germanie, en Italie comme en Suède, ont attribué aux femmes des oracles et des révélation dont la débauchée de leur être semblait les rendre plus susceptibles que les hommes.* (Matter, *Hist. du Gnosticisme*, tom. i. p. 413, note.) Tertullian accuses Apelles of some impurity, but see Lard. *Hist. of Her.* p. 316.

† Rhod. ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 13. Epiphanius. *Hier.* 44. c. 1, &c.

‡ Philast. *Hier.* 47.

§ Tertull. *de Praescr.* c. 34. *De Carne Christi.* c. 8, &c.

|| Tertullian's words are, *Ab igneo Angelo, Deo advenit Invenia et nostro.* (*De Anim.* c. 23.) On the origin of this notion compare Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 506, with Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* p. 416.

¶ Tertull. *de Anima.* c. 23.

** *Abd.* c. 36.

†† Append. ad Tertull. *de Praescr.*

‡‡ *Id. de Carne Christi.* c. 1.

§§ *Abd.* c. 7.

|| *Abd.*

¶¶ Epiph. *Hier.* 41.

*** See Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 444.

††† *Deum, qui hunc mundum condidit, ad gloriam alterius ingenui et boni Dei eum construxisse pronuntiavit.* (Pamphil. *pro Orig.* op. *Ep. Hie.*

History.
Analysis of
his System.

was not in his nature evil, but only imperfect; he created the world for the glory of the Unbegotten God, the God essentially Good; but, being unable to prevent the introduction of Evil into the world, he repented of his work. Hence the Demiurge requested the Unbegotten God to send His Son, Jesus Christ, in order to amend and correct the world which he had formed. In process of time his request was granted, his purpose effected. The Souls of men were to be saved; but the body, composed of gross matter, the work of imperfection, was not to rise again.*

Apelles appears not to have utterly rejected the Old Testament;† he published many writings, in the form and under the title of *Sylogisms*, in which the truth and authority of Moses were denied, or called in question,‡ in consequence of certain supposed contradictions or improbabilities.

Discussion
with Rhodon.

Eusebius has preserved an account of a short discussion between Rhodon and Apelles; in which the latter, then advanced in years, and remarkable for his austere gravity, perplexed by the arguments of his opponent, answered, that the investigation of the Divine Nature was fraught with difficulty; that the mind, exhausted by perpetual inquiry, must at length rest in faith; that though he could not explain how God was unbegotten, yet he firmly embraced the doctrine. He thought that all who believed in Christ crucified would be saved, provided their works should be found to have been good. Rhodon regarded these arguments as deserving nothing more or better than a smile. Lardner considers them as a testimony of the piety and the charitableness of Apelles' principles.§

Thus different is his scheme from that of Marcion: in it the Supreme God is not utterly unknown; the mission of Christ was not against the wish of the Demiurge; His design was not to overthrow, but to amend the old system; His body was not mere appearance, but substantial. Apelles quoted, as a saying of our Saviour, and as in His Gospel, though it is not in our copies, "be good money-changers;" meaning, separate what is useful from all parts of the Scripture, as the money-changers distinguish what is genuine from what is counterfeit.

Gnostics of
Egypt.

In Egypt, the fertile parent of mysteries and emblems, and, at this period, the seat as well of the various Sects of Greek Philosophers as of Judaism, strangely blended with Platonic and Pythagorean theories, the Gnostics borrowed largely from the different systems then flourishing, and found in the ancient tra-

ditions of that country, the notion of an Unknown* Supreme Deity, who had manifested Himself by a series of emanations, one of which was the Creator.

Heretics of
the II^d
Century.

Christianity too, it may be remarked, had been taught in Egypt with a greater display of learning and subtility; and the instructions of Pantanus, Clemens, and Origen, combined, occasionally, with the advantages of the Library of Alexandria, in investing speculations with the riches and lustre of erudition.†

BASILIDES.

Basilides flourished in the IInd century, chiefly in the time of Hadrian. Inquiries into the Origin of Evil,—involving, as a preliminary step, a view of the origin of the world, and, as connected points, the History of the Jewish State, and the theory of Man's Redemption,—then principally exercised the reasoning, or rather the imaginative, powers of the converted portion of the Philosophic world. Basilides was drawn into the common vortex of speculation. He was aware that the hypotheses, as well of the Ancients as of his contemporaries, could not be regarded as affording any satisfactory solution of the disputed question. This consideration should have taught him the vanity of systems; unfortunately, it only instigated him to systematize. Imagining, doubtless, that, notwithstanding the alloy of error, there was some solidity and value mixed up in the various notions of the Platonists and Pythagoreans as then modified, of the Cabalistic Jews and the Christian Heretics, he attempted to combine select parts of their respective principles. He admitted the main point, on which nearly all the hypotheses, then prevalent, may be said to hinge; viz. that the world had been created, not by the immediate operation of the Supreme Being, but, with His tacit consent, by the agency of inferior Intelligences, or *Æons*, (who emanated from Him), in whose want of skill originated Evil.‡ This was the common theory: the various genealogies, offices, and actions of these Intelligences formed the points of difference.

Process of
thought.

Fundamen-
tal point.

It is a singular instance of the weakness which is found in intellects, otherwise acute, that Basilides should not have perceived that this theory offered no solution of the great difficulty. The simple question always returns: Why did God permit these unskillful architects to attempt a work for which they were unqualified? But illogical in themselves, and pernicious as contradicting the Divine authority, as these opinions were, it should, in common charity, be remembered, that they often arose from an anxiety "to vindicate the ways of God to Man." These Heretics always denied that such Heresies were subversive of Christianity.

The following is a sketch of his particular plan:—

* Amon, or Amon-Re, is like the *æon* *Ægyptiens* of the Gnostics. See Champollion, *Pantheon Egyptien*.

† Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* tom. ii. p. 4.

‡ According to other explanations, Basilides maintained that the Powers of Darkness, who bordered upon the lowest world of the Pure Intelligences, having perceived their light, and being struck with the desire of alarum, it, violently broke into their realms, and thus the two Empires of Light and Darkness were mixed and confounded; in order to separate them, therefore, God caused this world to be created. Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* tom. ii. p. 63.

ron. tom. v.) *Angelum quendam incognitum nominant (Apellianum) qui mundum hunc instituerit, et instituto eo penitentiam admiserit.* (Tertull. de Carne Christi, c. 8.) *Ilum autem ingratum Deum in consummatione sæculi misit Jesus Christus ad emendationem mundi, rogatum ab eo Deus qui eum creavit, ut mitteret filium suum ad mundi sui correctionem.* (Pamph. pro Orig.)

* Tertull. de Præc. c. 33, &c.

† *Læet non omnibus modis Dei esse legem draquet et prophetas.* (Pamph. pro Orig.) Compare, however, Rhodon. ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 13.

‡ Comp. Rhodon. ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 13. *App. ad Tertull. de Præc.* with Origen, (in *Gen. Hom.* 2.) from which it appears that Apelles denied the ark could hold the creatures mentioned; and Ambrose, (*De Paradiso*, c. 5.) where one of his difficulties is thus cited, *Quomodo lignum vite plus operari videtur ad vitam, quam insufflatio Dei? &c.*

§ *Hist. of Heret.* p. 330.

History.

The Supreme Being, the Unbegotten and Nameless Father, perfectly Wise and Good, produced from His own substance Intelligence, (Νοῦς;) Intelligence produced the Word; (Λόγος;) the Word, Prudence; (Φρόνησις;) Prudence produced Wisdom (Σοφία) and Power; (Δύναμις;) Wisdom and Power produced the Angels.* These Angels were of different Orders: of these Orders the first formed, as their abode, the First Heaven; the second, produced by the former, and inferior, the Second Heaven; and so on till the 365th, still degenerating, produced (if Irenæus may be relied upon) the 365th Heaven †

The Angels, who occupy the last of these Heavens, which is visible to us, touching on matter, eternal, self-animated, maleficent, formed out of this shapeless mass the world, and a new Order of beings as its inhabitants. The Supreme Being approved of their world, endowed Man, who had received from them but animal life, with a reasonable Soul, and left him subject to the government of the Angels. But acquired power corrupted their original purity. The Angels endeavoured to extinguish the knowledge of the Supreme Being, and to establish their own worship. On a distribution of the world, the Prince of the Angels of this lower Heaven, in which is found the Earth, had the Jewish nation for his share. His power was displayed by the prodigies which he wrought in their favour. Turbulent and ambitious, he aspired to submit all nations to the Jews, so as to seize the undivided sovereignty of the whole earth. Then the other Angels leagued against him, and the hatred against the Jews became deep and universal. Hence the wars, the disasters, the miseries, of that nation.

It ought to be here observed, that the notion of different nations being each under the protection and government of an Angel, was familiar to the Jews. In Deut. ch. xxxii. v. 8, 9; where we find in our version, "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people," according to the number of the children of Israel; "the Septuagint has translated the last words, "according to the number of the Angels of God;" Allusion to this notion occurs in Daniel, ch. x. v. 20, 21; where the Angel says to the Prophet, "Now will I return to fight with the Prince of Persia; and when I am gone forth, lo, the Prince of Grecia shall come. But I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth; and there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your Prince."‡ After the captivity, the Jews made curious inquiries into the nature and offices of Angels, and gradually began to worship them. The Sect of Angelists seems to have existed in the first Ages of the Church. St. Paul says in his Epistle to the Colossians, (ch. ii. v. 18.) "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a volun-

tary humility (affecting humility) and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind."^a

Theodoret and Eusebius remark that the worship of Angels continued long in Pisidia, Phrygia, and Laodicea, near to Colosse, where they had "Oratories of St. Michael, the Captain of the Lord's host," as he is called in Joshua.† In the *Book of the Pastor* it is said, that the Christians, as soon as they believe, are under the government of Michael, "the Good Messenger," saith Irenæus, "being Michael, who hath the government over his people."‡

Since the ambition and jealousy of the Angel-Creators of the world had thus existed, mankind had pined under their tyranny. In compassion for their miseries, the Unbegotten and Nameless Father sent his first-begotten *Noûs*, or Divine Intelligence, who is Christ,§ to free such as would believe in Him, and to destroy the Empire of the Angels.

This *Noûs*, or Christ, the Chief of the *Æons*, descended into the man Jesus, at his baptism, and, using him as an instrument, revealed to mankind the knowledge of the true God, and performed various miracles. This object being accomplished, the man Jesus was crucified, but not the Christ, who was united to Him only as far as the functions of his ministry required. Basilides maintained, therefore, that it was not the crucified man, who was but the Son of God, who was the object of faith.

Irenæus,|| however, says, that in the scheme of Basilides, it was Simon the Cyrenian who was crucified, having been transformed into the likeness of Jesus, who Himself assumed the shape of Simon, stood by, and smiled at the illusion of his enemies, and afterwards ascended to Heaven. This absurd story, the origin of which cannot be traced, is, in the judgment of the very acute Beausobre,¶ unworthy of credit. It is said, indeed, to have been in consequence of it, that the followers of Basilides decried martyrdom, which was suffering not for Christ, but for Simon. But it is more probable that they disparaged it because Basilides considered all the pains and sufferings of this life as penalties inflicted by Divine justice. It was in his opinion utterly inconsistent with the righteousness of God to suffer the innocent to be punished: in answer, therefore, to the examples of Martyrs, which the Orthodox urged as an objection, he maintained that no man is without fault, that God punished in man either criminal desires, or actual, though secret, crimes, or

the 11th Century.

System of Basilides. Mission of Christ.

Story of the substitution of Simon in the room of Jesus.

Contempt for Martyrdom.

* Theodoret thus explains the passage: "They who advocated the Law, persuaded men to worship Angels, because, according to them, the Law was given by Angels. And this they advised, pretending faith with humility, by saying, that the God of the Universe was invisible, inaccessible, and incomprehensible, and that it was fit that these favours should be procured by means of Angels." (In loc.)

† Ch. v. 14, 15. *Βίβλος τοῦ ἀγίου Μιχαὴλ*. Euseb. ap. Haeschel. N.4. in Orig. p. 231. Whittby, in Col. ch. ii. v. 18.

‡ Whittby, in Col. ch. h. v. 18. Plinquet, *Hist. des Hérés. Art. Angeliques*.

§ Basilides called the Saviour *Caulaeus*, (Theod. *Hæc. Fab. lib. i. c. 4.*) from Isaiah, ch. xxvii. v. 10, where our Translation is "line upon line," but the Septuagint, *ἡλικία τοῦ ἡλικίου*, "hope upon hope." See Cledonius, *Deus de Causatione*; Nicetas, *Deus de Salvatore*; Causatione dicta; Brucker, *Deus de Causatione Basilidianorum*, (in *Abbas. Helvet. part. xxi. p. 229.*); Matter, *Hist. de Gnost. tom. ii. p. 89.*

|| Iren. *Adv. Hæc. lib. i. c. 24.*
¶ *Hist. de Manich. tom. ii. p. 25.* and see also Mosheim, *de Reb. Christ. p. 354.* It may, probably, have been the notion of some Basilidian.

* Among the *Æons*, Clemens Alexandrinus also mentions Justice and Peace.

† Iren. *Adv. Hæc. lib. i. c. 24.*

‡ *Ὁς ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγγέλων*. Bochart conjectures that they had a bad copy before them, which left out the three first letters of Israel, and thus they read *Βασίλ*, the children of God, meaning the Israelites. Instead of which some transcribers put the *Angels* of God, who are sometimes called his sons (Patrick, in loc.). Compare Arnald's *Commentaries on the Book of Ecclesiastes*, ch. xiv. v. 17. "In the division of the nations of the whole earth, he set a ruler over every people, but Israel is the Lord's portion."

§ See also Beausobre. *Hist. de Manich. tom. ii. p. 16.*

History. sins committed in a previous state of existence. This argument led Basilides to assert that Jesus, though a man of the greatest excellence, since the Divine Intelligence had chosen Him as its organ, was not absolutely impeccable. It is better, he said, to make any supposition, than to admit that Providence could be the author of any evil, which would be the ease on the admission that undeserved sufferings had been inflicted on any one. It appears, then, that the disciples of Basilides undervalued martyrdom,* and probably on this account ate, without scruple, things offered to idols.† It is also affirmed, that the Basilidians, who said that God was to be loved and not feared,‡ regarded all kinds of lewdness as indifferent;§ an accusation which appears to have originated in an unfair construction of the opinions of Basilides, who, instead of falling into the common error of unreasonably extolling virginity, considered it not as a virtue in itself, but as a state of life, which, being free from incumbrances, might be occasionally convenient, especially in times of persecution.|| Clemens Alexandrinus, whose notices of Basilides are valuable, expressly says, that though some Basilidians led vicious lives, Basilides himself, and his son Isidore, taught a contrary course.¶ Indeed, so far from inculcating a lax morality, Basilides held that of sins committed before Baptism, those only would be remitted, which are involuntary and through ignorance.** It certainly appears very probable, that some of the followers of Basilides availed themselves of the construction of which, however unintentionally, his principles were susceptible, in order to abandon themselves to licentiousness.

Admits
Metempsychosis.

Basilides taught that the Soul could not be disengaged from the present body, in which it expiated sins committed in an anterior life, till it had been purified by successive transmigrations from body to body.

Two Souls.

He also adopted the Pythagorean notions of the two Souls in man, to explain the conflict between Reason and Passion.

But his system has, perhaps, acquired most note from a singular circumstance, arising from the adoption of Pythagorean ideas,†† from an imitation of the Caba-

listie and Oriental Philosophy, and from a fondness, so Hermetic of the 11th Century. common among the Egyptians, for a kind of hieroglyphical symbols. Basilides sought to know what numbers were most agreeable to the Supreme Intelligence: he fixed upon 365,* the number of days in the year, which he expressed by the word Abraxas, or Abraxas, (ΑΒΡΑΧΑΣ) compounded of Greek letters Abraxas. as numerical characters. It may be remarked, that these kinds of numerical designation were not rare at that period. Possibly Basilides meant to express by it the number of Intelligences which compose the Pieroma, or the Deity under various manifestations, or, perhaps, the Sun, in which Pythagoras supposes that the Intelligence resided which produced the world. This word Abraxas was graven on gems, of which a Gnostic Gems. very great number are found in the cabinets of antiquaries. This is the most common supposition respecting the origin of these gems; many, however, and widely different, have been the conjectures offered, for as yet nearly all that has been written on the subject is conjectural. It has exercised the learning of numerous writers, among whom may be reckoned not only Chifflet,‡ who republished with an ample commentary the work of J. Maenius, (Jean l'Heureux,) and Montfaucon,§ who are generally referred to, but

préme, avant la production du monde, ne les connaissait que par des nombres purement intelligibles. C'est donc, selon Pythagore, sur le rapport que l'Intelligence Supérieure apercevait entre les nombres intelligibles, qu'elle avait formé et réglé le plan du monde. Le rapport des nombres entiers n'est point arbitraire; l'ordre du rapport d'ignité entre deux fois deux et quatre, est un rapport nécessaire, indépendant, immuable. Puisque les rapports des nombres ne sont point arbitraires, et que l'ordre des productions de l'Intelligence Supérieure dépend du rapport qui est entre les nombres, il est clair qu'il y a des nombres qui ont un rapport essentiel avec l'ordre et l'harmonie, et que l'Intelligence Supérieure qui aime l'ordre et l'harmonie, suit dans son action ces rapports de ces nombres, et ne peut s'en écarter. La connaissance de ce rapport, où ce rapport est dans la loi qui dirige l'Intelligence Supérieure dans ses productions, et comme ces rapports s'expriment eux-mêmes par des nombres, on suppose dans les nombres une force et une puissance capable de déterminer l'Intelligence à produire certains effets plutôt que d'autres. D'après ces idées, on recherche qu'ils étaient les nombres qui plaissent davantage à l'Être Supérieur; on voit qu'il y avait un soleil, on jugea que l'unité était agréable à la Divinité; on vit sept planètes, on conclut encore que le nombre de sept était agréable à l'Intelligence Supérieure. Telle était la philosophie Pythagoricienne qui s'était répandue dans l'Orient, pendant le premier et le second siècle du Christianisme, et qui dura long-temps après. (Des. des Hérés. tom. i. p. 592.)

* Ut Basilides qui omnipotentem Deum appellat Abraxas, et eundem secundum Græcos litteras et auctori quatuor numeros dicit in suis sacris contineri: quos uti etiam in eorum numeris aliorum litterarum vocant Mythrom. (Hier. in Or. c. 3.)

A.....	1	M.....	40
B.....	2	E.....	5
P.....	100	I.....	10
A.....	1	Θ.....	9
Η.....	60	Ρ.....	100
A.....	1	Α.....	1
Γ.....	200	Σ.....	200

ΑΒΡΑΧΑΣ = 365

ΜΗΘΡΑΣ = 365

Mithras is the Deity of the Persians, or the Sun, who is also Apollo, the God of Healing.

† Irenæus says the Basilidians call the Prince of the Heaven Abraxas, the name having in it the number 365. (Adv. Hær. lib. i. c. 33.) So also Theodoret, Hær. Fab. lib. i. c. 1. Besides Jerome, the author of the Catalogue of Heretics, prefixed to Tertull. de Præscr. says, that the Supreme God of the Basilidians was called Abraxas. Compare Euseb. Hær. 24. c. 7. See also ENCYCLOPEDIA, Misc. Div. ABRAXAS.

‡ Macarii Abraxas, seu de Gemmis Basilidianis.
§ Palæograph. Græc. lib. ii. c. 8.

* Orig. in Mult. App. ad Tertull. de Præscript. Philast. Hær. 32. Epiph. Hær. 24. c. 4.

† Iren. Adv. Hær. lib. i. c. 24.

‡ Clem. Alexandr. Strom. &c.

§ Iren. Adv. Hær. lib. i. c. 23. Comp. Philast. Hær. 32. Epiph. Hær. 24. c. 3.

|| See his explanation of Matt. xiv. 10–15, quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, (Strom. lib. iii.) and explained by Beausobre, Hist. du Manich. tom. ii. p. 43.

¶ Strom. lib. iii. p. 427.

** Ibid. lib. iv. p. 536.

†† The following development of the notion of Pythagoras on the influence of numbers is given by the Abbé Pluquet — *Pythagore, dont Basilide avoit adopté les principes, reconnoissant, comme les Chaldéens ses maîtres, l'existence d'une Intelligence Supérieure, qui avoit formé le monde; ce philosophe vouloit connaître la fin que cette Intelligence s'étoit proposée dans la production du monde: il porta sur la nature un œil attentif, pour découvrir les lois qu'elle suit dans les phénomènes, et saisir le fil qui lient les événements. Ses premiers regards se portèrent vers le ciel, où l'auteur de la nature semble manifester plus clairement son dessein. Il y découvrit un ordre admirable et une harmonie constante; il jugea que l'ordre et l'harmonie constante qui régnoient dans le ciel, n'étoient que les rapports qui s'apercevoient entre les distances des corps célestes et leurs mouvements rétrogrades. La distance et le mouvement sont des grandeurs, ces grandeurs ont des parties, et les plus grandes ne sont que les plus petites, multipliez un certain nombre de fois, ainsi les distances, les mouvements des corps célestes s'expriment par des nombres, et l'Intelligence Su-*

History. also Salmasius,* Kircher,† Pignorius,‡ Augustinus,§ Goræus,|| Maffei,¶ Stoch,** Passerius,†† Bartolus,‡‡ Lippert,§§ Ficornius,||| and many others mentioned by Matter,¶¶ and others.***

But even the derivation of this enigmatic word Abraxas has been much contested; mysteries have been sought in the syllables, and even in the letters, which compose it. Beausobre and Lardner have concluded, from an examination of the subject,††† that Abraxas was not the God of the Basilidians; that this name signifies nothing but the Sun; that the figures found in Chifflet and Montfaucon are, for the most part, Egyptian; that there is no kind of proof that any of them belonged to the Basilidians; that those which have Iao, Sabaoth, &c. upon them, were the works of professors of magic, who were not Christians; and that some of these figures derived their origin from the Simonians and Ophites, who made no profession of Christianity.†††

It certainly appears to be an error to call every Gnostic gem an Abraxas, or every Abraxas a genuine Basilidian stone. It is probable that these gems were used as talismans, or amulets, intended to ensure the protection of Celestial Intelligences; as such, other Gnostics and even Heathens may, particularly in a Country like Egypt, so noted for hieroglyphics, by an impulse of superstition, have been led to imitate these supposed preservatives. Even the orthodox Christians, long after the Heresy of Basilides had expired, still used magical charms and amulets, as the language both of Fathers and Councils sufficiently attests. §§§

Montfaucon, who has given plates of a great number of these gems, has divided them into seven classes: the

first contains such as have at the top the head of a Cock, which is the symbol of the Sun; the second class such as have the head or body of a Lion, expressive of strength and the vehement heat of the Sun—on these is often the inscription Myhras; the third class such as have the figure or inscription of Serapis;* the fourth are Sphinxes, Apes, and animals of that kind; the fifth are human figures, with the names Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, &c.; the sixth are inscriptions without figures; the seventh such as have monstrous forms.

It is possible that from this expression Abraxas may have arisen the superstitious use of the word Abracadabra, described by Serenus Samonicus,† (the preceptor of the younger Gordian,) who has been ranked, apparently without cause, among the followers of Basilides.

Basilides pretended that his opinions were derived from Glaucias,† the interpreter of St. Peter, and also appealed to certain Prophetes of Barabbas and Barcoph or Panchor.§ He regarded the Propheties in the Old Testament as being given by the Angel-creators of the world, and the Law by their chief, who brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt.†† and through whose jealousy and machinations Jesus was sacrificed. It is evident, therefore, that, consistently with his view of the object of Christ's mission, he could not regard it as the duty of a Christian to receive and comply with the Jewish Scriptures. The New Testament, however, he appears, for the most part at least, to have admitted.¶ Besides composing Odes,** he wrote 24 Books of Commentaries upon the Gospel,†† which Work is, probably, the same†‡ which is called the Gospel of Basilides, mentioned by Origen,§§ Ambrose,||| and Jerome: ¶¶

Heretics of the 11th Century.

Montfaucon's classification.

Abracadabra.

* De Annis Climatibus et Antiqua Astrologia.

† Oelapso Aegyptiaca.

‡ Mena Inana.

§ Gemme et Sculptura Antiqua depicta, &c.

|| Dactyloticae, ed. Gronov.

¶ Gemme Antiche Figurata da Domenico de Rossi, &c.

** Gemme Antiche Colorate per B. Piccini.

†† Theaurus Gemmarum Astriferarum Antiquarum. Curd et studio Ant. P. Gori.

††† Museum Oedecolchum, s. Theaur. Antiqu. Gemmar.

§ Dactyloticae Universalia.

|| Gemme Antiquae litteratae aliisque rariore, ab A. P. H. Galletti.

¶¶ Hist. du Gnost. tom. ii. p. 52. He also refers to the notices of these Gems found in the following Tracts: La Poia, Discours sur les Médailles; Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastiques, tom. ii. p. 72; Sponius, Miscellanea Erudite Antiquitatis; De la Chausse, Romanum Museum; Molinet, Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève; Begeer, Theaurus Brandenburgicus; Fabretti, Inscriptiones Antiquae, &c.; Ebermyer, Theaurus Germanicus; Middleton, Germani Antiqu. Monumenta, &c.

*** A small work just published, entitled Essay on Ancient Coins, Medals, and Gems, as illustrating the Progress of Christianity in the Early Ages, by Dr. J. Walsh, contains some gems from the collection of Lord Strangford, &c.

††† Belierman maintains that it comes from the Coptic, the ancient language of Egypt: the syllable Saich (which the Greeks were obliged to convert into sa, or sa, or sa, as the last letter of this syllable could be expressed only by X, X, or Z) signifying word, and Abrak, blessed, h-y, odorable; Abraxas being, therefore, "the sacred word." Munter, who also derives it from the Coptic, makes it signify "the new word." (Mist. Hist. du Gnost. tom. ii. p. 50.) Beausobre derives it from Azei, which he renders magnificence, and either eia, I save, I heal, or eia, signifying safety or health. (Hist. du Manich. tom. ii. p. 53.) Wiedelin, compounding it of the initials of Hebrew and of Greek words, finds no difficulty in discovering in the word both the Trinity, and Salvation by the Cross: two doctrines, by the way, which correspond not with the notions of the Basilidians. (Miscell. Chifflet, vol. vi.)

†† Beausobre, Hist. du Manich. tom. ii. p. 68, and Lardner's Hist. of Heret. book ii. ch. ii. sec. 28.

††† Thiers, Traité des Superstitions, and Le Brun, Histoire Critique des Pratiques Superstitieuses, lib. iii.

* It is, perhaps, in consequence of the use of such amulets, that the Christians of Egypt were sometimes said to have adored Serapis: in the curious Letter of Adrian found in Vopiscus, Aegyptum, quum mihi laudibus, Serapim carissimum, totum didici fecim, produm, et ad omnia fana momenta voluimus. Illi, qui Serapim colant, Christiani sunt, devoti sunt Serapidi, qui se Christi episcopus dicunt. Nemo tibi archi-episcopus Judaeorum, nemo Samaritanus, nemo Christianorum Presbyter; non Matheniticus, non Arapez, non Aegyptus. Ipse ille Patriarcha, cum Aegyptum venerit, ab eis Serapiden adorare, ab eis cognitur Christianum. (Vit. Saturnini, p. 245.)

† Mortiferum magis est, quod Graeci hemitricum vulgatur verbum, hoc nautae dicere legimus.

Non potuerit illi, puto, nec voluerit perire.

Inscribitur Charis, quod dicitur Abracadabra,

Serpis et subter reptis, ad detractum suumam,

Et magis atque magis desinit elementa, si visis

Singula, quae semper rapit, et caetera fregit,

Donec in angustum redigatur litera conum,

His duo nervis colitur redimere membra, &c.

Serco. Sat. de Medic. n. 53.

That is, A B P A C A D A B F A

B P A C A D A B F A

P A C A D A B F A

A C A D A B F A

C A D A B F A

A D A B F A

D A B F A

A B F A

B F A

P A

A

† Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. p. 764.

†† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 7. Clem. Strom. lib. vi. p. 641.

††† Iren. Adv. Haer. lib. i. c. 63.

¶ See, however, Hier. in Epist. ad Tit. in Proem.

** See Graber, Specul. Patr. tom. ii.

†† Agripp. Castor op. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 7.

†† Beausobre, Hist. de Man. tom. ii. p. 3, 4.

††† Ilom. in Luc. lib. i.

¶ Pref. in Comm. in Luc.

¶† Ibid. in Matth.

History. a circumstance which proves that expositions on the New Testament were written at an early period, by which all attempts at alteration or corruption would scarcely have escaped being very soon discovered.*

versed.* In consequence of these last opinions, they are represented as having indulged in the grossest licentiousness, and as having given occasion to the dreadful calumnies† by which the early Christians were assailed.;

Heretics of the 1st Century.

CARPOCRATES. . . . Branches of Carpocratianism.

Carpocrates of Alexandria,† who lived in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, was the founder of the Sect of the Carpoctratians. Like the other Gnostics, they held the existence of one Supreme Principle, the Unknown and Unnamed Father,‡ and the formation of the visible world and all which is therein by Angels, much inferior to the Father.§

Doctrines. They regarded Jesus Christ as having been born, in the ordinary course of nature, of Joseph and Mary; but as having excelled other men not only by the holiness and virtue of His life, but by the wonderful firmness and purity of His mind, which had retained the remembrance of what He had seen, in a pre-existent state, with the Father. They admitted that He had been educated among the Jews, but had despised them, and had therefore obtained the power to surmount His sufferings, and afterwards ascended to the Father.||

Morality. The Carpoctratians boasted of resembling Christ, and even allowed, hypothetically speaking, that, if any person had a purer soul or despised, in a greater degree, the things here below, he might excel Him.¶ They had pictures of Christ and His Apostles, and also of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and other eminent men, whom they are said to have honoured with superstitious rites.** Carpoctrates maintained the notion of the Transmigration of the Soul, which must perform all which it was destined, before it can obtain rest. In support of his doctrine he cited the words of our Lord, "Verily, thou shalt not depart hence, until thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."††

But the Carpoctratians were chiefly stigmatized on account of the consequences which they drew from their Principles. They are charged with asserting, that there was nothing good or evil in itself; that the distinction between right and wrong was not real, but depended merely on human opinion;‡‡ an assertion which appears inconsistent with their view of the character of Christ, and which was, perhaps, applied not to moral duties, but to positive rites.‡‡ They are also said to have taught the community of women; a doctrine which, together with their notions of a pre-existent state, and of Metempsychosis, may be traced to Plato, in whose writings Carpoctrates and his son Epiphane (by whom the opinions of this Sect were much amplified, and to whom extraordinary honour was paid§§) were familiarly

Epiphane says the Carpoctratians rejected the Old Testament. It appears not certain that they rejected any part of the New.

The *Antitactics* pretended, it is said, that it was their duty to practise all which the Scriptures forbid, in the hope of again attaining that state of innocence and bliss in which Man had been originally placed by the Perfect and Good Being, and from which an evil and envious creature had drawn him, by infusing into his mind ideas of right and wrong; which have attached the feeling of shame to that which nature itself inspires, connected the notion of crime with that of happiness, remorse with pleasure, and, by leaving man tormented by opposite impulses—their propensities on the one side, and the Law on the other—filled the world with murmuring, with disorders, and with misery; such was the flimsy reasoning by which these infatuated men endeavoured to justify their opposition to the laws which regulate Society.§

Antitactics.

The general term *Gnostics* is applied to all those early Sects who pretended to possess a certain mysterious *gnosis*, or higher degree of religious knowledge, and a deeper acquaintance with the intellectual world than other men. But it was claimed, especially, by a branch of the Carpoctratians. They used several apocryphal Works, among others the Gospel of St. Philip. Their notions, which appear to have been almost Pantheistic, led to that utter disregard of external laws, by which they sank into the lowest effeminacy. They also thought that after death the Soul passes through kingdoms of various Intelligences, and that those which have not arrived at perfect *gnosis*, fall to the lot of the Prince of this world, who, in the form of a Dragon, devours them and casts them into the material world: then they are forced to begin again, in the shapes of various animals, their career of purification. The others pass into the region of Sabaoth, Prince of the World, bruise the Serpent's head, and enter into the abode of Barbelo,|| who is here substituted for the *Sophia* of the Gnostics.

Gnostics.

Among the Carpoctratian Heresies may, perhaps, be reckoned the Adamites and the Prodicians.

The *Adamites*¶ (if such a Sect really existed**) Adamites. affected to imitate the primitive conduct, even the nudity, of man in his state of innocence. At first, perhaps, irreproachable in their morals, though strangely misled by false reasoning and enthusiasm, they were naturally drawn, by the tendency of their principles,

* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. p. 428.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 7. Epiph. Her. 27, &c. The charge of promiscuous lewdness, cast against the Christians, was probably previous to the time of Carpoctrates, who flourished under Hadrian. Lardin. Hist. of Heret. p. 28.

‡ Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Camites.

§ Theod. Har. Fab. lib. i. c. 16. Plaque, Dict. des Heres. lib. i. p. 425, &c.

|| Hence another Sect is said to have been called Barbelotenes, or Barbelotites. On the derivation of the corrupt word Barbelo, see Beausobre, Hist. de Manich. tom. ii. p. 327. The Philonites, or Phenonites, were, also, as obscure and depraved branch of Carpoctratians.

¶ Epiph. Her. 52. See a curious passage from Evagrius, quoted in Plaque, Dict. des Heres. Art. Adamites.

** On this subject see the Dissertation of Beausobre in the *Biblioth. Germanique*. tom. ii. reprinted at the end of L'Enfant's *Histoire des Hérétiques*.

• Lardner's Hist. of Heretics, p. 123.

† Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. p. 428. Theod. Har. Fab. lib. i. c. 5. Epiphane calls him a Cephalian, (Her. 42. c. 3.)

‡ The *Narris Lysimachus* *daeniparous*, so often mentioned by the Gnostics, was both known in India and Persia, and even reached the West, as may be inferred from Acts, ch. xvii. v. 27.

§ Epiph. Her. 27. c. 11. Iren. Adv. Har. lib. i. c. 25, &c.

|| Iren. Adv. Har. lib. i. c. 25.

¶ Ibid.

** Ibid. Comp. Encyclopædia, p. 100.

†† Iren. Adv. Har. lib. i. c. 25.

‡‡ See Lardner's Hist. of Heret. p. 136.

§§ He wrote many Works, and is said to have been honoured after his death as a God at Sama, in Cephalonia, the birth-place of his mother. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. p. 428.

into corruptions, alike dangerous to themselves, and ruinous to the peace and regularity of Civil Society.*

The *Prodicians*, or followers of Prodicus, who is sometimes called the founder of the Adamites, are placed by some writers among the Valentinians. They are represented as having abandoned themselves to licentiousness, (though they kept private their vicious practices through fear,) under pretence that they were, by nature, the children of the Supreme Deity, and privileged to live without control, in whatever manner they chose.† They boasted of possessing certain secret books of Zoroaster,‡ who was, at that period, peculiarly venerated by Philosophical Heretics. They are, moreover, said to have denied the utility of Prayer,§ and the necessity of Martyrdom.||

VALENTINUS.

Disciples of Valentinus.

SECUNDUS, MARCUS, HERACLEON.
PTOLEMY, COLOBARSUS,

Lesser Gnostic Sects.

SETHIANS—CAINITES—OPHITES.

Valentinus was a native of Egypt, and flourished in the reign of Antoninus Pius. He is described as a man of eloquence and talent, who succeeded from the Church on being disappointed in his hope of obtaining a Bishopric. Valentinus supposed a Supreme Being, Infinite and Incomprehensible, dwelling in heights invisible and ineffable, and, therefore, called *Βυθός*, the Depth which the understanding cannot fathom; the *Προπάτωρ*, who hath always been, and who will always be. This is evidently the Unknown and Nameless Father, (the *Πατήρ ἄγνωστος*, the *Πατήρ ἀνονόμαστος*.) Eternal and Perfect, constantly found as the leading Principle in the Gnostic Systems.

The notion of Absolute Creation being rejected, the Supreme Being was considered as developing or sending forth what was hidden or concentrated in the Pleroma. This act produced certain Intelligences, or Hypostatical Manifestations of the Deity, called sometimes Developments, (*διαβάσεις*.) sometimes Powers, (*ἐνορμήεις*.) but more commonly Æons, (*αἰώνες*.) Such is the theory of Emanations, which, though adopted by the Gnostics before Valentinus, received from him considerable increase from the fertility of his speculative powers. New classifications of Æons, new names, new associations, peculiarly distinguish his doctrines.

The Supreme Deity, or *Bythos*, after having spent numberless Ages in silent repose, resolved to reveal Himself, and employed, for this purpose, *Ilis Thought*, (*Ἐννοία*.) who alone had dwelt with or within Him. *Ennoia*, who is not a manifestation, but the source of all manifestation, is also called *Χάρις* and *Σοφία*, her happi-

ness being perfect, and her essence ineffable. This notion of the Supreme Being dwelling, before the production of worlds, with Silence, was familiar to the Indians, the Persians, the Jews, and also to other Gnostic Sects.

The first manifestation which the Thought of the Supreme Being produced, was *Intelligence*; that is, in the allegorical language of Valentinus, *Ennoia*, impregnated by *Bythos*, gave birth to *Nous*, (*Νοῦς*.) the only Son (*Μονογενής*.)

Nous is the first of the Æons, the beginning of all things, alone able to comprehend the greatness of the Father. By him the Divinity is revealed; without him all had remained concealed in the depths of *Bythos*. With *Nous* (though he was termed *Monogenes*) was born *Truth*, (*Ἀλήθεια*;) these two, together with *Bythos* and *Ennoia*, form the first Tetrad or Quaternion, the root from which all the remaining Æons are derived.

These Æons are but the revealed forms of the Supreme Being—but the names of Him whose perfections no one name can express. They are in the language of Generation, which easily flows from that of Emanation, and which was used not merely in the Theogony of Egypt but also of Greece, some males, and some females: the first being considered as the Active, the second as the Passive Principles, united homogeneously by pairs or Syzygies, as the *Bythos* with the *Ennoia*. From their union sprang other Æons, who are considered as their image or revelation. The combination of all these Æons constituted the *Pleroma*, or fullness of the attributes and perfections of the Godhead.

From the above-mentioned Quaternion (*Βυθός*, *Ἐννοία*, *Νοῦς*, and *Ἀλήθεια*) arose the following manifestations. From *Νοῦς* sprang the Word (*Λόγος*) and Life, (*Ζωή*), and from them Man (*Ἀνθρωπος*) and the Church, (*Ἐκκλησία*.) This second Tetrad forms, with the first, the *Ogdoad*.

From *Λόγος* and *Ζωή* sprang ten more Æons: *Βίθιον* (or, as some read, another *Βυθός*) and *Μίξυς*, *Ἀγγέλτος* and *Ἐνοσίς*, *Ἀπορροή* and *Ἥσυχία*, *Ἀκίνητος* and *Σύγκρασις*, *Μονογενής* (another of the name) and *Μετακρίσις*.

From *Ἀνθρωπος* and *Ἐκκλησία* sprang twelve Æons: *Παράκλητος* and *Πίστις*, *Πατριεύς* and *Ἐλπίς*, *Μητρικὸς* and *Ἀγάπη*, *Αἰσος* and *Σύνεσις*, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς* and *Μακαριότης*, *Οὐλητής* and *Σοφία*.

These Thirty Æons formed the *Pleroma*.

Without attempting to explain the details of this strange system, it is sufficiently obvious that the above Decad, in a manner, typically intimated the Divine attributes: the nature of *Bythos*, which is always the same, neither impaired by age nor affected by change. The female Æons revealed their Condition and Influence—Union, Pleasure, Felicity, &c. In the Dodecad are marked those points in the Divine Nature to which the Valentinian looks for protection: the Holy Ghost, Hope, Faith, Charity, Intelligence, Happiness, Wisdom, and other Æons, whose nature is not evident.

All these Æons, though pure manifestations of the Deity, reflecting some rays of the Divine attributes, were unequal, bordering on imperfection, and decreasing in knowledge, in proportion as they were removed from the Deity. From this gradual degeneration ensued the Fall even in the heavenly ranks, a notion long known in the East. The Fall is thus imagined by Valentinus. The entire knowledge of *Bythos* was communicated only by *Νοῦς*, his only-begotten Son. He was

Heretics of
the 11th
Century.

See of
Valentinus.

* The Turbians furnish a deplorable illustration of this remark.

† Clem. Alexandr. Strom. lib. iii. p. 438.

‡ Ibid. lib. i. p. 394.

§ Ibid. lib. vii. p. 722.

|| Tertull. Adv. Præc. c. 3. See Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 151, and *Encyclopædia*, p. 89, note.

History. desirous of imparting it to the other Æons, but was prevented by Σιγή, his mother. The Æons then were consumed with a secret desire of knowing the hidden God. This desire was especially vehement in Σοφία, the last of the Æons, who disdained her companion Θελγίον, and pined to be united with Bythos. The violent struggles of her passion to attain an object incompatible with her imperfect nature, would at length have gradually annihilated her, had she not been forced to return to the limits assigned her capacity, and thus preserved by the Æon Ὀπορ, (Limitation,) who was sent forth for that express purpose, not having before existed, while the harmony of the Pleroma was undisturbed. It is scarcely necessary to point out the meaning of a myth, which is so obviously intended to show, that the Intelligence, unchecked by its proper bounds and will, which aspires to a degree of knowledge unattainable in its actual state, wastes away with feverish speculation, loses itself in endless mazes, and would, at length, fret its powers into decay and destruction.

To Ὀπορ, who, by casting out Ἐνθέμεναι, had restored Σοφία to the Pleroma, are applied the names Μεταγωγόν, Ὁρθόεργον, Σαυρόν, or, perhaps, Στανιμωτήν, Ληρωτήν, and Κεραιστήν.

But as the passionate agitations of Σοφία had troubled the harmony of the Pleroma, a restoration was necessary: hence new existences.

Νοῦς begot Christ (Χριστός) and the Holy Spirit, (Πνεῦμα,) (considered as a female Æon,) of which the following were the offices: Christ explained to the Æons the nature of the union of the different pairs in the Pleroma, or of the successive developements by means of which they were enabled to arrive at the knowledge of the Supreme Being: after this communication the Holy Spirit rendered them grateful and satisfied with the instruction which they had received. Thus was calm and harmony restored. All the Æons, with mutual affection, resolved to glorify Bythos, by contributing to form a creature possessing all which is excellent in nature. The fable of Pandora will naturally suggest itself to the reader. By these joint contributions was produced the Æon Jesus, who contained in his person the seed of Divine life, to be spread among all existing beings who were without the Pleroma.

He was also called Christ, as being to the inferior world what Christ had been to the Pleroma, which may be termed the celestial or intellectual world.

Between the higher or celestial, and the lower or terrestrial world is an intermediate region, touching upon the latter and governing it, as itself is governed by the former.

In the vehemence of her desire to be united with Bythos, Sophia had produced a female Æon called Κρυπτοσοφία, the Achamoth of the Cabala, who was but an abortion, an imperfect creature, and who, incapable of being exalted to the Pleroma by the exertion of Ὀπορ, Χριστός, and Πνεῦμα, was precipitated into Chaos, or the regions of darkness. In a degraded state of chequered joys and griefs, she was alternately swayed by different emotions: now shuddering at the thought of falling into annihilation, now ravished by the remembrance of the realms of light from which she had fallen, now giving birth to various beings, or drawing out of Chaos all living Souls, and among them the Soul of the Demiurge, and all material substances. From her tears came the element of water; from her sadness, opaque matter; from her smiles, caused at the remembrance of

Christ, light. At length, in her anguish, she supplicated Christ, who first sent her Horus, (Ὁρερ,) and afterwards the Æon Jesus, as a deliverer.

Heretics of the third Century.

Thrown into ecstasy at the appearance of Christ with his attendant Angels, Sophia-Achamoth produced three different kinds of existences or elements—the material, the animal, and the spiritual. Out of the animal, and the Soul to which, during her passion, she had given birth, she formed the Demiurge, who was also called Μητροπλάστης.

Assisted by Sophia and Jesus, the Demiurge separated the material from the animal principle, which were confounded in Chaos, and formed six regions—the imperfect image of the upper world—and, in order to govern them, six Intelligences, who, with the Demiurge and his mother, were the imperfect image of the Ogdoad of the Pleroma.

The Demiurge would have formed man after his image, so that he would have possessed only the material principle: but without his knowledge, and through the unperceived communication of Sophia, he imparted a portion of divine light to Man; and thus the creature, displaying a degree of superiority to the inferior creation, surprised the Creator. His jealousy was, consequently, excited. In unison with the six Spirits, he forbade Man to taste of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; and, on the transgression of this order, he cast Man out from the aerial region of Paradise into this gross and material world, where his Soul is clothed with corporeal covering, by which its energies are cramped and debilitated, and subjected to the influence of material Spirits, which fill it with evil desires. The degeneracy of the Soul would then have been in danger of increase, but that Sophia—the 'light of the world,' the 'salt of the earth,'—enlightens and fortifies it by some secret invisible power. Those who follow her impulse, by combating evil and the powers of matter, strengthen the seeds of divine life, which she was instrumental in imparting, and then become truly 'the Spiritual,'—they reveal God even in this lower world,—to which the Saviour will come to deliver whatever is found to correspond with the spirituality of his nature.

Valentinus divided Man as well as substances into three different classes: the spiritual, (or pneumatic,) the material, (hylic,) and the animal, (psychical.) The spiritual are they who, having the seeds of divine life, display it in this world; the material or carnal, they who are blindly carried away by the passions excited by the matter, of which they are composed, and the Spirits which govern it; the animal, they who fluctuate, uncertainly, between these two classes. The material are represented by Cain, the animal by Abel, the spiritual by Seth. The material are doomed to certain perdition, and the spiritual to certain salvation. The future state of the animal is uncertain: it will depend on the greater degree of inclination which they may have shown either for the material or for the spiritual: by assuming the Spirit, the vesture of incorruptibility, they may become immortal; but not having the higher capacities or intuition of Truth, which distinguish the spiritual, they cannot comprehend divine points: they have not faith, cannot obtain faith but through the miracles, and, even with this extraordinary aid, they cannot raise themselves higher than the empire of the Demiurge, a middle region between the celestial and terrestrial worlds, which is much below felicity. Whereas the spiritual will in

Triple division of vision of mankind.

History.

time arrive to so high a degree of perfection, as to be able to cast away the Animal Principle which is the only present vehicle of intelligence. For the *Ψυχὴ* was long regarded as a kind of element in which the *Πνεῦμα* resided. And hence the Valentinians rejected the testimony of the senses, which they referred to the Animal portion in Human Nature, and explained the five foolish Virgins in the Parable to mean the five senses in Man. In applying this triple division, Valentinus considered the Christians as Spiritual, and ranged the Jews under the Demiurge, who was Animal, and the Heathens under Matter, or Satan, that is, the progeny of Matter resisting the creative act of the Divinity. He allowed, however, that there were individual exceptions to this general classification; the spiritual, who compose the new Church, having existed in all nations.

And here it is worthy of remark, that Valentinus admitted not the theory of preceding Gnostics, who regarded Satan as a Fallen Angel, or an eternal Principle of Evil. His notions approach nearer to the Greek Philosophy on the subject of Matter, which he considered as shapeless and dead, unsubstantial and void, mere darkness, the shadow of reality, (*σκιὰ τοῦ ὄντος*), which resisting the pervading Principle of divine life, has within itself a mode of being productive of Evil.

As a redemption had in a manner been necessary in the Superior Worlds, in consequence of their fall, it was especially necessary in the Lower Regions, in consequence of their deep degeneracy. In each of the worlds inhabited by Intelligences, there was a peculiar redemption effected by the first of the Spirits of each class, imitating the Supreme Saviour.

The Demiurge, who was himself merely Psychical, had promised those over whom he ruled a Deliverer, but only one of an animal nature, according to his conceptions and power. Ignorant of his origin, and of the Pleroma, the Demiurge was in some respects even more ignorant than his creature Satan, the "Spirit of wickedness." He knew neither the true method of redemption, nor the true nature of the Redeemer.

The Redeemer was the *Æon* Jesus, an image of the Superior Christ; according to his ideas, was the world formed; by his means were such of his inhabitants, as were susceptible of elevation into the Pleroma, redeemed. Composed of the Spiritual Principle, derived from Sophia Achamoth, and the Animal Principle, drawn from the Demiurge, he had also a corporeal form, made with exquisite skill, and the Superior Christ, (who has been above described as formed out of the contributions of the *Æons*), descended upon him in the shape of a dove at his Baptism. He had nothing material, having passed through the body of the Virgin merely as water through a canal. The Carnal and Animal Christ alone was crucified; the Saviour quitted him when he was examined by Pilate.

It was during this union with the Superior Christ, that Jesus performed the most important part of His mission: before that period, He was chiefly distinguished by His moral life, enabled, in consequence of the nature of His body, to engage in the common actions of men, without sharing their earthly affections.

Such as were only of an Animal nature received the assistance only of the Animal Saviour, after his separation from Christ. His crucifixion, the image of the act of redemption in the higher world, brought back Animal Man into the limits of his nature, (for the word *συνέβη* may also be considered as a bound or fence;) and enabled

the Psychical Principle, by successful struggles, utterly to destroy the Hylic Principle, which destruction is the ultimate end in the present constitution of things.

The Saviour, on the point of death, still recommended the Animal seed, which He had received from his mother, that it might pass beyond the kingdom of the Demiurge, and rise with the Spiritual into the realms of the Superior Saviour. The Animal Saviour carried what remained after the separation of the Pneumatic Principle into the kingdom of the Demiurge, who, cheerfully acknowledging the superior revelation of the Saviour, transmitted to him the sovereignty. To this state the Psychical beings may be admitted.

The union of the Spiritual with the Superior Christ, typified by his union with Jesus at the Baptism, will purge the Soul, so that it may overcome the Evil Spirits which lay strong siege against it. "For the heart," says Valentinus, "which is not purified from the Evil Spirits that fix within it their impure abode, may be compared to an inn, which men, regardless of property not their own, disorder and defile. But as soon as it becomes an object of some one's care, as soon as the Good Being visits and sanctifies it, then shines it forth with the brilliancy of a pure light—then truly is it said of the person who possesses such a heart, that he shall see God." In another place, after having addressed the Spiritual, "the immortal from the beginning," "the children of life eternal," he adds, "If you dissolve the material world without suffering yourselves to be dissolved by it, you are masters of the creation, and you rule over all which is formed but to perish." For it was the opinion of Valentinus, that the present state of things would cease when the end of redemption was fully attained. Then will the fire, which is spread or concealed in the world, burst forth from all quarters, destroy the very dross of matter, the last seat of Evil. And at this final consummation, Sophia Achamoth, the bride of the *Æon* Jesus, will be received into the Pleroma, together with the Spirits, who then arrived at maturity, will enjoy the delights of an intimate union with their fond companions. This is the *Ἀναστασις*, celebrated by many Gnostics.

The Animal men, being satisfied with the middle region, between the Pleroma and this world, which they will share with the Demiurge, the felicity of divine life, issuing from Bythos, the fountain of all things, will flow into every degree of existence.

Such was, as far as can now be discovered, the fanciful system by which Valentinus chiefly intended to explain the Origin of Evil; for this question, it should be remembered, was the great source of Heresy in the early centuries of the Church.

The Sect of Valentinus obtained great celebrity. It was very widely spread, and was, according to Tertullian, numerous among the Gnostics. But his followers introduced considerable alterations into the systems of their master; a circumstance which has probably, in this case, as in many others, been productive of much confusion.

Valentinus perverted the Sacred Scriptures by interpretation, but avoided mutilating them. The Works of Valentinus are lost: but we have still fragments of his *Letters*, *Treatises*, and *Homilies*. The above sketch of his system is chiefly taken from Irenæus.* It has also been incidentally described by Clemens Alexandrinus;†

* *Adv. Hær.* lib. i.

† *Strom. and Excerpta Theodoti*, affixed to his works.

Heretics of
the third
Century.

History. and Origen,* Theodoret,† and Epiphanius,‡ furnish us with some additional information. The brief account of Tertullian is little more than a translation of the first Book of Irenæus against the Gnostics; he may have seen the Treatise of Valentinus entitled *Sophia*;§ but his anti-oriental spirit made him but an indifferent expositor of Heresies, which he appears not to have taken sufficient pains to understand.

Followers. The most noted disciples and successors who altered the system of Valentinus, were, Secundus, Ptolemy, Marcus, Colobarsus, Heracleon, to whom may be added, Theotimus and Alexander. Axionius alone adhered faithfully to the theories of Valentinus.

Secundus. Secundus (from whom the *Secundians* received their name) is said to have acquired great reputation. He divided the first Ogdoad of the Pleroma into two Tetrads, the right and the left, or *light* and *darkness*. God, though himself was above all Evil, no sooner began his developments, than the germ of difference between Good and Evil manifested themselves. This deviation from the system of Valentinus, and approximation to the ancient notions of the East, contributed to the increase of the Sect of the Secundians, and were the means of bringing over Isidore, the son of Basilides, and Epiphanius, the son of Carpoctates.

Isidore.
Epiphanius.
Ptolemy. Ptolemy founded the second branch of the Valentinians. He had different notions respecting the number and nature of the *Æons*. His opinions may be learnt from the very curious *Letter*, preserved by Epiphanius, which he addressed to an orthodox female, called Flora, with a view to convince her of the truth of his system. On the subject of the Old Testament, he argues that the Mosaic Law is too full of imperfections to have proceeded from the Perfect Deity; and yet contains too many points of excellence, too many prohibitions against wickedness, to have been the work of an Evil Being. The same argument he applies to the inferior creation, which evinces too many defects to have proceeded from the Unknown Father, and too many marks of wisdom to have arisen from the Principle of Evil. Consequently, both the Law and the Creation, being of mixed Good and Evil, arose from the Demiurge, who is himself a Being of a middle nature.

In the Laws of the Pentateuch (which is not perfect) must still be distinguished what proceeded from the Demiurge, what was given by Moses, and what was subsequently added by the Ancients. The part which came from Moses is not contrary to that of the Demiurge, but it was drawn from the reluctant legislator in consequence of the hardness of heart of the Jews; that part which was added by the Ancients, is that which is often censured by Jesus Christ. Again, the Law of the Demiurge admits of a triple division; the first consists of those pure laws of unmixt Good which Jesus Christ came to accomplish; the second are those mixed with Evil, for instance, that of retaliation, which He came to abolish by the substitution of better precepts; the third are those which, being merely typical, have been converted from things sensible into things Spiritual; such are Sacrifices, Fasts, the Passover, Circumcision, and other rites, which, being symbolical, have

been succeeded by the true worship of the heart, by mental abstinence from Evil, by the sacrifice of love for God and of charity for Man.

Heretics of the 11th Century.
Marcus. Marcus, another disciple, founded the Sect of *Marcosians*. He is accused of Magic; an accusation very common against Heretics, and, doubtless, often proceeding from want of sufficient acquaintance with what might be private in their ceremonies, or obscure in their doctrine. If the instances given of his arts are correct, he must be considered as having resorted to a kind of legierdemain for purposes of imposture. His chief refinement on the system of Valentinus consisted in adding to it some Cabalistic notions. He attached great mystery to the letters of the alphabet, without which Truth could not be discovered, and in which its whole Perfection resided. Jesus, according to his idea, was said to be Alpha and Beta, because He had in him all numbers. He maintained that when the Father wished to manifest himself, he produced by the word of his mouth the *Logos*, who contained the whole Pleroma of *Æons*, that is, all the attributes of God, which *Æons* or attributes, were thus displayed. When the Supreme Being pronounced the first word, it was a syllable of four letters, which became four Beings, who formed the first Tetrad; the second word consisted of four letters, and formed the second Tetrad; both Tetrads corresponding to the Ogdoad of Valentinus; the third word consisted of ten, and the fourth of twelve letters, which, forming the Decad and Dodecad, completed the Pleroma. But these Thirty *Æons* of the Pleroma were not the only Spirits formed by this method. Each of the letters which produce them contains a number of letters in itself, for instance, the letter delta contains five, *ε, λ, γ, α*, and each of these contains many others, so that it alone contains an immense series. The reader will, doubtless, be satisfied with this short specimen.

Colobarsus, the conjudtor of Marcus, afterwards separated from him. His alteration consisted chiefly in presenting a new *Ægony* and a new Christogony.

Colobarsus.
Heracleon. Heracleon was one of the most learned and celebrated of the Valentinians. He appeals not to Apocryphal writings, which, though commonly used by the Gnostics, may have tended, from their multiplicity and from their evident inferiority to the Canonical Works, rather to impede than to advance the progress of Heresy. He applied himself to writing *Commentaries* on several parts of the New Testament, more especially of St. John; and instead of attaching himself to the doctrinal parts, or *Ægony*, of the Valentinian system, he turned his attention to more practical details. Some fragments of these *Commentaries* remain. We give the substance of his remarks on St. Luke, ch. xii. v. 8. 11, 12, which appears worthy of being transcribed, if it were only on account of the Historical information it contains:—"There is one confession by faith and manner of life, and another confession by word of mouth. The latter, which is made before persons in power, is considered by many as the only one necessary. But this opinion is erroneous. For it may be made even by hypocrites. And besides it cannot be universally applied: for not all who are saved, have made this confession, and, in consequence, suffered martyrdom: for instance, Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi,* and many others.

* C. Cela, and De Princip.

† Her. Pub. lib. i. c. 7.

‡ Her. 31.

§ Woide supposed that he had found this Treatise among the MSS. of Dr. Askew, but see Matter, *Hut. du Gnost.* p. 163, note.

* Levi means Lebbeus, who is also called Judas or Thaddæus. This passage shows that the modern traditions, that all the Apostles

History. There is, then, a general and a particular confession. The first is made by works and actions, agreeable to right faith: the second, which is made before authorities, will ensue, if occasion should so require, for, beyond a doubt, that man will make a true confession in words, who hath before made it in the tenour of his actions.*

Remarks. Among the Valentinian chiefs are Florinus, who founded the *Florinians*, and others. After the time of these more eminent disciples, the Schools of the Valentinians, so famed, (more especially the Marcosian,) fell into demoralization and decay. In the Vth century they had become obscure. The fatal notion that the Spiritual, exalted above positive laws, were incapable of corruption, naturally led, at least among the mass of followers, to those deplorable results, which were, perhaps, not anticipated by the first or more enlightened teachers, and which afford a very useful lesson to the Philosophic observer of the History of the Human Mind. Supposed internal excellence was said to exempt the possessor from strict attention to external conduct. Intellectual speculations degenerated into sensual debasement. The infatuated Mystic imagined that his superior Spirituality was as little affected by these acts of indulgence as the nature of precious metals is altered by the gross matter in which they happen to lie. The scrupulous Christian, who spent his life in the practice of moral duties, and exposed his person to the fury of persecutors, was regarded as an ignorant and narrow-minded man, doomed to toil for his salvation, in the opinion of those who, suddenly raised by a mysterious Science to perfection, imagined themselves the very seeds of Election.† When they were in danger of judgment, the power of Sophia Achamoth would cover the redeemed with the armour of Oreus, and, becoming invisible, they would escape the power of the Demiurge. At the same time we cannot but repeat the remark, which we have thought it a duty due to truth so often to make, that the accounts of the ancient Fathers must be cautiously received; that the general state of a Sect must not be judged of by some individual instances; that consequences, however strictly deducible from certain doctrines, are not to be urged, unless it can be shown that these consequences were actually deduced by those who held the doctrines; and that the alarm excited by these, either real or supposed consequences, must often have concurred with want of opportunity, at a moment of extreme danger from enemies without and within, and with the fear of contracting impurity by reading impious Works,‡ to check the desire of minutely explaining, or candidly weighing, the numerous obscure and diversified systems of the ancient Gnostics.§

A succinct view of some less considerable Gnostic

suffered death, are not correct. For further information, see Lardner, *Hist. of Heret.* book li. ch. viii.

* *Ap. Clem. Alex. Strom.* lib. iv. p. 502.

† In drawing up this account, we have been guided by Bishop Kaye on *Tertullian*, p. 510-521; and especially by Matter, *Hist. du Gnost.* vol. ii. p. 101-177.

‡ That this fear deterred many Christians from reading the works of the Heretics appears from Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. vii. c. 7.

§ There is a Work by Bishop Hooper, (*of Bath and Wells*), *De Valentinianorum Hæresis conjectura quibus illius origo ex Aegyptiæ Theologi deductur*.

Sects may be requisite to complete our sketch of the early Heresies.

The error of the *Sethians** is grounded on an allegorical explanation of the first part of *Genesis*, which they regarded as containing not an Historical narrative, but a series of Myths. According to their notion, there were from the beginning two sorts of men; the Material, created by Evil Genii; and the Animal, created by the Demiurge. Abel, the representative of the Animal race, having through his weakness been overcome by Cain, the representative of the Material race, Sophia substituted Seth, to whom she imparted the additional aid of the Spiritual Principle. The descendants of Seth formed a family of Spiritual Persons,† who struggled against the Angels of Darkness. When Sophia resolved to destroy the wicked by the Deluge, this family escaped, but among them Ham, who was of the other race, contrived, by means of the Evil Angels, to enter clandestinely into the ark. Hence was the vigilance of Sophia increased, and, at the crisis of the greatest danger, she sent to save the human race Seth, in the person of Jesus Christ,‡ the type of the Spiritual. The Sethians, it may be remarked, were not anti-judaical, as were many of the Gnostics. They acknowledged the holiness of the Patriarchs and the Prophets. They thought, as many Gnostics, that Christ descended into Jesus at His Baptism, and left Him when He was led away to be crucified. They had many apocryphal Books, such as Seven Books of Seth, &c.

The *Cainites*, (if the accounts of them are correct, and any Sect really assumed that name), on the contrary, extolled Cain, regarding him as a superior Power. They are also said to have paid divine honours to Judas, and also to Korah, Dathan, Abiram, and the people of Sodom. They appear, in short, not only to have regarded as superior men, all those who are represented as enemies by the writers of the God of the Old Testament; but also to have considered the Books of the New Testament as Works written by persons, who had been deceived in their opinions, by their attachment to Judaism. Judas was their only Spiritual Apostle, the only one who understood the Gnosis. He alone knew that by the death of the Saviour, the Empire of Jaldabaoth would be destroyed, and it was to accomplish this purpose, that he betrayed Him. To him we owe, in a manner, our salvation, and the knowledge which we have attained by it. In defence of these notions they referred to the Gospel of Judas, which, with other apocryphal Books, they had in use. They also appealed to a Work, which they pretended to have been written by St. Paul after his ascension to the Third Heaven.§

Nor is their conduct represented in a more favourable light than their principles. Desirous of showing their contempt for the Judaical laws, and in mockery of the Evil Angels, they are said to have abandoned themselves to the lowest sensuality. Thus the same principle which led one party to the most rigid continence, was

* On the subject of the Sethians see *Iren. Adv. Hæres.* lib. i. c. 31, *Epiph. Hæres.* 29. *Theod. Hæres. Fab.* lib. i.

† See *Genesis*, ch. iii. v. 15; ch. i. v. 25, 26. In Numbers, ch. xxiv. v. 17, (where, instead of "destroy," some translate "rule over," the expression "children of Seth," has been interpreted to mean "the Church, or the Faithful.")

‡ Possibly they only thought that Jesus was descended from Seth. See Lardner, *Hist. of Heret. Art. Sethians*.

§ See 2 Cor. xii. v. 4.

Heretics of
the II^d
Century.
Sethians.

Cainites.

History. pleaded by another (so full of contrarieties is Man) as a sledge of the most unrestrained licentiousness.

Ophites.

The Sethians and the Cainites, may, perhaps, be considered as branches of the *Ophites*, (so called from *ὄφις*, a serpent,)—the most remarkable of the Gnostic Sects after the Valentinians, from whom they appear to have separated, though their existence has been traced to a much higher period.

They agreed with the Gnostic theories in many points: they regarded the Old Testament as being inspired by an inferior God, and containing but few revelations of Sophia; and the New Testament as containing the opinions of our Saviour, mutilated by his disciples.

The Ophites had their peculiar theory of *Æons*, which was more simple than that of the Valentinians. They had their notion of the formation of the World against the will of God; of the Chiefs of the Seven Planets presiding over the World; and the union of Christ with the man Jesus, and His mission to destroy the Empire of the Demiurge; but our limits prevent us from giving minute details of such Sects as have exerted but little influence on the opinions of man in their own or succeeding Ages.

The point in which the Ophites are most remarkable, is the honour which they paid to the Serpent, in the belief that it was under the figure of that animal that Wisdom had revealed herself to mankind. This belief was founded on the narrative in *Genesis*, that the Serpent had made Adam and Eve acquainted with the taste of the tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil, and therefore had effected the greatest services. The Ophites, however, were much divided on this subject. Some thought that the Genius Ophis, after having thus advised and enlightened Man, was precipitated, as well as Man, into a material body by the exasperated Demiurge Jaldabaoth; hence Ophis was converted from the friend into an enemy and seducer of the Human race, on whose account he had fallen. Others considered him as having continued to be the faithful Genius of Sophia; with whom he was sometimes confounded. With him also the Saviour was sometimes identified, in defence of which they appealed to the passage where Christ is compared in His Crucifixion to the lifting up of the Brazen Serpent by Moses in the Wilderness.* It is evident, therefore, that the notion is of Jewish origin, though afterwards it was possibly connected with the theories of the Egyptians respecting the God Cneph, or Agathodemon. And the Phœnicians, it may be remarked, considered the Serpent as the most pneumatic of all reptiles. For the rapidity and vigour of its movements, the variety and

flexibleness of its attitudes, together with its longevity, appeared to give it a character of mystery, which was confirmed by the sacred rites of various nations. In the Greek Mythology, the Serpent was a salutary emblem, the type of *Æsculapius*, who was worshipped under the form of that animal at Epidaurus, as a Good Genius. Hence it is found on Greek Coins with the legend *Σαπφίς*, Saviour, or Healer. Those Ophites who honoured the Serpent, are said to have kept this animal in a chest or kind of cage, and when the period of commemorating the supposed services rendered to mankind by the Power which had assumed this form was arrived, they opened the door of the cage, and with a certain cry called him forth. The Serpent is then described as coming out, crawling up to the tables, and twisting itself round certain loaves which had been there placed on them, and thus sanctifying them.* They urged that the Serpent was the symbol of the prudent artifices which Sophia was obliged to resort to against Jaldabaoth.†

Though these were the true Ophites, they formed, it would seem, but the smaller part of the Sect so denominated. The notion so common in the East, and in the *Zend-Avesta*, that the Serpent was connected with the Principle of Evil, was probably embraced by the majority: they allowed, however, that the disobedience of Man to the Demiurge, was productive of the most salutary effects.

Origen, who was led to the inquiry because Celsus had confounded the Ophites with the Christians, has presented to us their diagram,‡ which was a kind of symbolic picture of their belief, accompanied with some prayers. This very curious monument is probably in an imperfect state, and, consequently, scarcely intelligible. It appears, however, that they supposed the World to be ruled by different Powers; that these Powers had separated their regions; that the Soul, in order to return to Heaven, must gain, or deceive, those Powers, and pass unnoticed from one World to another.§

According to Origen, the Ophites are so far from being Christians, that they would admit no one into their Sect till he had cursed Jesus. This appears to be incorrect. The name of their master was Euphrates.

We now pass to Heresies no longer of Oriental origin.

PRAXEAS.

Our knowledge of the opinions of Praxeas, is almost entirely drawn from the Treatise written against him by Tertullian.|| From this piece, it appears, that Praxeas, coming from Asia to Rome, had by his

Accounts of Praxeas.

* "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." (John, ch. iii. v. 14, 15.) The passage, there alluded to is in Numbers, ch. xxi. v. 8, 9. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole; and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole; and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived." The Serpent appears frequently in the superstitions and customs of the Egyptians. (See Sir John Marsham, *Chronica*.) The Israelites, as it appears from 1 Kings ch. xviii. v. 4. "burnt incense" to it all the days of Heczekiah. *Ælius Lampridius* informs us, that Helicababus "kept at Ronæ, Serpents which were called Agathodemones, Good Demons, by the Egyptians." See also the Gems having Serpents in *Alfonso*.

* Lardner looks upon this story as a mere calumny. See his *Hist. of Heret.* p. 111.

† This symbol, said they, was reproduced in the shape of the bowels of man. See *Iren. Adv. Her.* lib. i. c. 30. *Theod. Har.* *Adv.* lib. i. c. 14.

‡ See an account of it in *Mutter, Hist. du Gnost.* tom. ii. p. 222. § On the subject of the Ophites see *Iren. Adv. Her.* lib. i. c. 34. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* lib. vii. *Orig. c. Cels.* lib. vi. sec. 25. *App. ad Tertul. De Præscrip.* *Epiph. Har.* 37. 39. *Aug. Har.* 17. *Theod. Har. Enk. lib. i. c. 14.* *Damas, De Her.* c. 37, &c.

|| Praxeas is not mentioned by *Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, or *Theodoret*. No distinct account of this Heresy is found in *Philaster* or *Augustine*, but he is spoken of by them in the Chapter on *Sabellius*.

History.

representations induced the Bishop of that See to recall letters of peace, in which he had recognised the Prophecies of Montanus;* a step, it must be cautiously remarked, not calculated to produce a favorable impression on the mind of Tertullian, who, at the time when he wrote this work, had joined the Sect of Montanists.† Praxeas is described as a man of an unquiet temper; elated at having suffered persecution, which is said to have consisted in a short imprisonment, in the cause of the Christian Religion.‡ From Rome, in which city he openly taught the errors which have added his name to the list of Heretics, he appears to have proceeded to Africa. It was there, probably, that he held a dispute on the subject of his new doctrines, acknowledged himself confuted, and delivered to the Church a formal recantation.§ Whether his conduct in this instance proceeded from conviction, or from interested motives, cannot be known; it is certain, however, that he afterwards maintained again the same opinions.

His opinions.

His Heresy consisted in denying the distinct Personality of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, which he conceived to be inconsistent with the Unity of God.|| In the words of Tertullian, he asserted that the Father himself descended into the Virgin, was born of her, suffered, and in short was himself Jesus Christ.¶ And hence his Sect were called *Patropasians*. Praxeas, however, denied the fairness of this statement. He said the Father did not suffer in the Son, but sympathized with the Son.**

In order to support the entire identity of the Father and Son, Praxeas appealed to various passages of the Sacred Scriptures. After quoting texts in the Old Testament in which the Unity is asserted,†† he referred to the expressions in St. John's Gospel, "I and my Father are one. He who has seen me has seen the Father also. I in my Father and my Father in me."‡‡

Yet, on the other hand, in order to disprove the distinction of Persons—the Trinity—Praxeas is represented

as asserting, that, in the passages on which the doctrine was grounded, the Son meant the flesh, *i. e.* Man, *i. e.* Jesus; the Father meant the Spirit, *i. e.* God, *i. e.* Christ.*

Heretics of the 11th Century.

To these arguments the answers of Tertullian are more interesting, as they lead him to give a view of his own sentiments—a summary of faith—on the great doctrines in question.†

The Heresy of Praxeas appears not to have made very extensive progress; it was almost unknown in Africa in the time of Optatus.§

THEODOTUS AND ARTEMON .. Melchisedechians.

Theodotus of Byzantium, by trade a tanner,|| but of acknowledged learning and ability,¶ was the founder of the Sect of *Theodotians*. He maintained that Jesus was a mere man,** but of eminent virtue, and born of a virgin †† by the operation of the Holy Spirit. This view of the nature of Christ he considered, or affected to consider, as extenuating the apostasy;‡‡ into which he had fallen in some Persecution;§§ perhaps that which was inflicted upon the Christians by M. Aurelius. ||

Artemon, or Artemas, (from whom the *Artemonists* were so denominated.) maintained, apparently with greater fame, the same opinions as Theodotus; but it is difficult to determine whether he was prior or posterior to him in point of time.

Artemon.

* *Uti quod in una persona utramque distinguant Patrem et Filium, dicentes Filium carnem esse, id est, hominem, id est, Jesum; Patrem autem Spiritum, id est, Deum, id est Christum.* (Tertull. *Adv. Prax.* c. 27.) Again, *Ecce inquit ab Angelo prædicatum est, propterea quod noster sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei; Caro tunc nata, est Caro itaque et Filius Dei.* (Ibid.) From these passages, two inferences may be drawn; first, that Praxeas did not suppose that the Divine Nature had suffered on the Cross; and, secondly, that Praxeas admitted the Miraculous Conception. (See Lardner's *Hist. of Heret.* book ii. ch. xx.)

† The arguments of Tertullian have been detailed at large, and their agreement with the Articles of the Church of England examined, in an interesting analysis of the Treatise against Praxeas by Bishop Kaye on *Tertullian*, p. 523-548.

‡ In the Catalogue of Heretics affixed to Tertull. de *Præscript.* it is said that this Heresy was confirmed by Victorinus. Beausobre supposes that Victor, Bishop of Rome, is here meant. (*Hist. de Manich.*)

§ Lib. i. p. 37. See also below our account of the Heretics of Noctus and Sabellius.

|| Theodotus the Tanner is not to be confounded, as Cave has done, with Theodotus the Valentinian. (Beaus. *Hist. de Manich.* tom. i. p. 428, &c.)

¶ Epiphani. *Anac.* p. 397. *Her.* 54. cf. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 28.

** Theodotus and his followers defended their opinion by appealing to the passages of the Old and New Testament, (a proof that they admitted their authority;) among the rest to the following, Deut. ch. xviii. v. 15. Isaiah, ch. lili. v. 3. Matt. ch. xii. v. 31, 32. Luke, ch. i. v. 35. Acts, ch. li. v. 1. 1 Tim. ch. li. v. 5, &c. Theodotus cited John, ch. viii. v. 40. "But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I have heard of God." The Theodotians, therefore, did not, as it has been said, reject St. John.

†† Theodoret. *Her. Fab.* lib. li. c. 5, &c. Epiphanius, however, asserts that Theodotus taught that Christ was born in the same manner as other human beings. (*Her.* 54.) But Epiphanius himself says, that Theodotus appealed to Luke, ch. i. v. 35, which, if correct, seems to contradict his previous account.

‡‡ Epiphani. *Anac.* p. 397. *Append. ad Tertull. de Præscript.* Philast. *Her.* 50. Aug. *Her.* 33. No mention of this circumstance is found in the anonymous writers against the Artemonites cited by Beausobre, or in Theodoret.

§§ *Oia ta tieria is isou karpo.* Epiphani. *Her.* 54.

|| Baron. *Annal. Ann.* 196. sec. 2, &c.

* Tertull. *Adv. Prax.* c. 1.

† *Encyclopædia*, p. 127. See below, note §.

‡ *Viam vite praecepit et dixit hoc genus perveritatis intulit Romam, homo et alius iniquitatis, nuncius de justitiae mortis inflatus, et solam et simplex et brevis carceris iudicium.* Tertull. *Adv. Prax.* c. 1.

§ *Manet chirographum apud Psychicos, apud quo tunc res gesta est. Exinde silentium. Et nos quidem postea agnito Paracleti atque defensoris, disjuncti à Psychicis.* Tertull. *Adv. Prax.* c. 1. By *Psychici*, (*ψυχικοί*), or animal, (*hominis solus animus et carnis.* De *Jovin.* c. 17.) Tertullian means the Catholics, to distinguish them from the *evangelicæ*, or spiritual, which appellation he applied to the Montanists.

|| *Unicum Dominum vindicat Omnipotentem mundi conditorem, ut et de unico hærriam faciat.* Tertull. *Adv. Prax.* c. 1. Tertullian says, that the simpleminded, not to call them unwise and unlearned, (or imperfect),—who always form the majority of believers—inasmuch as the true faith condemns Polytheism, were alarmed at the doctrine of the Trinity, which they supposed divided the Unity. *Simplex quiesce ne dixerim impudentes et idioles.* By *idiotæ* Tertullian, doubtless, meant persons who do not possess that thorough knowledge of a subject which is obtained by those who have professionally studied it. The meaning of the word is clearly illustrated by Bentley, in his *Remarks on a late Discourse on Free-Thinking*, p. 33, and by Bishop Kaye on *Tertullian*, p. 527, note.

¶ *Ipsum docet Patrem descendente in virginem, ipsum ex eo natum, ipsum patremque et deique ipsum esse Jesum Christum.* (Tertull. *Adv. Prax.* c. 1.)

** *Ergo nec compunctus est Pater Fili; nec enim, directum blasphemiam in Patrem veriti, dimissi eam hoc modo operant, concedentes ipsam Patrem et Filium duae esse, si Filius quidem paterque; Pater vero compater.* (Ibid. c. 29.)

†† Ibid. c. 18, 19.

‡‡ Ibid. c. 20.

History.

In defence of these notions, the Artemonites appealed to the primitive doctrine as taught by the Apostles, and as preserved by the Church till the time of Victor, thirteenth Bishop of Rome; by whose successor, Zephyrinus, the truth, according to their statement, was first corrupted. In refutation of this argument, the Catholic writers referred to the Sacred Scriptures; to the preceding Ecclesiastical writers, as Justin, Irenæus, Clemens of Alexandria, Melito, who asserted the Divinity of Christ; to the ancient Hymns and Canticles of the Church; and to the sentence of excommunication pronounced by Victor against Theodotus. This account of their reasoning we derive from an anonymous writer, (supposed by some to be Caius,* priest of Rome,) whose *Argument against the Heresy of Artemon* is cited by Eusebius.† From his extracts it also appears, that some of the Theodotians engaged with zeal in the study of Works on Geometry and on Philosophical subjects, and applied the principles of Grammar and Logic to the support of their peculiar doctrines.‡ They are accused of corrupting the Scripture, their copies being, it is said, different§ one from the other; and some of them are represented as rejecting the Law and the Prophets.||

Melchisedechians.

Among the followers of Theodotus was another of the same name, a banker by profession, who is said ¶ to have founded a new Sect called *Melchisedechians*.** They coincided with the Theodotians respecting the nature of Christ; but entertained particular opinions on the subject of Melchisedech, whom they described as being not a human being, but a celestial Virtue or Power; the intercessor or advocate of celestial Angels or Powers, as Christ was of Men.†† Melchisedech, according to their notion, had literally, in the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews,‡‡ “neither father nor mother;” his beginning and end were incomprehensible. They regarded him as superior to Christ,§§ who is called “a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.”||| They are said to have used certain Apocryphal books of their own invention.¶¶

HERMOGENES.

Hermogenes appears to have been a painter by profession,*** and to have lived in Africa.††† He was still living in the time of Tertullian, who wrote against

him a Tract,* which enables us to form some judgment on the nature of his Heresy.

It arose from an attempt to prove satisfactorily that God was not the Author of Evil; and consisted in asserting that all things, even the Soul and Spirit, were created out of self-existent and eternal Matter. Hermogenes arrived at this conclusion by the following reasoning: God must have made the world either out of Himself, i. e. His own substance, or out of nothing, or out of pre-existent Matter. Now, God did not make the world out of His own substance—this would be inconsistent with His indivisible and immutable nature, of which, moreover, Evil could not form a part; neither did God create it out of nothing†—this, by implying that He had produced Evil, when He was at liberty not to produce it, would be contradictory to His Infinite Goodness. It remained, therefore, to assert, that God made it out of uncreated Matter, to the defects of which Matter, the origin of Evil was to be traced.§

To this system (which is but the doctrine of the Stoics, which he is said to have studied) it was objected that it made Matter independent of God, equal if not superior to God, necessary as God; that, in fact, it made two Gods—a consequence which Hermogenes denied, expressly declaring that there was but one God, the maker of the world, Supreme, unchangeably good, with whom no other being was comparable.|| It was also urged, and very justly, that the difficulty respecting the existence of Evil was not removed; for, if God could not purge Matter of its evil qualities, He is not omnipotent; if He would not, He is not infinitely good.¶

Hermogenes endeavoured to support his opinions by expressions of Scripture, which he contended nowhere affirmed that Matter was created from nothing. He maintained that the first words of Genesis, in *principio*, (as they are translated in the Latin version,) meant the first principle, i. e. pre-existent and eternal Matter, out of which heaven and earth were created—as clay is the principle of the vessel which is formed from it—and that by the “earth,” in the sentence “the earth

Heresies of the Third Century.

System and method of reasoning.

Objections.

Arguments of Hermogenes against absolute creation.

* See Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.* 48. Tillem. *Mém. Art. Les Théodotiens.*
† *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 28.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

|| This Sect either had, or were desirous of having, Bishops. See the ridiculous story of Natalis told in Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 23, and illustrated by Jortin, *Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 227.

¶ Theodoret, *Har. Fab.* lib. ii. c. 6.

¶¶ Lardner observes: “Possibly there never was any such set of men. But some Catholics, from some comparisons occasionally made by the Theodotians, or others, between Jesus and Melchisedech, imagined a distinct Sect, and gave it such a name as they saw fit.” (*Hist. of Heresies*, book ii. ch. xxii. sec. 7.)

†† *Append. of Jortin, Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. c. 23, and illustrated by Jortin, *Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 126.

‡‡ Ch. vii. v. 3.

§§ *Ap. ad Tertullian, de Præscript.* See also Philast. *Har.* 53, and 144.

||| Psalm, ch. ex. v. 4.

¶¶ Philast. *Hist.* 52. Respecting Melchisedech, see also a subsequent article on HIRCAN.

*** Tertull. *Adv. Hermogenem*, c. 1.

††† Philast. *Har.* 54. Augustin. *Har.* 41.

* But for this Tract (to which may be added the notice of Theodoret) we should scarcely have had any knowledge of Hermogenes, though it appears Theophilus of Antioch had undertaken to refute him. (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 24.) He is neither mentioned by Irenæus, nor by Epiphanius; he is omitted in the catalogue ascribed to Tertullian, *de Præscript.* nor is a distinct article assigned to him by Philastor or Augustin.

† *Ceterum adversus Hermogenem, qui eam (animam) ex materia, non ex Dei flatu contendit, fatum propriis turner. Ille enim adversus ipsius scriptura fidei flatum in spiritum vertit, et dum incoheribile eum Spiritum Dei in defectum et mor in judicium devocare, ex materia potius eam creditur, quam ex Dei Spiritu. (Tertull. *De Anim. c. 2*.) It may be remarked, that Hermogenes did not deny a future judgment. The notion of Hermogenes, that the soul was made out of matter was refuted by Tertullian in a work entitled *De Geni Animæ, On the Origin of the Soul*, which is now lost. (*De Anim. c. 1*.)*

‡ It would appear that Hermogenes did not argue from the physical impossibility of creation from nothing, but from the moral impossibility of explaining, on that supposition, the permission of evil. *Proinde ex nihilo non potius cum facere non contempsit. Bonum et optimum deficiente Dominum, qui bona atque optima non vult facere quam vult; immo nihil non bonum atque optimum et velle cum et facere. Agitur omnia ab eo bona et optima opportunis fieri secundum conditionem ipsius. Inveniri autem mala ab eo facta, utique non ex arbitrio, nec ex voluntate. . . . Quod ergo non ex arbitrio non fecerit, intelligi oportere ex vito alioquin rei factum, ex materia esse sua dubio. (Tertull. *Adv. Herm. c. 2*.)*

§ *Ibid.* c. 3.

¶ *Ibid.* c. 10. 14.

|| *Ibid.* c. 4, 5, 6, 12.

History. was without form and void," is signified this same Matter.*

Hermogenes also argued that the word *Lord*, which was from eternity applied to God, implied the existence from eternity of something over which He was Lord—that something was Matter. To avoid this inference, Tertullian answers that the title *Lord*, being merely relative, was not applicable to God before the Creation.†

Of Matter, Hermogenes is said to have taken the following view: it was partly corporeal, because bodies were drawn from it; it was partly incorporeal, because it had motion,‡ and motion is incorporeal; (as if motion were a part, and not a particular state of a substance.) Out of a portion of this Matter, God formed the universe. It lay a confused and undigested mass,—agitated by vague and undetermined motion, turbulent, and like the fermentation of water when it boils over,—which the mere approach of the Deity reduced into order and harmony; somewhat after the manner that beauty, by its very appearance, affects the mind, and that the loadstone, by approximation only, attracts a piece of iron.§ But Matter (which Hermogenes sometimes said was, properly speaking, neither good nor evil) still retained a certain blind force, a degree of inflexibility, owing to which it could not be entirely bent and conformed to the will of the Deity. Hence the evils and disorders which afflict the world.

Hermogenes is also said to have asserted that the body of Christ was deposited in the Sun,|| and that the Devil and Demons would be again resolved into Matter.¶

Hermogenes disputed with ingenuity, and set forth his arguments in syllogistic arrangement. The answers of Tertullian bear the usual character of his style; sometimes intemperate, generally harsh, often acute.**

As Tertullian frequently appeals to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in his refutation, it may be, doubtless, inferred, that their authority was fully allowed by Hermogenes; who, in fact, is not even said to have established a separate communion.††

MONTANUS....*Montanists*.

The Sect of *Montanists* derived their name from Montanus, who began to publish his opinions about the CLXXIst year of the Christian era.* They are also called Cataphrygians and Phrygians, from the Country in which they first appeared or chiefly abounded. Montanus was a native of Ardaba in Mysia, which was contiguous to Phrygia, or perhaps formed a part of it.

The main error of Montanus consisted in his assertion, that the Paraclete, or Comforter, delivered through his mouth precepts of a severe discipline, necessary towards the perfection of the Christian scheme. He maintained, as far as we can judge of his views from the expressions of his celebrated disciple Tertullian, that Revelation had not received its full development; that as Christ had withdrawn the indulgences granted by Moses, so the Paraclete abolished the permissions of St. Paul;† that the system, which was in its infancy under the Law and the Prophets, and in its youth under the Gospel, was brought to its state of maturity by the Paraclete. This reasoning was employed to conciliate belief in the authority of the new Revelations, which he pretended to communicate, when, under the influence of delirious agitation,‡ he poured forth the wild effusions of a disordered imagination, and the austere dictates of a harsh and melancholy temperament. The precise meaning of incoherent expressions, uttered in the paroxysms of phrensy, it was doubtless difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain; the nature of his pretensions has, therefore, been variously represented; yet it appears not that he assumed the character of the Paraclete, or Holy Ghost,§ much less of God the Father, though his language might occasionally lead to that supposition. He considered himself as the chosen instrument of the Divinity, but not as the depository in which it was embodied.||

Opinions of the Montanists.

* Tertull. *Adv. Herm.* c. 23.

† *Ibid.* c. 3.

‡ *Commune autem inter ista facis, quod & arnet ipsa moventur et semper moventur. Quid minus materis quam Deo adherere? Totum compositum divinitatis hoc erit, liberum et eternum motus. Sed Deus omnipotens, materia incoacta movetur. Nam, secundum alios similitudines sic erit, ipsa, materia motus, antiquum disponeretur, constrictum, impictum, inextinguibile, per similitudinem certamine. (Tertull. *Adv. Herm.* c. 43, 44.) The Hebrew word *tehom*, which we translate deep in Genesis, ch. i. v. 2. ("and darkness was upon the face of the deep") signifies tumult and turbid confusion. See Bishop Patrick's *Comment. upon Genes.**

§ Tertull. *Adv. Herm.* The expression of Anaxagoras will naturally suggest itself, *ἡδὲν ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν αὐτὸ καὶ ἰδὸν αὐτῶν δι' αὐτῶν.* (Theop. Laert.)

|| Theodoret, *Har. Fab.* lib. i. c. 19, &c. The same opinion is attributed to the followers of Saleucus and Hecman in Philastrius (*Har.* 55.) and Augustine. (*Har.* 59.)

¶ Theod. *Har. Fab.* lib. i. c. 19.

** It has been remarked, that they are, in many respects, similar to those used by Dr. Clarke, to disprove the eternity of Matter. *Beginn. Disc. de Theologia. Art. Hermogeniana.*

†† On the Heresy of Hermogenes, see Lacina's *Hist. of Heretics*, p. 374-387, and particularly the excellent Analysis of Tertullian's Tract against Hermogenes in Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 563-574.

* Euseb. in *Chron.* Epiphanius places the beginning of the Cataphrygian Heresy about the XIXth year of Antoninus (*Har.* 48. c. 1.) i. e. about a. d. 156, and yet says (*Har.* 51. c. 33.) that the Church of Thyatira was corrupted by the Cataphrygians 93 years after the death of Christ, i. e. about a. d. 126. The accounts of Eusebius are more consistent with themselves and with other historical facts. The subject has, however, been much contested. J. P. Bartenius, the young but learned author of the *Treatise de Successione Romanorum Pontificum*, refers the commencement of this Heresy to the year 126; Blondel, who supposes that Montanus may have forged the Sibylline books, to the year 142; Le Clerc (in *Hist. Eccl. Dur.* Prior. Sec. p. 676) to the year 157.

† *Regnaret duritia corda usque ad Christum, regnasset et infirmitas carnis usque ad Paracletum.* Tertull. *de Mon.* c. 14, &c.

‡ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 16, 17.

§ Mosheim, in his *Ecdoastical History*, (cent. ii. c. 5. p. 237, note,) maintains that Montanus made a distinction between the Paraclete promised by Christ to his Apostles, and the Holy Spirit that was shed upon them on the day of Pentecost; and understood by the former a Divine Teacher, pointed out by Christ under the name of Paraclete or Comforter, who was to perfect the Gospel by the addition of some doctrines omitted by our Saviour, and to cast a full light upon others, which were expressed in an obscure and imperfect manner, though, for wise reasons, they subsisted during the ministry of Christ. This Paraclete Montanus represented himself to be. Though Mosheim refers to no passage, we suppose he grounded this assertion on what the author of the Catalogue of Heresies, ascribed to Tertullian, *de Præscriptione*, says, that Prolus, the head of one of the Sects into which the Montanists divided themselves, distinguished between the Holy Ghost, which inspired the Apostles, and the Paraclete, which spoke in Montanus. But see the remarks of Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 23-29.

|| Tertull. *de Jejun.* c. 1, &c. Philast. *Har.* 49, &c.

History.

Montanus made no alteration in the fundamental articles of the Christian Faith;* he objected to no part of the Ancient and New Testament. His chief innovations affected discipline. He enjoined abstinence and multiplied fasts.† He regarded second marriages;‡ as adultery, and seems to have spoken of marriage in general with implicit censure: he rejected penance, and denied absolution to heinous sins committed after Baptism:§ he condemned flight during persecution, and the purchase of safety by money.|| His prohibitions are also thought to have extended to the use of ornaments in attire, and to the cultivation of the Arts and Sciences. These notions, it will be remarked, were not altogether novel or peculiar to himself. Marriage had already been viewed by some of the more rigid party in the Church in no favourable light, though their opinions were obscurely and reluctantly expressed. A tendency to imagine that a degree of moral excellence and spiritual knowledge, (*ᾠδὴ*), carried beyond the standard of Christianity, as vulgarly understood, was requisite in forming the character of a perfect Christian, had already been intimated. The indulgence of ascetic practices, which laid the foundation of monastic life, was already considered as neither unusual nor blameable. Even the pretension to inspiration was not in itself calculated to excite suspicion or surprise. The gift of Prophecy was supposed to have been but a little time previous possessed by some eminent members of the Church.¶ and was expected to continue till the second coming of Christ. In what, then, were the doctrines of Montanus considered as essentially Heretical? His first pretension was looked upon as Heretical not so much because he asserted that he was inspired, as because he maintained that he was inspired and commissioned to alter and to perfect the Christian system—an opinion which, as it was grounded on the inadequateness of the morality of the Gospel, and as it opened a door for the claims of innumerable visionaries, was pregnant with the

most dangerous consequences. The particular precepts which he delivered were also deemed Heretical, not so much because they were regarded as noxious in themselves, as because they were imposed as obligations,—mortifications, in their nature voluntary, being represented as necessary,* and the authority of the Church being transferred to an individual, who assumed the language of the Supreme Being. This view of the subject, though sufficiently obvious, appears not to have been universally seized.

The predictions of Montanus were heard with reverence, which invited repetition, by many persons, of whom some, particularly two females of rank and fortune,† Maximilla and Prisca, or Priscilla, professed to be inspired by the same Spirit, and contributed by their wealth to the increase and organization of the new Sect. Themis, one of its members, prevented Zoticus, Bishop of Camana, and Julian, Bishop of Apamea, from convicting of imposture the Spirit by which they conceived that Maximilla was possessed. Others, however, not merely refused to recognise the pretensions, but endeavoured to check the preaching of Montanus, whom they viewed in the light of a demoniac. It was urged that those fits of spiritual phrensy, which suspended his powers of reason, were not observable in the Propheis of the Old and New Testament, who, retaining full possession of their faculties, clearly understood the meaning of the predictions which they uttered.‡ It is also possible that, as the Montanists predicted wars and seditions and the approaching downfall of the Roman Empire,§ many were apprehensive that by suffering themselves, at a critical period, to be identified with intemperate enthusiasts, they would increase the distrust and enmity of the Civil Government, and involve the Christians in additional difficulties and dangers. The dictates of prudence, though not perhaps tempered with mildness, prevailed. The faithful met at different times and places: the new Prophecy was diligently examined; and the Asiatic Councils condemned and excommunicated a Sect, who either anticipated or confirmed the sentence by secession from the Church. A Bishop of Rome, whose name is not mentioned, was inclined to form a more favourable judgment, but the arguments and representations of Praxeas prevailed on him to retract the Letters of reconciliation which he had sent, and to leave the decisions of his predecessors in undiminished force.||

The progress of the Heresy was not however stopped: it spread itself over many parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Montanus himself dwelt at Pepus, a desert place in Phrygia, the seat of a ruined city, where he pretended that the Heavenly Jerusalem had descended.¶ The efforts of the Orthodox appear not to have relaxed. Montanism was attacked by several writers. Of two of these, viz. an anonymous author (supposed to be Asterius Urbanus) who wrote about thirteen years after the death of Maximilla, and Apollonius, who wrote forty years after Montanus began to prophesy, Eusebius has preserved some frag-

Heretics of the II^d Century.

* Epiph. *Her.* 48, &c. According to Theodoret, though Montanus made no innovation in the doctrine of the Trinity, some of his followers denied the hypostases, and agreed with Sabellius and Noetus. (*Her. Fab.* lib. iii. c. 2.) Comp. *Adv. ad Tertull.* de *Præscript.* Hieron. tom. iv. p. 64. *Ibid.* Pelus. lib. i. Ep. 67.

† Apell. *op.* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 18. Tertull. de *Jejun.* c. 1. Hier. tom. iv. p. 65. in *Math.* c. 9. tom. iv. p. 31. "The difference between the Orthodox and Montanists, on the subject of fasting, appears to have consisted in the following particulars. With respect to the *Jejunium*, or total abstinence from food, the former thought that the interval between our Saviour's death and resurrection was the only period during which the Apostles observed a total fast; and consequently the only period during which fasting was of positive obligation upon all Christians. At other times it rested with themselves to determine whether they would fast or not. The Montanists, on the contrary, contended that there were other seasons during which fasting was obligatory, and that the appointment of those seasons constituted a part of the revelations of the Paraclete. With respect to the *Dies Stationarii*, the Montanists not only pronounced the fast obligatory upon all Christians, but prolonged it until the evening, instead of terminating it, as was the Orthodox custom, at the ninth hour. In the observance of the *Xerophagia*, the Montanists abstained—not only from flesh and wine, like the Orthodox—but also from the richer and more juicy kinds of fruit, and omitted all their customary ablutions. Montanus appears to have enjoined only two weeks of *Xerophagia* in the year; but his followers were animated by a greater love of fasting than their master; for Jerome says, that, in his day, the Montanists kept three Lenten, one of them after Whitsunday." Bishop Kaye on *Tertullian*, pp. 416, 417.

‡ Aug. *Her.* 26. Comp. Tertull. *Adv. Marc.* lib. i. c. 30. *De Monog.* c. 1, &c.

§ Tertull. de *Prod.* c. 1. 19, 20. Hier. *Adv. Marc.* p. 65.

¶ Tertull. de *Flagel.* in *Persecut.*

|| Iren. *Adv. Hæc.* lib. v. c. 6. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 17.

* Tertull. de *Jejun.* c. 2.

† Hier. tom. iv. p. 477.

‡ Epiph. *Her.* 48. c. 3, &c. Hier. *Prod.* in *Is.* tom. iii. p. 3, &c.

§ See Mosheim, de *Rel. Christi.* and Bp. Kaye on *Tertull.* p. 21.

¶ Tertull. *Adv. Præscum.* c. 1.

|| Apollon. *op.* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 18. cf. Epiph. *Her.* 48.

History. ments.* The anonymous author informs us, among other circumstances, that it was reported that Montanus and Maximilla destroyed themselves by hanging, but he does not vouch for the truth of the report. Apollonius represents the austerity of Montanus as the cloak of avarice and luxury: objecting to him that he dyed his hair, darkened his eyebrows, wore splendid attire, indulged in amusements, and lent money on usury. As we proceed, accounts darken, and the language of doubt gradually assumes the tone of more determined prejudice. Cyril of Jerusalem,† and Isidore of Pelusium,‡ who could not be so accurately informed as contemporaries, speak of him as of a man stained with the deepest crimes.

The enormities which have been described by writers of the IVth and Vth centuries as practised at the mysteries of the Montanists are revolting and incredible. These descriptions wear the appearance of ignorance and enmity. And many mistakes have doubtless arisen from confounding the later with the earlier Montanists, and from attributing the faults of individuals to the whole Body.

Character of Montanus. It would be certainly rash to decide positively upon the character of Montanus—to pronounce him wholly a deceiver or wholly deceived. He is said to have been a recent convert to Christianity, and to have been led into Heresy by an ambitious desire of obtaining Ecclesiastical distinctions. It is not impossible that there may be some truth in the assertion. Yet it seems to us, from a review of his conduct, that, whatever may have been its secret spring, it bears much more obviously the traits of enthusiasm than of imposture, with which also, however, it may have been blended. The Montanists were afterwards divided into smaller Sects: § such were the *Priscillians*, so called from Priscilla; the *Quintillani* from Quintilla; the *Pepuziani* from Pepuza; the *Artoturite*, from using bread and cheese in their mysteries; and the *Taucodrugite*, so named from two Phrygian words,|| indicating their custom of putting the finger on the nose whilst at prayer.¶

The Montanists maintained that the Heavenly Jerusalem would descend on Earth, and that the Saints would reign there for a Thousand Years.** A brief review of the opinions of the *Millenarii* or *Chilists*, in general, may serve to complete our account of the Heresies of the IIInd century.

Millenium. The doctrine of the Millennium, which may be traced back to a very early period in the History of the Church, was held, under different modifications, by many of the most distinguished Fathers in the primitive Ages.†† It originated chiefly in too literal an interpretation of the

Prophetic writings, more especially of some passages in the Apocalypse,* and appears to have corresponded with the notions and prejudices of the Judaizing Christians.† The first, according to Eusebius, who introduced it, was Papias, a man of slender capacity, who had published certain Parables of Christ, not recorded in the Gospel, and various fables which he pretended to have received by unwritten tradition.‡ It was subsequently embraced by Irenaeus,§ Justin Martyr,|| Tertullian,¶ Lactantius,** and others, but was severely attacked by Origen, with whose peculiar opinions it was inconsistent. Nepos, an Egyptian Bishop, about the middle of the IIIrd century, wrote, in Defence of the Doctrine, a work entitled *A Confutation of the Allegorists*, (by which name were designated such as explained allegorically the passages on which the opinion of a Millennium rested.) This Work, which acquired much reputation, was refuted with equal zeal and candour by Dionysius of Alexandria, whose truly Christian exertions were successful in checking this error. It was still common, however, in the time of Jerome, who himself was one of its opponents.

The following appear to have been the general opinions of the ancient *Millenarii*:—They thought that the City or Temple of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and splendidly adorned with gold and jewels,†† and that Christ, having come down from Heaven upon earth,‡‡ all the Just,§§ both those who were before dead, and those who were still found alive,||| should reign with Him in the land of Judea for the space of a thousand years, at the expiration of which the conflagration of the world and the last judgment were to take place. The descriptions which they give of this period of enjoyment are not marked by that spiritual character which peculiarly distinguishes the state of beatitude in the Christian Paradise. The productions of nature were to be lavishly multiplied and prodigiously enlarged to administer to corporeal delights.¶¶ The Earth was to pour forth spontaneously its abundant harvests. The rocks of the mountains were to exude honey, vines were to run down with the stream, and the rivers to overflow with milk.*** Rich vineyards and luxuriant fruits, delicious fare and immoderate banquets, were the pictures of bliss which they drew and embellished.††† And lest the prospect of any exertion should cast the slightest shade over the brilliancy of the colouring—they imagined that nations

Heretics of the IIInd Century.

By whom maintained or rejected.

Opinions of the ancient Millenarians.

* *Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 16.*

† *Catech. 16. n. 8.*

‡ *Lib. i. Ep. 243.*

§ *Epiph. Her. 49.*

¶ *variae*, in Phrygian a stake, and *ἀποργα*, a nose or beak.

|| *Augustine (de Her. c. 26.)* and Theodoret (*Har. Fab. lib. iii. c. 2.*) speak of them as Sects of Montanists then existing: see also, Jerome (*Adv. Marc. Ep. 27.*) &c. For an account of Montanus see Tillmont, *Mém. Ari. Montanistes*. Lardner's *Hist. of Heretics*, p. 385—406, and Bp. Kaye on Tertullian, p. 12—36.

** The Millennium was also held by the Cerinthians, the Marcionites, &c.

†† It was not universally held in the Church. In answer to a question on this opinion put by Trypho, Justin Martyr answers,—*ὁμοῦλον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν ἐκείνους, αὐτὸν αὐτῶν ἐκείνους, ὅτι ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν ἐκείνους, αὐτὸν αὐτῶν ἐκείνους, ὅτι ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν ἐκείνους, αὐτὸν αὐτῶν ἐκείνους.* (*Dial. cum Tryph.*) Daillé boldly inserts *μὴ* before *ἐκείνους* . . . *ἐκείνους*.

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* Ch. xx. v. 4—6. See also passages in Isaiah, &c.

† It is called by Jerome a Jewish fable. Such as maintained it were said to interpret Scripture after the manner of the Jews. The conversion and restoration of the Jews were fixed to this period.

‡ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 39.*

§ *Lib. v. c. 32—36.*

|| *Adv. Marc. lib. iii. c. 29.*

** *Lib. vii. c. 24—26.*

†† Iren. lib. v. c. 34, 35. Just. *Dial. cum Tryph. Orig. De Principiis*, lib. ii. c. 12. Hier. *Prof. in lib. xviii. Com. in Isaiam.*

‡‡ *Nep. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 24, &c.*

§§ *Lact. lib. vii. c. 24.* ||| Iren. *Adv. Her. lib. v. c. 35.*

¶¶ See a very absurd passage in Irenaeus, lib. v. c. 23.—*Quemadmodum prophetæ viderunt, qui Joannem discipulum Domini viderant, audire se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docetbat Dominus, et dicebat: Venient dies in quibus vineæ nascentur singula decem milia palmium habentes, et in uno palatate decem milia brachiorum, et in uno vero palatate decem milia flagellorum, et in unoque flagello decem milia botrum, et in unoque botro decem milia acornum, et unoqueque acornum expressum dabit viginti quatuor metretas vini. Et cum coram apprehenderit aliquis annulum botrum, alius ciconiat botrum, ego metretas vinum, me sume, per me Dominum benedicet, &c.*

*** Lactant. lib. vii. c. 24.

††† Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, lib. xx. c. 7.

History.

should serve them as slaves, that Princes should bow down to them,* that aliens should come to offer them gold and frankincense and precious stones, and should perform for them menial offices as ploughmen or as builders.† And not merely men, but beasts, both wild and domestic, should be raised up and subjected to them.‡ The marriage state§ was still, in the opinion of nearly all the Millenarists, to flourish during this term of triumph. While such were the carnal views of many of the Millenarists, (for some, Tertullian§ for instance, regarded the enjoyments of this period as purely, or at least as chiefly, spiritual,) it is not surprising that Origen should represent the doctrine as a

reproach to Christianity, the Heathens themselves having better sentiments. It is a lamentable fact that notions, so mistaken, and apparently so calculated to degrade the affections, should have been so generally adopted in the less corrupted Ages of the Christian Church. The History of Heresy teaches a great lesson of Toleration. That men of unquestionable ability, learning, and piety, should have fallen into errors, from which so many of their inferiors in every quality of heart and mind have been exempt, is a circumstance which most strongly inculcates the necessity not merely of great circumspection, to avoid errors ourselves, but also of great indulgence in viewing the errors of others.

Heretics of the IIIrd Century.

HERETICS OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

MANICHÆUS.
HIERAX.
NOETUS.
SABRILLIUS.
BERYLLUS.
PAUL OF SAMOSATA.
NOVATIANS.

MANICHÆUS . . . *Manichæism*.

Main.

Life.

Account of Eastern Writers.

MANI, MANES, or MANICHÆUS lived, and perhaps received his birth, in the territories subject to the Kings of Persia. According to the Greek writers,¶ he was a slave, and was purchased by a widow, who set him free, adopted him as her son, gave him a liberal education, and bequeathed to him her property. This account is wholly unnoticed by Eastern authors. And, as Manes among the Greeks was a common designation for a slave,** it is possible that his name may have created this error, as it appears to have occasioned others.†† That he was a man of considerable talent and learning is acknowledged: his skill in Astronomy is particularly mentioned.‡‡ According to Eastern writers,

* Iren. lib. v. c. 33.

† Orig. de Princ. lib. ii. c. 12.

‡ Iren. lib. v. c. 33. Stephan. Gobar. op. Phot. Cod. 232.

§ Iren. lib. v. c. 35. Lact. lib. v. c. 34. Orig. de Princ. lib. ii. c. 12. Philoc. c. 26. Steph. Gob. op. Phot. Cod. 232. Methodius is of a different opinion. (ap. Epiph. Har. 64. sec. 32.) On this subject see Tillen. Mem. tom. ii. part ii. p. 243. Art. Les Millénaires, and Whitty's Treatise of the True Millennium, added to his Commentaries on the Epistles, from which the above sketch has been chiefly drawn.

¶ Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 369. With respect to Justin Martyr, Bishop Kaye, in a Work just published, remarks: "Middleton has most unfairly charged Justin with maintaining that the Saints will pass the Millennium in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures. Nothing of this kind is to be found in Justin's description," &c. (See Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr, p. 104, note.)

¶ Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 22, &c.

•• Fid. Comm. in Arist. Adv. 1329.

†† See the derivations of Cyril of Jerusalem, (Cot. 6. n. 24.) &c.

‡‡ Epiph. Har. 66. c. 13. It is probable that he believed that this earth had two inhabited hemispheres, the upper and the lower, and therefore that there are Antipodes. Beauv. Hist. de Manich. tom. ii. p. 374.

not very ancient, Mani, having acquired some reputation, drew together a number of followers who opposed the Religion of Zoroaster, which at that time was established in Persia. This conduct having excited disturbances, exposed him to the anger of Sapor, to avoid whose pursuit he fled into Turkestan. From his retirement, he circulated notions which inspired an ignorant multitude with an extraordinary degree of reverence for his character. Having assured his followers that he was about to proceed to the heavenly regions, and to remain there for the space of a year, he concealed himself in a cave, and, at the expiration of that period, appeared in an appointed place, and showed them a Work, filled with strange figures, and called *Ergen* and *Esten*, which he pretended to have brought from above—an artifice which considerably increased the number of his disciples. On the death of Sapor, Hormisdas, his successor, embraced the tenets of Mani, and treated him with marks of distinguished kindness. Baharam or Varanes, the next King, also appeared to regard him with favour at the commencement of his reign. But having drawn him out of a castle (which Hormisdas had built for him as a place of security) under pretence of holding a dispute with the doctors of the Zoroastrian Sect, he flayed him alive, and caused his skin to be filled with straw and to be hung up as an object of terror to his followers. Of these some fled to India, some, it is said, penetrated into China, and others, remaining in Persia, were reduced to a state of slavery.* Socrates, the Ecclesiastical Historian,† ascribes his execution not to

Account of Greek Writers.

* This is the account in d'Herbelot, Bibl. Or. Art. Mani. See also

Hyde, de Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 21.

† Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 22.

History. his Religious opinions, but to the indignation of the King on the death of his son, whom Manes had undertaken to cure of an illness. But whether these circumstances be true or not, the fact of his having been put to death seems to be indisputable.*

The accounts of Manes which are found in the Fathers, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Socrates, and others, were drawn from an ancient Piece, entitled *The Acts of the Dispute between Archelaus, Bishop of Mesopotamia, and the Hæresiarch Manes*.† Of this Piece, which is said to have been written originally in Syriac and translated into Greek, we have now only a Latin version, which is considered as having been written before the VIth century. The authority of these *Acts* has been attacked with great ingenuity and research by Beausobre, in his *History of Manichæism and Manichæism*,§ a Work which bears continual proofs of the most extensive acquaintance with ancient Philosophy and Ecclesiastical antiquities combined with extraordinary acuteness and with singular candour. Dilating on every point, even remotely connected with his principal object, the author has illustrated a great variety of questions with all the aids which a learning almost inexhaustible can supply to the nicest subtlety and discrimination. True it is, however, that this celebrated Work has been considered as not wholly exempt from defects.¶ In studiously avoiding the practice, so common before his time, of invariably impugning the motives and ridiculing the systems of the early Heretics, Beausobre was, perhaps, led into the contrary extreme of seeking too often to justify their conduct and to systematize their notions. Doubtless the Heretics neither on all occasions acted conformably to their principles, nor at all times reasoned consistently with their own theories. If it is a mistake to suppose them always vicious or absurd, it is equally one to regard the Fathers as always ignorant or unfair.

Beausobre's
History of
Manichæism.

Sources of
the accounts
of Manes in
the Fathers
drawn from
the Dispute at
Caschar.

Jerome places the rise of Manichæism in the year of Christ 277. In Beausobre's opinion,* it was known in Rome probably about that time, but it may have arisen in Persia eight or ten years sooner. Lardner† is doubtful whether it was known in the Roman Empire before the very end of the IIIrd century, or the beginning of the IVth.

Scythian and Terebinthus are said to have been the predecessors of Manes, but the accounts given of these two persons appear too incorrect to entitle them to credit.‡

Among the Works of Manes may be reckoned four Books, sometimes ascribed to Terebinthus, and sometimes to Scythian:—entitled the *Mysteries*, the *Chapters or Heads*, the *Gospel*, and the *Treasure*. In the *Mysteries* Manes endeavoured to demonstrate the doctrine of Two Principles from the mixture of Good and Evil which is found in the world. He grounded his reasoning on the argument, that, if there were One Sole Cause, simple, perfect, and good, in the highest degree, the whole, corresponding with the nature and will of that Cause, would show simplicity, perfection, and goodness, and every thing would be immortal, holy, and happy, like Himself§. The *Chapters* contained a summary of the chief articles of the Manichæan scheme. Of the *Gospel* nothing certain can be asserted. Beausobre, apparently without sufficient grounds,|| considers it as a collection of the meditations and pretended revelations of Manes. The *Treasure*, or *Treasure of Life*, may, perhaps, have derived its name from the words of Christ, wherein He compares His doctrine to a treasure hid in a field.¶ Manes also wrote other Works** and Letters, and among them the *Epistle of the Foundation*, of which we have fragments still extant in St. Augustine, who undertook to refute it.†† His Works appear to have been originally written some in Syriac, some in Persic.

Heretics of
the IIIrd
Century.

Date of the
rise of Mani-
chæism.

Scythian
and Tere-
binthus.

Works of
Manes.

Pretensions
of Mani-
chæus.

Although the accounts of the pretensions of Manichæus; which the Ancients have left us are not consistent, it appears not difficult to draw from them a probable conclusion. He is represented sometimes as endeavouring to assume the appearance of Christ, sometimes as calling himself an Apostle, more frequently as professing to be the Holy Ghost. At the beginning of the conference at Caschar,§§ he is introduced as saying: "I am a disciple of Christ, an Apostle of Jesus. I am the Paraclete, promised to be sent by Jesus, to con-

* Lardn. *Credib.* part ii. ch. lxiii.

† *Acta Disputationis Archelai, Episcopi Mesopotamiae, et Manetis Hæresiarchæ*. It was published under this title by M. Zaccagni, Librarian of the Vatican. See *Collect. Monument. Ecclesiæ Græcæ et Latine*, Rome, 1698, in 4to. Valentin has inserted nearly the whole of the Dispute in his notes on Socrates. See also Collari, *Hist. des Act. Ecclési.* tom. iii.; and Higgol. *Opér.* ed. Fabric.

‡ En général toute cette Pièce, qu'on nomme "Les Actes de la Dispute d'Archelaus," n'est qu'un Roman fabriqué par un Grec, et publié depuis l'an 330, soixante ans ou environ après la mort de Manichæus. (*Disc. Prélim.* p. 6.) He considers the Greek, by whom this fiction was written, as having had some memoirs respecting the life and opinions of Manes (Pref. p. vi.) Il y a quelques vérités, mais on peut nombrer, et le peu qu'il y en a est altéré, corrompu, mêlé de fausses manifestations. (*Disc. Prélim.* p. 6.) The following is Mosheim's opinion: Scito quidem ille (Beausobre) luculentè ostendit, esse quendam in his Actis de quorum veritate jure optimo dubites: at non, opinor, tractatum fecit, nunquam ejusmodi Archelai et Manetis disputationem contigisse. Certe hoc neque ex erroribus nominis Historici, quam scriptor sine admittit, sine admittit videtur, neque ex veterum et recentiorum quorundam de his Actis adeo remota efficit potest. Majora verò non habet, nisi doctrinam arguendo, quam excolenti quidem ingenio præditus, verum jure proletrior erat ad veterum scripturam Christianorum fidem infirmam, et conjecturis suis nimis sepe fidebat. Quisquid id est, magna tamen antiquitatis commendationem hæc Acta habent, et quod nec ipse adversarius eorum diffiteri vellet, nulla continent aut valde probabilis, nisi vero conscientia. (*De Reb. Christ.* p. 729.)

§ A new edition, or perhaps, as Lardner wished, (*Cred. part ii.* ch. xlviii. sec. 7.) a translation of this Work, with such additional remarks as the researches and strictures of succeeding writers have furnished, accompanied with a good index, is, we think a great desideratum. It is objected to Beausobre, that he is rather loquacious, but who can complain of the loquacity of genius?

|| For an answer to the attacks with which it was assailed, see *Biblioth. Germanique*, tom. xxxvii. &c.

* *Hist. de Man.* tom. i. p. 121.

† *Credib.* part ii. ch. lxiii. sec. 2.

‡ *Ibid.* sec. 3.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.*

|| *Matt.* ch. xiii. v. 44.

¶ Lardn. *Credib.* part ii. ch. lxiii. sec. 3.

†† *Cont. Ep. Manich.* There is a fragment of it in another of his Works, *De Natur. Boni*, c. 46. There are also fragments in the *Treatise of Fide* (ch. v. xi. xlviii.) joined to his Works.—He also wrote a Letter to Menech, a Manichæan female. From this piece Julian the Pelagian urged parts in a Work against Augustine, who has transcribed them in his answer entitled *Opus Imperfectum*, because left unfinished. Also a Letter to Marcellus, which Beausobre considers to be genuine. Lardner thinks it probable that the Epistle to Patricius, cited by Julian the Pelagian, in the *Opus Imperfectum* of Augustine, is the same as the *Epistle of the Foundation*. (*Credib.* part ii. ch. lxiii.) Fragments of some of his Letters were published by Fabricius in the fifth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*.

‡ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. c. 31. *Epiph. Her.* 66, &c.

§ *Act. Archel.*

History.

since the world of sin and of righteousness:* as also Paul, who was sent before me, said that he knew in part, and prophesied in part;† reserving for me that which is perfect, that I might do away that which is in part. Receive, therefore, this third testimony, that I am a chosen Apostle of Christ. If you will receive my words, you will obtain salvation: if not, you will be consumed by eternal fire." St. Augustine informs us, that the Manichees asserted, that our Lord's promise of sending the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, had been fulfilled in their master Manichæus; that in his *Epistles* he styles himself Apostle of Jesus Christ, forasmuch as Christ had promised him, and into him had sent the Holy Ghost; and that, accordingly, he had twelve disciples in imitation of the number of the Apostles, which number, adds Augustine, is retained by the Manichees to this day.‡ It is obvious that the pretensions of Manichæus were of a nature extremely similar to those of Montanus. The following is Beausobre's opinion: "Manichæus assumed the authority of an Apostle of Christ, and a Prophet immediately inspired by the Paraclete, to reform all Religions, and to reveal to the world truths, in which our Lord thought not proper to instruct His first disciples. This was his imposture or fanaticism. For whatever the Ancients may assert, there are no evident proofs that he ever endeavoured to pass for the Paraclete, or the Holy Spirit.§" The Manichæans boasted of possessing superior knowledge, and ridiculed the Catholics, as if they undervalued the use of reasoning. It was the hope of thus enlarging his understanding, which Augustine himself confesses, seduced him when young into the Manichæan Heresy. The errors of Mani undoubtedly arose from an attempt to combine a Philosophical scheme, formed out of the principles of the Magi, with the Christian Revelation.||

Origin of
the notion
of Two
Principles.

The leading principle of Manichæism, that the world and its phenomena are attributable to two distinct Powers, one essentially good, and the other essentially evil, may undoubtedly be traced to an Age much earlier than the rise of the Christian Religion. It has its root in that train of thought which is natural to Man in the first rude state of Society. When the knowledge of one Supreme Being was nearly extinct, and the progress of civilization had not yet provided against the various wants to which the human frame is subject, men feigningly considered themselves as beings exposed to a perpetual succession of Good and Evil. They could derive food and enjoyment from their flocks and from the fruits of the earth, but these flocks were often wasted by disease, these fruits often destroyed by the inclemency of the seasons. They reflected, moreover, that their own conduct was a kind of copy of this state,—at one time they imparted a portion of their stock and laboured to relieve their neighbour, at another they plundered his harvests and depopulated his abodes. The idea of Invisible Powers not being effaced from the mind, they offered to them prayers against the continuance of misery, yet misery continued. By these considerations, therefore, they were probably led to imagine, that the goods and ills of life flowed

from good and evil Spirits, who struggled for the predominance. And as these goods and ills vary in magnitude, so these Spirits were thought to vary in power. But the notion of infinite gradation is not easily conceived, and the scale was supposed to terminate in Two Presiding and Independent Spirits, one by nature good, the other by nature evil, who employed these subordinate agents.

Heretics of
the third
Century.

The process of thought by which this conclusion was arrived at was soon neglected, and the conclusion itself opened a wide field for systems and hypotheses, particularly in Persia and in the East. Light is the greatest of blessings,—it beautifies the face of nature, it brings to maturity the productions of the earth, it cheers and directs the steps of Man,—it was, therefore, the first Good, and the beneficent Spirit was supposed to reside in pure Light. But Darkness was observed to be attended with storms and fearful commotions: vague horrors are associated with the very idea; therefore the Evil Spirit was said to dwell in the abyss of night.

The two Spirits were at war; the origin of the war then furnished another subject of speculation, and the following hypothesis, though under a great variety of modifications, was commonly adopted. The two opposite Beings were originally independent: each resided in his own portion of space. But the Powers of darkness, ever turbulent and agitated, were in continual seditions, and the vanquished in their flight from the victors passed the "flaming bounds," and entered the happy realms. A consequence of this interruption was the formation of the world, and the intermixture of Good and Evil.*

It may be remarked, that the doctrine of Two Independent Powers was expressly contradicted by the Jewish Scriptures, wherein Good and Evil are represented as being at the disposal of God alone. "See now that I, even I, am He, and there is no God with me: I kill, and I make alive: I wound, and I heal."† Again, "I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness. I make peace and create evil: I the Lord, do all these things."‡ These last words being directed to Cyrus, King of Persia, may, perhaps, be considered as conveying a warning against the lessons of the Magi.§

The Manichæan system contrary to the Sacred Scriptures.

The superstitious Hebrews, however, had their good and evil fortune under the names of Gad and Méni, (though they did not consider them as eternal and independent creators,||) as the Romans had their Joves and Vejoves.¶ The Persians had their Ormizdas and Arimanus.

The Egyptians called the Good God Osiris, and the Evil Typhon. There is a very curious Treatise of Plutarch on Isis and Osiris, in which the antiquity and extent of Dualism are discussed.

The system of Manichæus, as developed by Beausobre,** appears to have been the following: Manichæus

System of Manichæus.

* John, ch. xvi. v. 8.

† See 1 Cor. ch. xiii. v. 9, 10.

‡ Aug. *Herr.* 46. Lardner, *Credib.* part ii. ch. lxiii.

§ Beaus. *Hist. de Manich.* tom. I. *Préf.* p. x, xi.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 179.

* Such is the development of Pluquet, *Dict. des Héret. Art. Manichéisme*, sec. 1.

† Deut. ch. xxxii. v. 39.

‡ Isaiah, ch. xlv. v. 6.

§ Pridaux, *Scrip. Conn.* part i. p. 215.

¶ Bergier, *Dict. Théol. Art. Manich.*

** Spencer, *Diss. de Hirc. Emin.* c. 19. sec. 1.

See his *Preface*; his view is also extracted by Jortin, *Rem. on Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii.

History. acknowledged one God, in whom all the attributes, which in his opinion were necessary to constitute perfection, resided. Unable to conceive a substance having neither place nor extension, he represented the Deity as a living immaterial Light, which had eternally dwelt in the highest heaven, or intellectual world, accompanied with pure and immortal Intelligences, or *Bons*, proceeding from His essence.

From the Father emanated two persons—far superior to the other emanations—the Son and the Holy Ghost, consubstantial with Him, but subordinate to Him. The Son, since the formation of the material world, dwells in the Sun and Moon, the former of which is pure fire, the latter pure water. The Holy Ghost dwells in the air. There they execute the orders of the Father: there they will remain till the consummation of the Age.

In a corner of infinite space existed from eternity an Evil Power—Matter, or the Devil, or Darkness, according as Philosophical, or common, or mystical terms were used.—His empire was divided into five regions, the uppermost containing within it the rest, each of which had one of the elements of Matter, and each its Prince, subject to the Evil Power. These two empires were separated by some kind of wall, and on a certain side were neighbours.

The Powers of Darkness, on the occasion of a sedition, came forth from their bounds, saw the Light, and made an irruption into its realms. God opposed to them a power, called "the first Man," who was gifted with the five elements of the celestial substance, (one of which was Light, that is, probably, the human Soul,) but as he proved weaker than his adversaries, the Deity sent another power, called "the Living Spirit," who effected his deliverance. The Demons, vanquished by the Living Spirit, were chained in the air, and became the cause of storms, thunder and lightning, and pestilence. The Living Spirit left them no more liberty than he judged necessary for his designs.

But the Demons, having seized the portion of the heavenly substance, Light and Darkness became confounded.

The Living Spirit undertook, therefore, to separate such parts of the celestial substance as had not been blended with Matter. Of these he formed the Sun and Moon, and of such as had suffered but little corruption the Planets and the lower Heaven. The rest, which was mixed with Matter, was used in forming this sublimary world, in which Good and Evil are woven together.

The Demons having retained the most excellent part of the heavenly substance which they had seized—human Souls,—the Evil Power made two bodies, of different sexes, on the model of "the first Man," whom he had seen, and imprisoned in them the first Souls they had taken. Their object was to allure and rivet them by the blandishments of sense, and to render them enamoured with their captivity, and as bodies of similar figures and organs to the two first are generated, the Souls, which flutter in the air and are dispersed throughout nature, enter incautiously into these corporeal prisons, where concupiscence incessantly prepares for them. Thus united, and attached by the attractions which they find, they drink the fatal poison from the cup of oblivion, by which they lose the remembrance of their heavenly origin. To procure their liberation, the Divine Providence at first employed the ministry of Good Angels, who taught the Patriarchs salutary truths; these delivered the instruction to their descendants; and lest

this light should be totally extinguished, God ceased not to raise up in all times and among all nations, Sages and Prophets, till at length He sent his Son. Jesus Christ informed them of their true origin, the causes of the captivity of their Souls, and the means of recovering their former dignity. Having wrought innumerable miracles in order to confirm His doctrine, He taught them, by His mystical Crucifixion, how they should mortify incessantly their flesh and its passions. He showed them also by His mystical Resurrection and Ascension, that death destroys not the man, but only his prison, and restores to purified Souls the liberty of returning to their heavenly country.*

Maintaining that flesh was composed of the most vicious part of Matter, Manichæus asserted that Christ was Man in figure only, that He was born, took nourishment, suffered, died, and rose again in appearance only, not in reality. Hence he denied the resurrection of the flesh; hence he disapproved of marriage, by which it is perpetuated; hence he recommended those austerities which mortify the body, and abstinence from wine and flesh, by which its sensual affections are inflamed. He required of his Elect, or the Perfect, to live in voluntary poverty and without interfering in temporal matters. To those whose aspirations were less exalted, he conceded the use of meat and wine and the possession of property.†

As all human Souls cannot acquire perfect purity in the course of this life, he admitted the transmigration of Souls, but asserted that those which were not purged by a certain number of revolutions, are delivered to the Demons of the air, to be tormented and tamed by them; that after this discipline, they are sent into other bodies, as it were into a new school, till, having acquired a sufficient degree of purity, they traverse the region of Matter, and pass into the Moon, (which consists of water:) that the Moon, when full of these Spirits, which happens when the whole of her surface is illuminated, transmits them to the Sun, who in his turn sends them to that place which the Manichæans called "the Pillar of Glory."

The Holy Ghost, who dwells in the air, continually assists the souls, pouring over them its salutary influence. The Sun, which is composed of a fire pure and purifying, facilitates their ascent to Heaven, and detaches the material parities which weigh them down.

When all the Souls and all the parts of the celestial substance shall be separated from Matter, then shall be

* The Manichæans not merely assumed the name of Christians, but constantly applied to Christ the titles of Lord and Saviour, and professed the strongest attachment for his Revealed Religion. At the beginning of the dispute with Augustine in the year 392, Fortunatus, the Manichæan Freshwater, affirms in a Confession of faith, that his Sect believed that God is incorruptible, glorious, inaccessible, incomprehensible, impassible, dwelling in His own eternal light; that He produces nothing from Himself corruptible, neither darkness, nor Demons, nor Satan; that He sent a Saviour, like Himself, the Word born before the foundation of the world, who came among men to save the Soul worthy of His holy favour, and sanctified by His heavenly commandments; that under His conduct those Souls shall, according to His promise, again return to the kingdom of God, which cannot be attained through any other Mediator;—this he represents as their belief, adding, that they held the doctrine of the Trinity.

† The Manichæan Sect was divided into two parts, Elect and Auditors. The Assembly of the Manichæans appears to have been headed by a President, representing Jesus Christ, and twelve Masters, in imitation of the twelve Apostles. These were followed by seventy-two Bishops, (after the example of the seventy-two Disciples of our Saviour.) These Bishops had Presbyters and Deacons under them. All the members of the Religious Orders were chosen from the class of the Elect. See Mosheim, *de Rel. Christ.*

Heretics of
the IIIrd
Century.

History. the consummation of the Age. The destroying fire shall burst from the caverns in which the Creator has enclosed it; the Angel, who sustains the earth in its equilibrium, shall let it fall into the flames, and then cast the useless mass from the bounds of the world into the place which the Scripture calls "outer darkness." There the Demons shall dwell for ever, and the indolent Souls, who have not finished their purification when this great catastrophe shall take place, (as the punishment of their negligence,) shall be appointed to keep the Demons confined in their prison, in order that they may make no further attempts against the Kingdom of God. The punishments to which the human Souls are subjected, are intended to produce reformation; but those which are found imperfect at the last day, are destined to this employment, which is rather a privation of superior happiness than actual misery.

Manichæus rejected the Old Testament, and denied the superior authority of the Hebrew Prophets, to whom he opposed other Prophets, whose books the Eastern nations professed to have preserved. He affirmed that Prophets had arisen in every nation, and that the Christian Church, consisting mostly of Gentiles, was to be guided by those illuminated Gentile instructors, rather than by Hebrew teachers.

Manichæus pretended that the Gospels were either not composed by the authors whose names they bear, or had been corrupted by Judaizing Christians. Yet it appears not that the Manichæans curtailed or interpolated the New Testament.

He admitted the authority of Apocryphal books written to maintain the Heresies of the Docete, (or those who held that Christ had only the appearance of a man,) and the Encratites.

Bayle's defence of Manichæism

Bayle,* who was fond of embracing his literary adversaries by the defence of Metaphysical difficulties best calculated to display the brilliancy of his own talents, undertook to extenuate the absurdities, and to give point to the objections of the Manichæan system, not indeed with a view of establishing its truth, which he did not admit, but in order to involve all systems indiscriminately in the darkness of Pyrrhonism. The nature and extent of this brief notice will not allow us to detail the various arguments advanced on a subject, in which the human understanding is perplexed and lost. His reasoning, which had startled others by its boldness, or entangled them by its subtlety, was attacked by Le Clerc under the name of Theodore Parrhase,† by Dom Alexander Gaudin,‡ by Archbishop King,§ by Jaquelot,¶

Answers.

by De la Placette,* by Leibnitz,† and by Malebranche.‡

Heretic of the III^d Century
Disciple of Manes.

Manichæism coming from Persia excited the aversion of the Roman Emperors. From the time of Diocletian to that of Anastasius, various means of persecution were employed against the Manichæans. They were banished, spoiled, or butchered. In 491, the mother of Anastasius, being a Manichæan, caused a suspension of the rigorous laws to which they were subjected. After having enjoyed tranquillity twenty-seven years, they were deprived of it by Justin and his followers. About the middle of the VIIth century, a Manichæan woman, named Callinice, taught her errors to her two sons, Paul and John, and sent them to preach in Armenia. The disciples of Paul took the name of *Paulicians*. His successor, Sylvan, undertook to accommodate Manichæism with Scripture, as received by the Orthodox, and thus obtained great success in making proselytes. In 810, the Paulicians were divided under two chiefs, one called Sergius, the other Baanes; the followers of the last were called *Bannites*; after a bloody war they were reunited by one Theodotus.§ But the state of Manichæism in later times belongs to a subsequent period of History.

HIERAX.

Hierax, or Hieracas, a native of Leontium, or Leontopolis, in Egypt, founded the Sect of *Hieracites*, about the end of the IIIrd century. He was distinguished as well by his austerity and abstemiousness, as by his extensive acquaintance with Literature and Science. He composed¶ Commentaries on various parts of the Old and New Testament, the whole of which he is said to have committed to memory.

Agreeing with Manichæus, of whom he has been reckoned a disciple,¶ on some points, he differed from him on many others. Regarding the mission of Jesus Christ as having introduced more rigid rules of conduct than the laws of Moses, he inferred that the enjoyment of wine, of meats, of marriage, and of all sensual pleasures was abolished, or at least forbidden to such as aspired to a high degree of virtue.

Nor was this his only error. He denied the Resurrection of the body; he pretended that children, who died before the age of reason, could not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, which was promised to those only who had successfully combated the passions of the flesh; he supposed that Melchisedec was the Holy Spirit, endeavouring to confirm this notion by an Apocryphal book, entitled *Anabaticon*, or *The Ascension of Isaiiah*. With respect to the Father and the Son, he

* *Dict. Hist. Art. Manichæens.*

† See a brief analysis of their answers in Plaqueot, *Dict. des Hérés.* tom. ii. p. 375.

‡ *Paraphrasia, ou Pensées diverses sur des Matières de Critique, d'Histoire, de Morale, et de Politique*, p. 361. See the answers of Bayle in *Dict. Hist. Art. Origène. Rép. aux Quest. d'un Provincial*, tom. iii. c. 173.

§ *La Distinction et la Nature du Bien et du Mal traité où l'on combat l'Erreur des Manichéens, les Sentimens de Montaigne et de Charron, et ceux de M. Bayle*, 1704. See also *Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans*, Août, 1705. Art. 7.

¶ *De Origine Mali*, 1702. The Translation, with notes, and a Dissertation concerning the Principle and Criterion of Virtue and the Origin of the Passions, by Bishop Edmund Law, appeared in 1732. A third edition was published in 1739. Bayle, *Rép. aux Quest. d'un Provincial*, tom. ii. p. 74. See also, *Rép. des Lettres*, 1706, Janvier, p. 57.

¶ *Conformité de la Foi et de la Raison. Comp. Rép. aux Quest. d'un Provincial*, tom. iii. See also *Examen de la Théologie de M. Bayle. Entretiens d'Ariste et de Thémiſte*.

• *Réponse à deux Objections de M. Bayle*, in 12mo. 1707.

† *Essais de Théodecte*, t. 3. n. 405, &c.

‡ See *Governeur, Christ. Traité de la Nature et de la Grâce. Réflexion sur la Prémotion Physique*. The principles of Malebranche were attacked by Arnauld, *Réflex. Phil. et Théol. sur le Traité de la Nature et de la Grâce*, 3 vol. in 12mo. *De l'Action de Dieu sur les Créatures*, &c. in 4to.

§ For an account of the authors who wrote against the Manichæans, see Lardner's *Credibility*, part ii. ch. Ixiii. Among their most celebrated opponents was St. Augustine, who had himself being nine years among the Auditors of this Sect.

¶ He composed a Dissertation on *The Creation of the World in Six Days*, and also Hymns.

¶ *Beausobre, Hist. de Manich.* tom. I. lib. ii. c. 6, sec. 2. note. See, however, Moshim (*de Rob. Christ.* p. 903) and Lardner, (*Credibility*, part ii. ch. Ixiii, sec. 7.) who are of a different opinion.

compared them to two wicks lighted in the same lamp, and with the same oil.*

It was doubtless this speculative turn of mind which led him to interpret, or rather to obscure, the Sacred Scripture by numerous allegories.

His austere doctrines proved particularly attractive to the Monks or Ascetics of Egypt. Many of his followers sincerely observed, though others merely affected to observe, an entire abstinence from animal food, and other rigorous practices.†

NOETUS.

The Heresies which had already appeared on the subject of the Trinity, continued in the IIIrd century.

Noetus, a native of Smyrna, or, according to another account, of Ephesus, taught that there was but one person in the Godhead, which at one time was called the Father, and at another the Son. He maintained, therefore, that it was the Father who had been born of the Virgin Mary, and had suffered on the cross, whence his followers, like those of Praxeas, have been called *Patropassians*.

Having been called before the Priests, he disavowed, without inwardly renouncing, his errors, which, when they had been adopted by some persons, he openly professed. Being again summoned, he persisted in the opinion which he had taught, and was expelled from the Church. His conduct has been ascribed to pride, which, as it is allied to folly, induced him, it is said, to pretend that he was (more probably that he was like) Moses, and that his brother was (more probably that he might be compared to) Aaron. His name was almost unknown in the time of St. Augustine. His errors are mentioned in an ancient Piece still extant, and ascribed to Hippolytus,‡ from which Epiphanius has almost entirely borrowed His refutation of this Hæresiarch.

SABELLIUS.

Though the doctrines of Sabellius acquired great repute, but little is known of his history. He was born in Pentapolis, a division of Cyrenaic Libya. It was in its Capital, Ptolemais, of which he was, perhaps, Bishop, that he first taught the Heresy so well known under the name of Sabellianism. This Heresy, which arose from the fear of appearing to fall into Polytheism,§ consisted in asserting that the different persons of the Godhead are merely different operations of one Being; that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are but various names of God, according as he is viewed in various relations. Thus, when God was considered as resolving to save mankind, He was called the Father; when as entering into the Virgin's womb, and as suffering death on the Cross, He was called the Son; and when as displaying His efficacy on the minds of sinners,

He was called the Holy Ghost. He gave the Law as Father; He was incarnate as Son; He descended upon the Apostles as Holy Ghost.* Thus these different appellations of God were borrowed from the different acts for Man's salvation.† The Trinity was the Divine Nature under the three ideas of Substance, Thought, and Will, or Action. The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were three denominations in one hypostasis, as in Man, Body, Soul, and Spirit;‡ In defence of this view he maintained that the doctrine of the Church opened a field to gross corporeal imaginations.

His disciples were called *Patropassians*. Yet Sabellius is said by Epiphanius§ to have denied that the Father suffered death. According to Mosheim, Sabellius "maintained that a certain energy only, proceeding from the supreme Parent, or a certain portion of the Divine Nature, was united to the Son of God, the Man Jesus; and he considered, in the same manner, the Holy Ghost as a portion of the everlasting Father."||

Facundus says, that the Church had not begun to use the word *Person* in the Trinity, till it was obliged to do so in order to defend the Faith against Sabellius.¶

The opinions of Sabellius had made so many proselytes (among others some Bishops) in Pentapolis, that Dionysius of Alexandria sent Legates to that Province, and wrote three Letters in refutation of this Heresy. But it is often the failing of controversialists, to be so violently bent against one extreme as to overlook the other. In his efforts to prove that the Son was a different person from the Father, he unfortunately made too

* Theodorët, *Har.* *Ph.* lib. ii. c. 9.

† Again, the Father might be compared to the figure or substance of the Sun, the Son to the power of Lighting, (*τὸ φωτίζον*), and the Holy Ghost to the power of Heating, (*τὸ θερμαίνον*). Epiph. *Har.* 52.

‡ *Ὁς ἐστὶν ἀσώματος κύριος καὶ ἄνευ καὶ ὁμοῦ.* Epiph. *Har.* 62. Comp. Basil. *Ep.* 210. *Oper.* tom. iii. p. 317, and *Ibid.* Pelus. lib. i. *Ep.* 247.

§ *Anacroph. Oper.* tom. ii. p. 146. Comp. J. Damsc. de *Har.* n. 72.

|| *Eccle. Hist.* Cent. 3. part ii. ch. v. Comp. *De Reb. Christ.* p. 689—699. Beausobre thus explains Sabellianism: *Sabellius ne concevait en Dieu qu'une seule Personne, dont le Verbe est la Raison, la Sagesse, et dont le Saint Esprit est la Vertu. Ni le Verbe, ni le Saint Esprit, n'étoient point, selon Sabellius, des Hypostases, tout de même que les facultés de raisonner et de vouloir, ou d'agir, n'ont point une substance distincte de celle de l'âme humaine, et ne sont point des personnes différentes de l'homme.... L'erreur Sabellienne consistoit à confondre la Personnalité du Verbe et du Saint Esprit, la Trinité n'étant autre chose, dans ce système, que la Nature Divine considérée sous les trois idées de Substance, de Substance qui pense, de Substance qui veut et qui agit.... Jésus, Fils de Marie, est le Fils de Dieu, parcequ'il a été conçu du Saint Esprit, et que le Verbe ou la Sagesse de Dieu, qui est toujours en Dieu, de qui elle est véritablement inséparable, a déposé un Verbe dans la Personne de Jésus, afin de lui révéler les secrets, qu'il devoit enseigner aux hommes, et le révéler du pouvoir nécessaire pour confirmer ces vérités par des Miracles. Le Verbe ne sort jamais du Père, que comme notre Raison sort, pour nous dire, hors de nous, lorsqu'elle fait connaître, par des paroles et par des commandements, quelles sont nos pensées et nos vœux. Ainsi le Verbe, qui a été en Jésus-Christ, n'est qu'un Verbe Déclaratif, qui a manifesté à Jésus la Science du Salut, et un Verbe Opératif qui lui a conféré une Puissance miraculeuse. L'union du Fils de Dieu avec la Personne de Jésus n'est point une union substantielle, mais de Verbe, et de Verbe seulement. Ainsi les Sabelliens ne reconnaissent aucune union hypostatique de l'Essence Divine avec la Nature Humaine de Jésus-Christ. Ce n'est qu'une Opération de la Divinité, une pleine effusion de la Sagesse et de la Vertu Divine dans l'âme du Seigneur. (*Hist. de Manich.* tom. i. p. 537.) He also concludes that it was not true that the Sabelliens were Patropassians: *Ni de leur aveau, car ils soutiennent, que la Divinité est inséparable, comme Epiphane le dit en propres termes: ni par une conséquence légitime, car ils n'ont jamais reconnu aucune union substantielle de la Nature Divine avec la Nature Humaine de Jésus-Christ. (Ibid.)**

¶ *Pro Defens. Trinit. Capitul.* lib. i.

* See the Letter of Arius to Alexander in Epiphanius, (*Har.* 69. c. 7.) Athanasius, (*De donb. Synod.* *Oper.* tom. i. p. 728.) and Hilary, (*de Trinit.* lib. vi. sec. 5. &c.)

† On the subject of Hierax see Epiphanius. *Har.* 67.

‡ *Serm. c. Har. Noet.* in the 2nd volume of the works of Hippolytus, edited by Fabricius. Besides which discourse, see on the subject of Noetus Epiphanius, *Har.* 57. Theodorët, *Har.* *Ph.* lib. iii. c. 3. Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* tom. i. part ii. lib. iii. c. 6. p. 532. Mosheim, de *Reb. Christ.* p. 682; and Lardner's *Credent.* part ii. ch. xli.

§ When the Sabelliens met the Orthodox, they said to them, *οὐκ ἔσονται, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, τὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ.* Epiphanius. *Har.* 62. Comp. *ENCYCLOPEDIA*, p. 157. ART. PRAEXAS, note ||.

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much difference between their natures. He dropped the expressions that the Son was the work of the Father, that He was to the Father as the vine to the vine-dresser, and the vessel to the carpenter,—that He did not exist before He was made. These expressions (of which Origen afterwards availed himself) induced some persons to complain against him to Dionysius, Bishop of Rome. On being informed of this proceeding, he wrote "Four Books," in which he refuted both the errors of Sabellius, and that which was ascribed to himself. These Books formed, probably, the piece entitled *A Refutation and an Apology*, in which, according to Athanasius, though he did not much approve of the word consubstantial, his opinions respecting the Trinity corresponded with the Orthodox Faith.*

Remarks.

From this account of their controversy we may infer, that the opinion of the Church at that period was, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were not different Names of the Divine Nature, and that, moreover, it would not allow, even when it was of great importance to confute an opposite error, expressions which might be considered as asserting that the Son was of a different nature from the Father.† From the vindication of Dionysius, we may also remark how dangerous it is to conclude that, because certain consequences may be even justly deduced from unguarded expressions or illustrations, it necessarily follows that the author in whom they are found, perceived or allowed their consequences.

From an extract from the Work of Dionysius against Sabellius, preserved by Eusebius,‡ it appears that this Heresiarch coincided with Hermogenes in denying that Matter was created; hence it is, perhaps, that his disciples were sometimes called *Hermogenians*.§ They received the Canonical Scriptures, but also used some Apocryphal books, chiefly the Gospel according to the Egyptians.||

BERYLLUS.

Beryllus, Bishop of Bozrah in Arabia, a man of great learning and repute, taught that Jesus Christ had no proper existence or distinct personality before His incarnation, that He was the only God, inasmuch as the Father resided in Him.¶

After many persons had attempted to withdraw him from his Heresy, Origen had a conference with him, in which he succeeded by mildness of address in discovering his sentiments, and by strength of argument in refuting them, and thus was Beryllus brought back into the path of Truth;** a striking instance of the effects of sound learning when tempered with gentleness, moderation, and charity. The same man, whom volumes

of controversial invective would perhaps have left confirmed in error, and exasperated into enmity, is often not only persuaded, but conciliated by a few well-directed and candid observations.

Beryllus had written some Works which are no longer extant. We have also to regret the loss of the Account of his Conference with Origen, mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome.*

PAUL OF SAMOSATA.

The History of Paul, a native of Samosata, and Bishop of Antioch, presents a very mournful view of the progress of ambition and luxury in the Church, at a period not much beyond the middle of the IIIrd century. It must be read, however, with the caution at all times necessary to be observed in examining the statements of an adverse party. The sketch, which we give, is drawn from the circular Letter (preserved by Eusebius) which was transmitted to the various Churches of the Empire, and particularly to Dionysius and Maximus, Bishops of Rome and Alexandria, by the Bishops assembled at the Council of Antioch to judge of the opinions of Paul. He is said to have possessed great wealth, which was neither acquired by inheritance from his parents, nor gained by his own industry, but amassed by extortions and sacrileges, and drawn from the injured by deceitful promises of protection, and under a false appearance of piety. His pride was equal to his avarice. Preferring to the title of Bishop that of *Ducenarius*,† or *Prætor* of the Emperor, he was charged with displaying in the places of public resort, amid a crowd of attendants, an affectation of business, and a degree of splendour and arrogance, which, though designed to dazzle and astonish, drew down odium on the Christian Religion. Having raised a high and stately throne in the church, he assumed the manners of a Sophist, and imitated the pomp of a secular judge. His gestures were theatrical and violent. It is added, that he warmly reproved such as listened with the modesty and seriousness so becoming in the house of God, instead of expressing their applause with confused and tumultuary cries. For the hymns sung in honour of Christ, which he termed recent inventions, he substituted hymns in praise of himself. The neighbouring Bishops and Priests pronounced the most extravagant panegyrics in his presence, assuring their congregations that he was an Angel descended from Heaven. His impieties were dissembled by his Clergy, who were attached to his interest by the riches which he bestowed, or who, conscious of their own detected crimes, were kept in dependence from the fear of punishment. He is also represented as being much addicted to the pleasures of the table, and as exciting great scandal by leading with him, wherever he went, two young females remarkable for their beauty. This conduct, continue the

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* Sabellius is mentioned by nearly all writers on Heresies of this period. See especially Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 6. Epiphanius, *Har.* 62. Athanasius, *Lib. de Sententiâ Dionysii*. See also particularly *Historia Sabelliana* by the learned Warton, printed at Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1696. Comp. Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* tom. i. p. 535. See also Tillen. *Mém.* p. 4. Art. *Les Sabellians*.

† Pluquet, *Dict. des Hérés.* Art. *Sabellius*.

‡ *Præp. Evang.* lib. vii. c. 19.

§ August, *Har.* 41, &c.

|| Epiph. *Har.* 62.

¶ Τις εναντιον και αληθινον ημῶν λεγομεν τοις ἁγίοις, κατ' ἑαυτὸν ὡς μονοθεῖς, τὸν θεὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐκείνους αὐτὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα. (*Epiph.* *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 33. tom. ii. p. 238. ed. Heimeyer.) On the meaning of these words see Mosheim, *de Reb. Christ.* p. 699.

** Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. c. 33. See also c. 20, &c.

* *De Vir. Illust.* c. 60. On the subject of Beryllus, see also Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 7.

† *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. c. 30.

‡ The *Ducenarii*, or Imperial attendants, were so called, because their salary was 200 sesterces, or £1600, a year. (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. c. 16.) In the Palmyrene inscription the word *dacenarius* (in Greek *δοκέναντος*) is often found. Athanasius says that Zenobis protected Paul. (*Ad Saditar. vit. agnoscit Op.* tom. i. p. 837. Vid. Bayle, *Dict. Hist. Art. Zenobis*.) It has been conjectured that Paul obtained through her the Office of *Ducenarius*.

Heresies
the IIIrd
Century

History. writers, would have awakened accusations even against one who professed the Orthodox Faith. The expression of indignation seems, however, to have been drawn forth by the heretical opinions which he maintained, and of which we shall endeavour to convey an idea, as far as we can collect any thing clear and consistent from the confused accounts of ancient writers.

History. His main errors appear to have been the two opinions—that the Logos was not a distinct person from the Father; and that the Logos was not strictly united with the human nature of Christ. The first affected the doctrine of the Trinity, the second that of the Incarnation; this last was that which excited most attention. To explain his notion more fully, he taught that the Logos and the Holy Spirit were in the Father, merely as Reason is in Man, without any real and personal existence. Properly speaking, there was neither Father, nor Son, nor Holy Ghost, but simply one God.* Jesus Christ was born a man, not exalted by nature above other human beings, but into Him descended, from God, the Logos—the Wisdom and the Light. In this there was no personal hypostatical union, but the Logos merely dwelt in, and operated through, Him. Jesus Christ was, indeed, called God, but only in an improper sense of the word; i.e. only by virtue of the inhabitation of the Logos in Him.† He was not just essentially, or by His nature, but He exercised justice by the communication of the divine Logos, which (at the period, doubtless, of His death) was said to have quitted Him, and returned to the Father. These opinions Paul maintained in Tracts, which, as we learn from Vincentius Lerinensis, abounded with quotations from Scripture. No part of these Works remains, if we except the Ten Questions on difficulties, which are preserved in the Pieces ascribed to his opponent Dioscorus of Alexandria, Pieces of which the genuineness is doubted.

Councils. Many Councils assembled to examine the errors of Paul; one was held at Antioch in the year 264. Bishops, as well as Priests and Deacons, came to it in great numbers, and from very distant parts. Paul promised to renounce his erroneous doctrines. Firmilian (Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who appears to have presided,) hoping that the affair might be terminated without bringing prejudice against the Christian community, deferred giving judgment. But as the promise of Paul was not performed, and as the fame of his errors continued to spread in all quarters, the rulers of the Church, after having fruitlessly attempted to effect a reformation by Letters, met again at Antioch, under the reign of Aurelian, about the year 269 or 270. This last Council was composed of many Bishops. All the means of conciliation—exhortations, prayers, and appeals to former assurances—were tried in vain. The crafty Hæresiarist disguised his notions with much art; but Malchion, a learned Rhetorician, who had been raised to the Priesthood, succeeded in a conference in laying open the nature of his errors.

Paul was unanimously deposed and excommunicated, and Domnus, the son of his predecessor Demetrian, elected in his place. The Council wrote the Synodal Letter, to which we have already alluded, to the whole

Church, giving a detail of their proceedings. Paul refused to submit to this decision, and, by the favour of Zenobia, was enabled to retain his Office, and to keep possession of the house of the Church, or the Bishop's seat. At length, towards the end of the year 272, Aurelian, who had retaken Antioch, in consequence of the petitions which he received, commanded that the Episcopal mansion should be delivered up to those persons to whom the Bishops of Rome and Italy addressed their Letters; either because these Bishops were better known, or less interested than the Eastern Bishops, or lastly, because he wished to promote the subjection of the Provinces to the seat of the Empire. Thus the sentence of the Council was carried into execution.

The followers of Paul were denominated *Paulianists* *Paulianists* or *Paulians*. There were some at the period of the Nicene Council; and even as late as the year 428. Theodoret informs us that, in 450, no remains of them were seen, and even the name of such a Sect was not generally known.*

Besides the above-mentioned errors, there arose, as we have already remarked, a Sect in Arabia, which denied the necessary immortality of the soul, supposing that it would perish with the body, though it would be again raised with it by the power of God. Origen, having been sent to refute this rising Sect, appears to have been completely successful in bringing it back into the bosom of the Church.†

Heretics of the 11th Century.

Arabian Philosophers.

NOVATIANS.

The schism of the *Novatians* was commenced by Novatus, and carried on by Novatian, of which two persons, who are often confounded, it may be necessary to give a brief account.

Novatus was a Priest of the Church of Carthage. He is described (the description is from his enemies) as notorious for his restless and innovating spirit,—a torch which kindled factions and war, a mist which carried into all quarters discord and tempests. Full of dissimulation and perfidy, he sought confidence but to betray it, lavished flattery but to deceive. Swollen with arrogance and vanity, he had lost all sense of duty. Driven by ungovernable rapaciousness, he plundered the wards and robbed the widows of the Church. Aware that his crimes would be visited with just severity, he hailed with joy the persecution which shielded him for a time from the scrutiny and condemnation of his indignant brethren. To avoid the shame of a sentence of deposition, (in which the Bishops were unanimous,) he voluntarily withdrew from the Church. Resolved to embroil the community which he had dishonoured, he united with the schismatic Felicissimus, who, with some other Priests, had exerted himself in opposing Cyprian;‡

* *Har. Fab. lib. l. c. 2.* See Tillamont, *Mim. tom. iv. part. ii. Art. Paul de Samosate*, where, as usual, almost every thing which refers to the subject is collected.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 37.*

‡ Cyprian, (*Ep. 49.*) Mosheim observes, “*Verissima hæc omnia esse, rerum Christianarum scriptores non dubitant, quoniam à sanctissimo martyre scripta sunt, cui fidem simpliciter affirmanti habendum esse arbitrantur. Alique obici, ut sanctum virum ego vocitatum esse dicam, et studio fallere velent. At dolant mihi, ut opinor, facili viri boni atque rerum periti, martyrem falli et errare, convocationem animi echelementis rancari sæpe atque coactatam imaginationis artem modo ad exaggrandandum, modo ad diminuemum impelli*”

* Epiph. *Har. 65. c. 1.*

† It is in this sense that he meant that the Son was consubstantial with the Father. (See Tillam. *Mim. tom. iv. part. ii.*)

‡ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. c. 16.

History. and admitted scandalous sinners to the Communion, before they had undergone the required penance. He then passed from Africa to Rome and joined Novatian.

Novatian. Novatian appears to have been a man of a very different disposition. A Philosopher before he embraced Christianity, he was distinguished by his attainments and his eloquence. The occasion of his difference with the Church, was the election of Cornelius to the See of Rome, over which he himself was ambitious of presiding. With a view to impugn the ordination of Cornelius, he advanced against him various defamatory charges, which Cyprian has considered unbecoming the sacerdotal dignity to publish. His principal ground of objection which we find mentioned, was, that Cornelius admitted to the Communion such as had been guilty of idolatry; a relaxation, which, according to his own opinion, ought in no case to be allowed. In this schism he was followed by some of the Clergy and of the people, and, from the beginning, by the greater part of the Confessors; men who, having themselves suffered persecution with firmness, were unwilling that those who had shown less courage should enjoy equal privileges. This defection is attributed in a great degree to the intrigues of Novatus, who artfully impelled the irritated but wavering Novatian into decisive measures. Thus the same person, who had but just before adopted the extreme lenity of Felicissimus, now advocated the extreme rigour of Novatian, the two opposite errors which, at the same time, rent the Church. Such is the versatility of error and perhaps of interest.

By his counsels, when the ordination of Cornelius, notwithstanding his opposition, was ratified by the Church, Novatian contrived to get himself elected Bishop,* though he had before protested that the desire of the Episcopal dignity had not influenced his conduct.

Without entering into a detail of the fruitless attempts of Novatian to obtain a general approval of his election, it is more useful towards acquiring a just notion of the Ecclesiastical discipline at that period, to state some of the particular pleas urged against its validity by Cornelius in his letters preserved by Eusebius.

He informs us that Novatian, when dangerously ill, had Baptism administered to him in bed, without afterwards receiving the ceremonies required by the Canons of the Church; and the Clergy and people objected to a person, so baptized, being ordained Priest, but were prevailed upon to permit it, in his case, by particular request of the Bishop. From this account we may infer, that it was contrary to the laws, or, at least, to the customs of the Christians in that Age, to admit to the Priesthood those who had received clinical Baptism only, and had not subsequently gone through the usual rite

annexed to Baptism; i. e. had not received milk and honey, unction, and the imposition of hands.

Cornelius also reproaches Novatian with having, during persecution, denied his Sacerdotal Office, and with having said, (on being requested by the Deacons to assist his distressed brethren,) that he wished to be no longer a Priest, and designed to embrace another Philosophy.

The refusal of the African Bishops to recognise Novatian was soon followed by a diminution of his adherents. Of the three Bishops who had ordained him, one acknowledged his error with contrition, and was readmitted to the communion of the Church. The Confessors withdrew from his party; and, besides other assemblies, a synod of sixty Bishops, and a great number of his Clergy, convened at Rome by Cornelius, passed a sentence of excommunication against him and his followers. These measures were not effectual in preventing him from holding his notions, which were for a long time maintained by a numerous Sect, of which he became the founder.

The Novatians appear not to have entertained sentiments on doctrinal points at variance with the opinions of the Orthodox Christians. The leading feature of difference was, that, such as had been guilty of heinous crimes, as apostasy and other sins, could not be admitted into the Church, which had no power to pardon them; and, indeed, contracted pollution by receiving them into her communion. Hence they called themselves *Cathari*, as it were Puritans, and rebaptized their proselytes. Still Novatian maintained the necessity of penance: either to avoid odium, or because the hope of salvation was not, like the reconciliation of the Church, denied to the penitent sinners. The effect of this severity was so fatal, that some who had apostatized during persecution, returned, through despair, to Paganism.†

The Novatians, probably, made additions to the tenets of their master; such, perhaps, was their condemnation of second marriages.

Novatian, besides an eloquent Letter written to Cyprian in the name of the Clergy of Rome, before the election of Cornelius, composed various Works, which are lost. The two Treatises, one on the Trinity and the other on Jewish meats, which are found in the Works of Tertullian, are, probably, to be ascribed to Novatian. The design of the latter Tract is to prove the animals were not in their nature unclean; but that it was forbidden that they should be eaten, by the Mosaic Law, in order to teach men to avoid the sins of which they were the figure. For instance, swine's flesh was prohibited, to deter us from a carnal life. The author then enjoins temperance and abstinence from meats offered to idols.

The style of Novatian is reckoned pure and elegant, his reasoning methodical, his citations apposite, and his spirit candid.‡

Socrates§ says, that Novatian suffered martyrdom under Valerian, but this opinion has been rejected by other writers.

* Cyp. in Nov.

† Dupin, *Biblioth.* p. 112.

‡ Lib. iv. c. 28. On the subject of Novatian and his schism, see Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 43. Cyprian, *Ep.* 49. 52. &c. Tillemont, *Mém.* On the name Novatian, see Lardner, *Cred.* part ii. ch. xlv.

pass. Hoc ergo in crimine aliquando Cypriano in hac causâ evenisse suspicaverunt, nullâ manes ejus injuriâ officiorum. In revocandâ vitia Novati manifestò declinant, Rhetoriquè officio fungitur: et sciunt, qui hominem morant, nullâ in re facilius errari posse, quam in aliorum, præsertim subsecutorum, vitiis deponendis, &c. (De Reb. Christian. p. 500.) It is added that he neglected his father in his illness, and paid him no honours after his death. He struck his wife while pregnant with his foot, and caused her to miscarry.

• To effect this purpose, two of his partisans were sent to three ignorant and rustic Bishops, who lived in the smallest Province of Italy, and prevailed upon them to hasten to Rome as mediators, to put an end to the divisions which agitated the Church. On the arrival of these Bishops, Novatian is said to have shut them up in a chamber, to have reduced them to a state of intoxication, and then to have induced them to ordain him Bishop by the imposition of hands.

Heretics of the 11th Century.

Opinion of the Novatians.

Novatian's Works, &c.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XLIII.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINUS.

FROM A. D. 323 TO A. D. 361.

CONSTANTINUS MAGNUS.

History. **From** A. D. 323. **to** A. D. 361. **Foundation** of Constantinople.

THE period of peace, which succeeded his triumphs, enabled Constantine, who was now no longer in the glow of "youth and fervent years," to reflect on the means by which he might best consolidate his power, and perpetuate his name. Born, educated, and exalted to the Imperial dignity in Countries at a distance from Rome,* in which he had never resided for any length of time, he could have felt but little of the attachment which animated her sons, and that little appears to have been gradually converted into estrangement and disgust.† Motives no less of policy than of personal ambition induced him to aspire to the fame of being the founder of a new Capital, a design which was said to have been entertained by the first Cæsars.‡ The necessity of repressing with equal vigour the Persians on the one hand, and the Barbarians of the Euxine on the other, pointed out as the most desirable position some spot which might command the neighbouring shores of Europe and of Asia. The peculiar situation of the ancient Byzantium, the excellence of which Constantine had had an opportunity of remarking when besieged by Licinius, was in the highest degree adapted for the attainment of this object.§ It was built on a Peninsula, which on the West is united with the Continent of Europe, and on the East, advancing towards the Bosphorus, approaches to the confines of Asia. Its Southern side is washed by the Propontis, and its Northern forms an ample and secure harbour.|| The

salubrity of the climate and the richness of the soil; Constantinus Magnus. **From** A. D. 323. **to** A. D. 361. the facility with which the fleet of an invader may be excluded, and the supplies of allies and traders drawn in; the abundant resources derived from the harvests of Thrace and the fishery of the Propontis, when the passages of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus are closed, and the immense commerce, which flows from all quarters by the Euxine and the Mediterranean, when they are opened;—these are some of the obvious advantages which combined to mark it as the centre of a mighty Empire.

In the execution of this great design, neither labour nor expense* was spared. The forests on the banks of the Euxine, and the marble quarries of the Isle of Proconnesus, afforded copious materials, and the establishment of privileged Schools and Professors in various Provinces, for the encouragement of architectural studies, was calculated to increase the numbers and to stimulate the genius of artificers. While the walls of the ancient city were fortified and extended, so as to enclose five of the seven hills on which Constantinople is seated, the utmost activity was exerted in raising buildings which might vie with the most stately structures of the Western metropolis. A Capitol, a Circus or Hippodrome, Theatres, Temples, and Palaces, among which the Imperial mansion shone conspicuous, interspersed with aqueducts and gardens, and adorned with obelisks and statues in rich variety, seem to display all the resources of Art drawn forth to correspond with the magnificence of Nature.† Among the numerous pieces of ancient workmanship, of which

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. xvii.

† Zosimus says that Constantine found a new Capital, from aversion to Rome, where he was treated with scorn and detestation: *de imperio in vna urbe ad unum in civitatem translatam, unde deservit* *et, Paganis locis, et in aere ibi sacrum auctoritatem.* (lib. ii.) Eutropius attributes his conduct to the desire of displaying his power. (p. 488.) Comp. Sueton. lib. i. c. 3. &c.

‡ Before the death of Julius Cæsar, there was a report at Rome that he had intended to transfer the seat of empire to Troy or Alexandria. *Quin etiam valida fama percrevit migraturum Alexandriæ vel Iliacæ, translatum simul opibus imperii, exhaustisque delectibus Iuliæ.* (Sueton. in *Jul. Cæsar*, c. 75.) The beautiful Ode, in which Horace endeavours with the sweet art to deter Augustus from his supposed design of his relation, is well known. (lib. iii. 2.) Constantine pretended that he fixed upon Byzantium in consequence of a vision.

§ It is said that Constantine intended at first to have built the new Capital in the plain which lies below Ancient Troy, towards the Rhaetian promontory and the Tomb of Ajax.

|| "The river Lycus, formed by the conflux of two little streams, pours into the harbour a perpetual supply of fresh water, which serves their retreat in that convenient recess. As the vicissitudes of tides are scarcely felt in those seas, the constant depth of the harbour allows goods to be landed on the quays without the assistance of boats; and

it has been observed that, in many places, the largest vessels may rest their prows against the houses, while their sterns are floating in the water." From the mouth of the Lycus to that of the harbour, this arm of the Bosphorus is more than seven miles in length. The entrance is about five hundred yards broad, and a strong chain could be occasionally drawn across it, to guard the port and the city from the attack of an hostile navy." Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xvii., from whose admirable description much of the above account has been drawn.

* Six hundred centenaries (about two millions six hundred thousand pounds) were expended on the erection of the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts. Codin. *Antiq. Const.* p. 11.

† "A particular description, composed about a century after its foundation, enumerates a Capitol, or School of Learning, a Circus, two Theatres, eight public, and one hundred and fifty-three private Baths, fifty-two Porticoes, five Granaries, eight Aqueducts, or reservoirs of water, four spacious Halls for the meetings of the Senate or Courts of Justice, fourteen Churches, fourteen Palaces, and four thousand three hundred and eighty-eight houses, which, for their size or beauty, deserved to be distinguished from the multitude of plebeian habitations." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xvii.) See also Bridges's *Roman Empire under Constantine the Great*, London, 1828. ch. v.

History.

From
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to
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361.

the Pagan shrines were stripped to decorate the new Capital,* was a colossal Statue of Apollo, the supposed work of Phidias, placed on a lofty pillar of porphyry. While frequent largesses gratified the lower Orders, splendid abodes, estates, and pensions, liberally bestowed on favourites, served to confirm the desire which would naturally be manifested by a large class of aspirants to accommodate themselves to the Imperial taste in the selection of their place of residence. The influx of settlers from all quarters soon became so great that it was found necessary to enlarge the limits of the new city to a considerable extent, by erecting additional buildings on moles advanced into the sea.† Constantinople was divided into fourteen regions: the Public Council received the name of Senate; and the privileges of Italy were conferred on the inhabitants of the infant city, which being raised with extraordinary expedition, under the name of Second or New Rome, was dedicated with the greatest solemnity.‡

A. D.
330.
or
334.
Political
regulations
of Constantine.

The new regulations, or rather the new form of government, introduced or improved by Constantine and his successors, has strong claims on our attention, as leading to the discovery of some of the internal causes of the downfall of the Empire.

The loss of substantial greatness is often followed and perhaps disguised by the substitution of ostentatious ceremonies. The gradations of rank were now marked with the utmost minuteness. The Magistrates were divided into the three classes, the *Illustres*,|| the *Spectabiles*, and the *Clarissimi*; and a variety of titles, which the old Romans would have spurned as ridiculous, or as degrading, were lavished with Oriental extravagance on the different Officers of State. The Consuls, from the time of Diocletian, were chosen, not by the vote of the Senate, but by the sole will of the Emperor, in whose palace their inauguration took place. The creatures of a despot, whose names but serve to mark the date of the year, they affected to despise their great predecessors, who had submitted to all the toils and mortifications of a popular election. Gorgeous decorations and public rejoicings, with the mimicry of manumitting a slave, distinguished the assumption of an office, which retained some of the outward splendour, but had lost the real power of that whose name it affected.

The Consuls.

* *Constantinopolis dedicatur parvi omnium urbium nuditate.*—Hieron. Chron. p. 181.

† The custom of building on huge piles driven into the water, particularly at Bais, is often mentioned by Roman writers. The reader will, doubtless, recall to mind the lines of Horace:

*—sepulchri
Immemor, strus domos;
—Aurique Bais obrepente urges
Summorum littora,
Parum locuples continere ripas.*

Lib. iii. Od. 1. Comp. lib. ii. Od. 18.

‡ On the time spent in building Constantinople, see Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* tom. iv.

§ According to the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, p. 285, as often as the birthday of the city was celebrated, the statue of Constantine, bearing in its right hand an image of the Genius of the place, was carried in procession, and when it was opposite the throne, the Emperor, rising, showed his reverence to the memory of his predecessor.

|| *Clarissimi* (most honourable) became the title appropriated to Senators; *Spectabiles* (respectable) to those of the Senatorial Order, who were distinguished above the rest; *Illustres* (illustrious) to more eminent personages, as the Consuls and Patricians, the Prætorian Præfects, with the Præfects of Rome and Constantinople, the Masters General of the Cavalry and Infantry, and some Ministers of the Palace. See Howell's *History of the World*, vol. ii.

"Honour without labour" was become the privilege of Consuls—their disgrace and their boast. The distinguished rank of Patrician, which was no longer an hereditary title, was usually conferred for life on favourites, and enabled them to enjoy free access to the presence of the Emperor.

Constanti-
nus Magnus
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

The Prætorian Præfects, who had gradually risen to a degree of military and political influence in the Camp and in the Palace, which often armed them with powers to protect or to control, to raise or to destroy, their Imperial masters, were now, by the suppression of the select guards, on which the continuance of their ascendancy depended, reduced to the less dangerous situation of Civil and Provincial Magistrates. Four Præfects (besides the two officers of the same name who presided with municipal power over Rome and Constantinople) were set over the four divisions into which, by the arrangement of Diocletian, the Roman Empire had been portioned—the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul,—which four Præfectures were subdivided into thirteen Dioceses, containing in all one hundred and sixteen Provinces.

The Prætorian
Præfects.

The military power, which was formerly enjoyed by the Prætorian Præfects, was bestowed by Constantine on two *Masters general*, one of whom had the command of the cavalry, and the other of the infantry. Their number was afterwards doubled, on the division of the East and West, and, at length, increased to eight, four more being stationed on the borders of the Rhine, of the Upper and the Lower Danube, and of the Euphrates. Under them were thirty-five Commanders, who were placed in different Provinces. All these were styled *Dukes*, or, as the name imports, Military Chiefs; but ten were distinguished by the new title of *Counts*, or Companions.

Military
discipline.

By a careful separation of the Civil and military departments, the personal safety of the Emperor was promoted, but the internal strength of the Empire impaired. Activity, for good as for evil purposes, was checked. The same jealousy which would prevent cooperation between independent Powers, whilst it unquestionably diminished the facility of conspiracies, tended also to distract and to thwart the energies of defence against foreign hostility. Another error in the institutions of Constantine, which was productive of the most fatal consequences, was the distinction introduced between the *Palatines*, or Troops of the Court, and the *Borderers*, or Troops of the Frontiers. The *Palatines*, though exposed to far less toil and danger, received higher pay, and greater privileges than the

* Mamertin, in *Panegy.* Vet. xi. 2.

† "1. The Præfect of the East stretched his ample jurisdiction into the three parts of the Globe which were subject to the Romans, from the cataracts of the Nile to the banks of the Phasis, and from the mountains of Thrace to the frontiers of Persia. 2. The important Provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, once acknowledged the authority of the Præfect of Illyricum. 3. The power of the Præfect of Italy was not confined to the Country from which he derived his title; it extended over the additional territory of Rhaetia as far as the banks of the Danube, over the dependent islands of the Mediterranean, and over that part of the Continent of Africa which lies between the confines of Cyrene and those of Tingitania. 4. The Præfect of the Gauls comprehended under that plural denomination the kindred Provinces of Britain and Spain, and his authority was obeyed from the wall of Antoninus to the foot of Mount Atlas." (Gibbon, ch. xvii.) See Zosim. lib. ii. p. 109, 110. Comp. *Univ. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 270. Bridges's *Life of Constantine*, p. 244, and particularly Howell's *History of the World*.

W. H. M. B. **Borderers.** The former, therefore, were enervated by luxury: the latter relaxed by discontent. While one Body oppressed the cities, the other but inadequately defended the extremities of the Province. Severity was unsuccessfully employed to prevent the results of impolicy. The remedy could at best be but transitory; the mischief was permanent.

From A. D. 323. to A. D. 361. The reduction of the Legions from six thousand to one thousand, or fifteen hundred men, served also to diminish that feeling of importance and strength, which, especially when blended with the uninterrupted associations which the memory suggests, often proves most effectual in inspiring subordination and courage. The enumeration of one hundred and thirty-one legions gratified perhaps the vanity, but weakened the power of their masters. The rest of the troops was divided into several bodies of infantry and cavalry, and the whole military establishment of the successors of Constantine has been reckoned at six hundred and forty-five thousand soldiers.*

Barbarians were gradually introduced into the various ranks of the army, and, as might have been expected, the dangerous consequences of this step were sometimes visible, when they were employed in resisting the invasion of their countrymen. It was also found necessary to resort to severe means in order to obviate the difficulties which attended the raising of levies.

Trans. (Am. A.) Besides the Magistrates and Generals, there were seven important Officers: 1. The *Præpositus Cubiculi*, or Chamberlain, whose familiar access to the Emperor naturally gave him considerable influence. 2. The *Master of the Offices*, who possessed great power in the direction of public affairs. He commanded the military and Civil Schools; he took cognizance of causes which related to those privileged individuals, who, from their connection with the Court, declined the ordinary tribunals; and he superintended the Post and arsenals, and the supplies of military machines and weapons which were manufactured in different cities for the use of the Roman army. Under his administration, four offices, which employed a hundred and forty-eight secretaries, were occupied in managing the correspondence between the Emperor and his subjects. 3. The *Questor*, who composed orations, or rather edicts, in the name of the Emperor, and who, sometimes, with the assistance of the Consistory, decided Causes which had been considered doubtful by the inferior Courts of Judicature. 4. The *Count of the Sacred Largesses*, or Public Treasurer, who regulated the internal revenue and the foreign trade of the Empire. 5. The *Count, or Treasurer, of the Private Estate*; part of which had perhaps arisen from testaments or purchases, but the chief portion from confiscations. 6. and 7. Two *Counts of the Domestica*, who commanded the splendid body-guard of the Emperor, which consisted of three thousand five hundred men.

Ed. L. Among the defects of the Imperial Government may be reckoned the increased number of established spies and informers, who under the name of *Agents* were encouraged to communicate to the suspicious inmate of the palace every appearance of conspiracy, real or imaginary, in the Provinces. A fatal and corrupt expedient, which not unfrequently left the innocent a prey to the designing, and gave the name of loyalty and zeal to malice, vindictiveness, or rapacity. In cases

* Agathias, lib. v. p. 157.

where treason, or rather a hostile intention, against the Emperor or the State was suspected, the examination by the rack—that most uncertain as well as most inhuman test, from which the Roman citizen of old claimed the peculiar privilege of exemption—suspended its terrors without distinction over members of the highest, no less than over the lowest Orders of society.

The system of oppressive taxation was an evil of far more extensive range. The tribute, or *indiction*, (as the edicts were called, which were subscribed by the Emperor,) imposed burthens which were sometimes found too excessive to be borne. An account of the intricate state of the finances would exceed the limits within which the present sketch is confined. The landed property, of which the measure was carefully taken, and the value ascertained throughout the Empire by appointed surveyors, was subjected to a tax which produced the most fatal effects upon agriculture. The assessment was in the form of a capitation, the number of tributary subjects in every Province, and the amount of the impositions being returned, the latter sum was divided by the former, and the rate of each head calculated. But it must be remarked that several poorer persons might be considered as composing but one of these heads, while one wealthy citizen might represent several.*

A tribute was also raised, which, with a few exceptions, fell on the trading part of the community the merchant, the mechanic, and the usurer. To these impositions, which were required with much severity, may be added the free gifts, or *coronary gold*. The ancient custom practised by the allies of Rome, of bestowing voluntarily crowns of gold on victorious Generals, and afterwards of sending current coin, was now changed into a duty, which was demanded on the occasion of any occurrence in his reign which the Emperor thought fit to consider as important.

The closing years of Constantine were clouded by a domestic calamity, of which he had to reproach himself as being the rash and unfeeling author. The military fame of Crispus, (his son by Mihrvina,) combined with his private virtues and accomplishments, which excited the esteem and admiration of the people, appear to have awakened the jealousy of his Imperial father. The aspiring youth soon found himself deprived of further opportunities of pursuing his career of distinction. Under these circumstances it is but natural to suppose that he indulged in the language of impatience and indignation, which the arts of treachery may afterwards have distorted and coloured. An edict of Constantine betrayed his fears of secret treason and invited accusations against those to whom he had extended in an especial manner his patronage and friendship.† His object was easily understood by the intriguers who infested the Court, and its effect was some time after tragically apparent. The unfortunate Crispus, seized in the midst of a banquet, was decapitated; or destroyed by poison.§ near Pola, in Istria. This dark event,|| of which the causes and circum-

Constantinus Magnus
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.
Floresces.

A. D.
325.
Octob. 1.

A. D.
326.
July

• Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c.

† *Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. iv.

‡ *Codin.* p. 34.

§ *Sidon. Apollinar. Epist.* v. 8.

|| Eusebius passes over the story in his life of Constantine, which was published after the death of Crispus, of whom he speaks in flattering terms in his *Hist.* lib. x. c. 9. Eusebius (lib. iii. c. 41.) would infer from his silence that the fact is doubtful; he should rather have inferred that the Historian was a Courtier.

History.

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

stances were never revealed, is attributed to the scandalous accusations of his step-mother Fausta, who dreaded the offspring of a former marriage, and the supposed successor to the Empire, as the rival of her own children. But the grief of his aged mother, Helena, at length induced Constantine to enter into a more scrupulous examination, which ended in establishing the innocence of his son. Fausta, it is generally supposed, though, perhaps, on very doubtful authority, being convicted of criminal intercourse with a slave, was stifled by the steam of a bath.* Numerous subsequent executions, and among others that of his nephew, seem to indicate that the mind of Constantine had been filled by remorse with a sore and savage feeling,† and throw light on the distich which Ablavius, a favourite Minister, ventured to affix to the porch of the palace:

*Saturni aurea sacra quis requirit?
Sunt hæc gemme sed Neroneana!*‡

Gothic war.
A. D.
330.
Sarmatians.

The only military events of importance which took place in the latter part of this reign were owing to the contests of the Goths and Sarmatians.

The Sarmatians were an uncouth and savage race, who roved without permanent settlement over the vast plains near the Tanais. Their strength consisted chiefly in their horses, which were remarkable for their docility and swiftness. Their defensive armour was a strong cuirass, formed of thin pieces sliced from the hoofs of horses, and sewed one upon another;‡ their offensive weapons consisted of a short dagger, a long javelin, and arrows, of which the barbs, made of fishbone, were dipped in poison. In their movements, which spread terror and desolation, they had gradually proceeded in a Westward direction into the plains of Upper Hungary, between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains. They had chosen a King from the Vaudals, whose Tribe appears to have lived before the Goths. Fierce conflicts were waged between the two hostile Tribes, and at length the Sarmatians applied to Constantine for assistance. The Emperor had scarcely acceded to a request which his own policy, that of perpetuating differences among the Barbarians, rendered desirable, before Araric, King of the Goths, crossed the Danube, and laid waste the territories of the Empire. His triumph, owing at first to the disgraceful retreat of the Roman troops, was soon afterwards arrested with immense slaughter by their superior skill, and by the cooperation of the people of Chersonesus. The defeated Goths gave the son of Araric as a hostage for the attainment of Peace, and the services of the Chersonesites were amply rewarded. But the Sarmatians, thus freed from fear, turned their arms against the dominions of their deliverers. Their ingratitude,

A. D.
332.

A. D.
334.

punished by an unexpected defeat, induced Constantine to abandon their cause. Overthrown in a decisive battle by the Goths, the Sarmatians were reduced to the necessity of arming their slaves, which enabled them in their turn to overcome their invaders. But the victorious slaves, by whose assistance this advantage had been obtained, having once felt their importance, combined with the enemy, and, under the name of Limigantes, seized upon the Country which they had been so instrumental in defending. Their banished masters, to the number of 300,000, applied for refuge to Constantine, who incorporated some into his legions, and assigned settlements to the remainder in different parts of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy.

Ten months after, having celebrated the thirtieth year of his reign, Constantine, in his sixty-fourth year, expired at Aquyrrion, a castle near Nicomedia, whence his body was transported to Constantinople, and being splendidly decorated, as if in mockery of greatness, received for a time the same expressions of reverence which it had excited during life.

The character of Constantine has been represented in a manner so widely different by Christian and by Pagan writers, that the only safe path for the modern Historian seems to consist in choosing a medium between the praises of the one and the censures of the other. As a military commander, and, in many respects, as a Statesman, his talents will ever be held in high estimation. Beset by extraordinary difficulties at the commencement of his career, he surmounted them with consummate dexterity and courage. His operations, no less vigorously executed than ably conceived, struck awe into the Barbarians, and arrested their destructive progress. Yet in the midst of the most active occupations, as he moved from city to city, he still found time which he could devote to private study and composition. And, whatever opinion may be entertained of his own literary powers, it cannot be denied that he deserves to be considered as a patron of learning. His chastity and temperance, virtues very uncommon in a situation of unlimited power and in times of extreme degeneracy, were acknowledged. His natural love of justice and good government may be fairly inferred from the number of excellent laws of which he was the author.* At the same time it must be allowed, that these brilliant qualities were not unaccompanied by defects. Fond of ostentatious parade to a degree surprising in a mind which was wont to outsoar the frivolousness of narrower spirits, he had recourse to means which oppressed his subjects, and alienated their affections.† A certain facility of disposition led him to commit important offices to men unworthy of his favour.‡ His faults, and particularly a tendency to cruelty and prodigality, were much more conspicuously displayed in the latter than in the earlier part of his life.§

Constantine
mag. Magn.
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

A. D.
337.
May 22.
Death of
Constantine

Character.

* St. Chrysostom (*Hom. 15. in Philipp.*) pretends that she was exposed on a mountain to be devoured by wild beasts.

† It has been asserted that Constantine raised a statue of silver and gold to Crispus, with this inscription, "My son, unjustly condemned." *Thaïsque hoc pœ.*

‡ *Primum necessitudinem persequens, Crispum filium egregium virum, et sororis filium commodè indolis juvenem interfecit, mox armorum, post numerosos amicos.* Eutrop. lib. x.; Brev. Hist. Rom. lib. x. c. 6.

§ Sidon. Apollinar. v. 8.

¶ Pausanias, lib. i. See also Amm. Marcell. lib. xvii. Valer. Flacc. *Argos*, lib. vi. Comp. Ovid. *Trist.* &c. Bridges's *Life of Constantine*, ch. iv.

* *Ovisibus arthibus et liberalibus studiis deditus, affectator justitie et amoris, quem omnino soli et liberalitate et doctitudine quærent.* Eutropius. See Howell's *Hist. of the World*, p. 2, and Lardner's *Credib.* part ii. ch. lxx.

† Zosim. lib. ii.

‡ Aur. Vict. Ammian. lib. xvi. Euseb. lib. v.

§ Hence Aurelius Victor, though with more point than truth, has thus described his character during three different periods of his reign: *Procerbo vulgus Trachala decem annis præstantissimus, duodecim sequentibus Latro, decem novissimis Populæus ob profusiones immochos nominatus.* Epi. c. 41.

CONSTANTINUS II., CONSTANS, AND
CONSTANTIUS.

History.

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.
The three
sons of
Constantine
persecuted
Lupinus.

Murder of
Dalmatius,
Hannibal-
ian, &c.

Death of
to Lupinus.

Death of
Constantine.

Upon the death of Constantine, the army, and subsequently the Senate, expressed their determination to acknowledge no other Emperors than his sons, although Dalmatius Cæsar and Hannibalianus his nephew had received from the late Monarch a share in the partition of the Empire. About four months afterwards, the three brothers assumed the title, to which their claim had been so readily admitted. A scene of blood* then followed. A tumultuous soldiery destroyed in indiscriminate massacre Julius Constantius, the deceased Emperor's brother, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, the Patrician Optatus, who had married the sister of Constantine, five of his nephews, one of whom was the eldest son of Julius Constantius, the Prefect Ablavius and others, who, having been Ministers in the late reign, excited either resentment or suspicion.† The numerous family of Constantine was thus reduced to his three sons and two nephews, Gallus and Julian, the youngest children of Julius Constantius. Gallus, who was then twelve years old, owed his safety to a sickly state of health, from which it was not expected he would recover: Julian, who was but six, to his extreme youth.‡ The murder of Dalmatius and Hannibalianus was succeeded by a division of their dominions. For this purpose the three brothers, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, met in Pannonia. Constantine, the eldest, who fixed his Imperial seat at Constantinople, had Thrace, and Constans, Greece and Macedonia. Each of them retained the territories which had been assigned by the late Emperor during his lifetime. Constantine kept Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Constantius, Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and Constans, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Constantine appears to have ceded, this same year, Thrace to Constantius, and Constans Africa to Constantine. When they assumed the Purple, the eldest of the brothers was twenty-one, the second twenty, and the third only seventeen years of age.

The throne of Persia was at this time occupied by Sapor, an able and enterprising Prince, who had long desired to circumscribe the Eastern possessions of Rome, but had hitherto been deterred from the prosecution of his ambitious schemes by the fame and power of Constantine. No sooner, however, was the object of his fears removed, than he invaded and ravaged the Roman dominions, and made himself master of several of the strong holds of Mesopotamia. He received support from the Armenians, who revolted, drove their King, who favoured the Romans, into exile, and destroyed or expelled the Priests of the Christian Religion, which, through the instrumentality of their late King, Tiridates, had been established in Armenia. Frequent irregular inroads spread continual alarm and desolation. Nine battles were fought, in which the Persians were generally successful. A signal engagement at length took place at Singara, a city of Mesopotamia.

Sapor passed the Tigris over three bridges, and,

having fixed his camp near the village of Hilleh, fortified it with a deep ditch and high ramparts, on which, as well as on the adjacent eminences, he placed numerous bodies of archers. The banks of the river and a plain stretching out above twelve miles, were likewise covered with his forces. The Romans, eager to begin the conflict, urged Constantius to lead them up to the camp, which they attacked with the utmost vigour, in despite of the arrows which were thickly poured down upon them from the heights and the resistance which was offered to their progress.

The Persians, perhaps merely as a feint, fled in confusion. The Romans pursued with an imprudent ardour, which Constantius endeavoured ineffectually to check. Having soon filled up the ditch and destroyed the rampart, they dispersed themselves through the camp, and prepared at night, without suspicion of danger, to rest from the fatigues of the day or to enjoy the fruits of their victory. Sapor observed their movements and immediately seized the advantages which their false security presented. Under cover of darkness large bodies of his army, who had viewed the engagement in safety, descended from the eminences on which they had been stationed, and his Persian archers suddenly poured their arrows on the defenceless bands, which were sunk in careless revelry.* After having caused dreadful havoc among the Romans, the Persians retired at daybreak beyond the Tigris, and broke down the bridges to prevent the pursuit of a foe, on whom they had executed such signal vengeance. The loss on both sides was considerable. Among the captives taken by the Romans was the son and heir of Sapor. He was publicly scourged, tortured, and put to death—an act of inhumanity which stamps indelible disgrace on the character of his victor.†

Sapor was aware that victories in the field, however brilliant, were not sufficient to effect the attainment of his object, unless he could obtain possession of the strong holds of Mesopotamia. The capture of the important city of Nisibis, which was considered the bulwark of the East, was the principal object of his attention. After having besieged it at two different periods, the first time during sixty-three days, the second during three months, he made one more vigorous, though equally unsuccessful, attack. Animated by the prayers of James their Bishop, directed by the experience and bravery of Lucilianus, and encouraged by the result of the two former sieges, the inhabitants defended themselves with the most determined courage. The engines which were brought to batter and to undermine the walls, proved, through the skilful measures of the Romans, entirely ineffectual. Thus baffled, Sapor had recourse to a novel expedient. He caused the course of the river Mygdonius, which flowed through Nisibis, to be stopped below the town, and its waters to be confined by huge moles of earth, by which means the surrounding country was deluged, and the city presented the appearance of an island in the midst of the sea. On this sheet of water, thus suddenly and artificially raised, an immense number of ships and boats, advancing forth, armed with troops, and various kinds of military engines, attacked, nearly on a level, the forces assembled upon the ramparts. The violent rush and

Constanti-
us II.
Constans,
Constantius

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361

Battle of
Singara.
A. D.
348.

Siege of
Nisibis.
A. D.
338. 346
350

* Constantius is charged with the guilt of this massacre by Julian. (*Ad S. P. Q. Athen.* p. 270.) So also Athanasius (*Solit.* p. 856.) and Zosimus. (p. 692.) But Eutropius (p. 558.) and Socrates say he rather permitted than commanded it.

† Euseb. *Vit. Const.* lib. iv. c. 68. Zosim. lib. li. Julian, *Kp. ad Athen.*

‡ Socrat. lib. iii. c. l. Ammian.

* Amm. lib. xviii. c. 5. Eutrop. x. 10.

† Liban. *Orat.* lib. p. 133. Julian, *Orat.* l. p. 24.

History.

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

pressure of the waters broke down a part of the wall and opened a breach of a hundred and fifty feet. The Persians, imagining that the capture of the place was now within their grasp, pressed on with loud shouts to the assault. Their efforts, however, even at this apparently favourable moment, were unavailing. The cavalry, encumbered with heavy armour, were clogged and impeded in the deep mud, and great numbers were lost in hidden holes which the bursting waters had filled up. The wounded elephants, furious and ungovernable, trampled the archers under foot. The Persian King, a spectator of this confusion and disorder, gave the signal of retreat, and suspended for some time the assault. The inhabitants availed themselves of this respite, and at the dawn of the next day, Sapor saw with surprise a new wall of six feet in height already raised, where the breach had seemed to open to him the prospect of success. He adhered, however, with surprising pertinacity to the prosecution of the attack, notwithstanding continual repulses, and it is uncertain how long he would have struggled to accomplish a design, on which all the energies of his mind seem to have been bent, had not an invasion of the Massagetae* induced him, after the loss of more than twenty thousand men,† to abandon in haste a siege, which had lasted almost four months, and to make a truce with the Roman Emperor.

Constantine
invades the
dominions
of Constans
and is sur-
prised and
slain.

A. D.
340.

About three years after the division of the Empire, Constantine, the eldest brother, dissatisfied with his share, after having ineffectually attempted to obtain of Constans the cession of the whole or at least of some part of Italy, placed himself at the head of a tumultuous host, marched from Gaul, and, entering into his brother's territories by the Julian Alps, first exercised his vengeance on the country round Aquileia. Constans, who was then in Dacia, immediately detached a chosen portion of his forces, by whose skilful artifices the imprudent Constantine, having been drawn into an ambuscade, was encircled and slain. His body, which had been thrown into the river Ansa, at a small distance from Aquileia, was afterwards discovered and removed to Constantinople, where it was interred near the tomb of his father.‡ In consequence of this event, Constans, who refused to transfer to Constantius any part of the dominions of the deceased Prince, became sole master of the Provinces of the West, and remained in possession of upwards of two-thirds of the Roman Empire.

Revolt of
Magnentius
and murder
of Constans.

A. D.
350,
February.

Ten years after the death of his brother, Constans himself experienced a fate no less sudden and disastrous. While the want of activity and talent which he betrayed had exposed him to universal contempt, the marked favour, which, it is said,§ his depraved passions led him to show towards some German captives, naturally excited scandal and disaffection. The rapacity and oppression of his favourites and Ministers must have contributed deeply to increase this alienation.¶ Magnentius, a soldier of Barbarian extraction, but of a daring

spirit, who commanded some forces, to which the defence of the banks of the Rhine had been assigned, resolved to wrest the reins of Government from hands which were evidently too feeble to keep firm hold of them in any dangerous crisis. He communicated his project to Marcellinus, Count of the Sacred Largesses, and to some other Officers, who readily concurred in advancing his views. When the moment for executing the plot had arrived, Marcellinus, under pretence of celebrating the birthday of his son, gave a sumptuous entertainment to the chief Officers of the army, then resident near the city of Autun. The sentiments of the guests were elicited, and their passions inflamed by the freedom of enthusiasm. Convivial indulgence continued till the night was very far advanced. Magnentius, who had withdrawn for a short time, then returned arrayed in the Imperial robes, and invested with the ensigns of sovereign power. Such of the party as were conspirators immediately saluted him with the title of Augustus. The rest, who seem not at first to have regarded the proceeding in a serious light, heated with wine, staggered with surprise, moved by vague hopes or fears, soon followed the example of the conspirators, and acknowledged by acclamation the title of the usurper. The guards having taken the oath, he immediately took possession of the Imperial palace of Autun, distributed the treasure among the populace, and thus drew into his interest both the city and the neighbouring country. Anxious to seize Constans, before the indolent Prince could be apprized of the rebellion, Magnentius despatched Gaisio, a principal Commander of the army, to put him to death. Information, however, of the revolt having already reached him, he endeavoured, though deserted by his soldiery, to direct his flight towards Spain, but Gaisio, having learned the route which he had taken, pursued him closely with a select band of troops. He was overtaken near Helena,* a small village at the foot of the Pyrenees, and murdered with many wounds.

Constantinus II.
Constans,
Constantius

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

After the death of Constans, the title of Magnentius was soon recognised in Gaul, Italy, and the Western Provinces. To ensure assistance and support, he declared his brother Desiderius, and Decentius,† (who is, by some writers, called his brother, by others his cousin,)‡ Caesars. In Illyricum, the legions under the command of Vetranio prevailed upon him, after having manifested either real or apparent reluctance, grounded on his gratitude and fidelity to the family of Constantine, to allow himself to be invested with the Imperial dignity. Constantine himself, the wife of the unfortunate Hannibalianus, placed the diadem on his head. Vetranio, a native of Upper Mæsia, descended from obscure parents, was now far advanced in years, after having served in the army from his infancy. His natural abilities were respected, but his deficiency in education was so great that it was after his elevation that he first learned to read.§ His integrity and affability, however, joined to the success which had uniformly attended his arms, rendered him universally beloved by his forces.¶ A third aspirant arose, either exasperated at the sight of a

Vetranio
assumes the
title of Emperor.

Nepotianus
takes the
title of Emperor and
seizes Illyria

* Zonar. tom. ii. lib. xiii. p. 11.

† Julian, *Orat. li. Thesphas.* p. 33.

‡ Zonar. *Vict. Epist. Eutrop.* &c. Constantine is described by his panegyrist as an accomplished and pious Prince. (*Monod. seu Orat. in Constant. Junior. Mort. p. 7. &c.*) His unprovoked and ill-contrived invasion of his brother's dominions is not calculated to increase our idea either of his probity or of his abilities.

§ Aur. *Vict.* p. 527. Zos. lib. ii. p. 692. Zonar. p. 11. Libanius, however, extols his continence.

¶ Lib. *Orat.* lib. p. 212. *Vict. Epist.* p. 514. *Eutrop.* p. 558.

* So called by Constantine, from his mother's name. Before called Hiberia, now Elne.

† Decentius assumed also the names of *Magnentius* and *Magnus*. He is likewise distinguished by the unusual title of *Fortianus*.

‡ Zosim. lib. ii.

§ Eutrop. p. 556.

History. successful Barbarian as master of the West, or dazzled by the seductive lustre which conceals the dangers of Imperial, and more especially of usurped power. Nepotianus, the youthful son of Eutropia, sister to the great Constantine, having drawn together a company of gladiators and other desperate men, assumed the Purple, and took possession of Rome, on which he wreaked his vengeance, and slaughtered among others the Prefect Anicetus, who, having been appointed by Magnentius to command in the city, had made against him an unsuccessful sally. His hopes were destined to be soon blasted. Marcellinus was despatched against him by Magnentius. A bloody battle was fought, but Nepotianus being betrayed by a Senator named Heraclitus, his men were routed, and himself slain, after having reigned during the short period of twenty-eight days.* Marcellinus caused his head to be carried through the city on the point of a spear, put to death such as had espoused his cause, and involved in a general massacre all who were in any way related to the family of Constantine. Among those who fell victims in this scene of butchery, was Eutropia, the mother of Nepotianus.†

Connection Magnentius having, by the most cruel and oppressive means, raised such sums as might enable him to meet the expenses of Civil war, assembled a considerable army. Aware, however, of the uncertainty of the field, he resolved to try the effect of negotiation. Constantius was then at Antioch, in which city, on receiving intelligence of the death of his brother, he had asserted his claim to the Empire of the West, and prepared to support it with a considerable army and a very powerful fleet. Leaving Antioch about the beginning of autumn and proceeding through Constantinople, he arrived at Heraclia, in Thrace, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of Magnentius and Vetranio, who had joined for their mutual support. The conditions proposed were,—that they would assist him in the prosecution of the war against the Persians and other Barbarians, and also acknowledge his preeminence in point of rank as Emperor of the East, provided he conceded to them the uninterrupted enjoyment of their titles. They further proposed, with a view to cement their alliance, two marriages, one between Constantius and the daughter of Magnentius, and the other between Magnentius and Constantina, the widow of Hannibalianus.‡ Constantius deferred his answer till the next day, when, having doubtless considered the most effectual method of inspiring the people with feelings correspondent to his own, he declared to them that on the preceding night the shade of his father Constantine had appeared to him in a vision, and, presenting the corpse of the slaughtered Constans, had warned him to revenge his murder, and assured him that in so just a cause his efforts would be crowned with success. The terms of accommodation were then indignantly rejected. One of the deputies was sent to communicate his resolution; the remainder, without regard to the law of nations, were thrown into confinement. Constantius advanced with the utmost speed from Heraclia to Sardica. Anxious, however, to avoid being engaged with two enemies at once, he offered to contract a separate Treaty with Vetranio, whose conduct he seemed not disposed to regard with

harshness and severity. Constantius acknowledged him as lawful Emperor, on condition that he would abandon his coalition with Magnentius, and fix upon some place where they might meet together to confirm their reconciliation by fitting solemnities. Accordingly, Vetranio proceeded to Sardica with his numerous troops. A scene, artfully contrived to ascertain the feelings and to work upon the passions of the people, took place. The conjoined armies assembled in a large plain, in the centre of which a tribunal, from which the two Princes might address them on the aspect of public affairs, was erected. The wily Constantius, who, in consequence of his birth, was the first speaker, made a very eloquent, ingenious, and seductive speech. He dwelt on the bounties which they had received from his father, the oaths of fidelity which they had taken to his sons; he lamented, in pathetic language, the inhuman murder of Constans, and at the same time skillfully urged that a brother should succeed a brother, not a stranger, much less an enemy of the Imperial House. The speech was apparently directed against Magnentius alone, but the soldiery, crowds of whom encircled the tribunal, instigated by those who were instructed how to conduct this singular proceeding, immediately applying it to Vetranio amid loud shouts and clashing of arms, cried out that they would fight under none but the son of Constantine. The aged Vetranio, stunned with astonishment and overpowered by the fearful opposition which seemed to rise around him in all quarters, took the diadem from his head and threw himself at the feet of Constantius. The Emperor treated him with great mildness and indulgence. Raising him from his suppliant posture, he embraced him and addressed him by the affectionate and respectful name of father. A suitable maintenance was allowed him, and Prusa, in Bithynia, was assigned as his residence. Vetranio, who was remarkable for his simplicity of character, there calmly spent the six remaining years of his life in acts of devotion and charity, without engaging in the slightest degree in public affairs. Frequently, it is said, he wrote to Constantius to express his gratitude for the kindness which had released him from the cares and troubles of sovereign power, and enabled him to obtain the happiness and content which attended the tranquil obscurity of his retirement.†

Magnentius was an enemy far more formidable than Vetranio. He assembled a considerable army, consisting of Gauls, Spaniards, Franks, and Saxons, marched from Italy, and having passed the Alps that divide it from Noricum, he entered the plains of Pannonia, where Constantius had assembled his forces. Magnentius invited his antagonist to decide the validity of their claims on the plain of Sciscia, on the Save: the challenge was accepted; but the troops of Constantius advancing in confusion, fell into an ambuscade and were routed with great loss. Magnentius afterwards took Sciscia by assault, and rased it to the ground. He then wasted the country which lies on the Save, which he had unsuccessfully attempted to pass, and attacked Sirmium, the metropolis of Illyricum. His superiority in the field during the greater part of the summer was manifest. The forces of Constantius were disheartened, and his fame had suffered considerable diminution. His pride seemed broken down. In these

Constantius.
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Vetranio
deposed.
A. D.
350.
Dec. 26.

Magnentius
rejects all
terms of
Peace.
A. D.
351.

* Zosim. lib. ii. Eutrop. 568. Aur. Vict. Ammian.
† Themist. Orat. ii. Julian, Orat. iii. ‡ Julian, Orat. iv.
Zosar. lib. v. c. 14. Them. Orat. iii. Julian, Orat. iii.
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* Julian, Orat. ii. Zosim. lib. ii. Athan. Secl.
† Zosar. p. 14. Socrat. lib. ii. c. 23. Zosim. lib. ii.
2 A

History.

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

circumstances, the Emperor proposed by Philip, his ambassador, an eloquent man, to yield to the usurper Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and to acknowledge his title of Emperor, on condition that he relinquished Italy. Magnentius, utterly regardless of the proffered terms, detained Philip, and sent Titianus, a Roman Senator, to advise Constantius, as the condition of pardon, to relinquish the Purple, and to spend the remainder of his life in retirement. To this arrogant message, and to the reproachful insults which the deputy vented against Constantine and his children, the Emperor was content to reply, that he trusted Heaven would support his cause and revenge the blood of his brother on his murderers.* It was some encouragement at this dispiriting crisis, that Sylvanus, the Frank, an able General, deserted from Magnentius, and joined the Emperor with a large body of cavalry which was under his command.

Battle of
Mursa.

A. D.
351.
Sept. 28.

Magnentius, unable to reduce Sirmium, proceeded to attack the important town of Mursa. This step immediately induced Constantius to quit his station at Cibalis, where he had professed a desire to encounter the enemy, hoping that his forces would be inspired with courage at the remembrance of the victory which, on the same field, his father had formerly gained over Licinius. On his advance, having received information that Magnentius had posted four thousand Gauls in a neighbouring wood, to fall upon the rear of his army at the moment of engagement, he made himself master of the avenues which led to the place of ambuscade, and cut off the Body of troops which was intended for his destruction. Having removed this obstacle, Constantius advanced to Mursa, and drew up his army on the naked plain which adjoins it. The river Drave, on which Mursa stood, was on his right, while his left stretched on beyond the right flank of Magnentius. Thus ranged in order of battle, the two armies remained in the presence of each other during the greatest part of the morning. Constantius then encouraged his troops, and having, if we may believe the account, retired into a neighbouring church, there waited the issue of the memorable battle which ensued. The onset was marked by the utmost fury. The centre of Magnentius was soon thrown into confusion by the left wing and cavalry of Constantius.† But the Gauls and Barbarians, commanded by men of courage and experience, although broken, frequently rallied; and, notwithstanding the determined attacks of the successful army, maintained their ground till a very late hour of the night. Some, under cover of the darkness, effected their escape: but by far the greater number was slaughtered or precipitated into the Drave, and drowned. This decisive, though long doubtful victory, is ascribed to the cavalry of Constantius, which, locked in complete armour, and armed with enormous lances, were calculated to overpower the ill-protected bodies of the Barbarian hosts. The number of slain on both sides was very considerable: Magnentius lost twenty-four thousand men, and Constantius, it is said, thirty thousand,‡ a proof of the extreme obstinacy and long fluctuations of a battle, which was regarded as one of the most deplorable calamities which had befallen the Empire;§ the forces, by their numbers, their discipline and their valour, capable of contributing, in an eminent degree, to the security and the triumphs of Rome, being fatally consumed in Civil war.

Magnentius, it is pretended,* no sooner saw the disorder of his troops at the beginning of the contest, than he abandoned his standard and betook himself to a disgraceful flight. But, according to different and far more credible accounts,† he continued in the field till the defeat of his army was entire, and narrowly escaped being taken captive. It is added that he turned his horse loose, adorned with the Imperial trappings, that the enemy, supposing the rider to have been slain, might desist from the pursuit. Such, however, was not the result. He was constantly followed, yet he contrived, though with difficulty, to reach the foot of the Julian Alps. In this battle, Marcellinus, who had contributed in so great a measure to the accomplishment of these events, displayed his courage, but was never afterwards heard of;‡ a circumstance which renders it probable that he was one of the numbers who were destroyed in the rapidly flowing waters of the Drave. As the day arose, Constantius, viewing from an adjacent height the field bestrewn and the river choked up with the bodies of the dead, is said to have been unable to refrain from tears. He ordered the slain to be honourably buried, the wounded to be carefully treated, and a general pardon to be extended to all who had taken up arms against him, with the exception of such as were involved in the murder of Constantius.

The exhausted state of his army probably induced Constantius to suspend the prosecution of the war, and winter, which had now approached, afforded a plausible reason for this delay. Magnentius remained at Aquileia, having previously fortified the passes of the Alps. Constantius, however, when the season became more favourable to conduct his operations, having taken by surprise a strongly-guarded castle on those mountains, and having showed his intention of forcing the rest, Magnentius, doubtless aware that he had no share in the affections of the people, abandoned the possession of Italy, and though he defeated his pursuers at Pavia, finally retired with his forces into Gaul.

Constantius, now master of Rome, despatched the Imperial fleet to Africa and Carthage, which yielded a ready submission. Their example was soon after followed by Sicily and Spain. In Gaul, also, several cities, no longer able to endure his oppressive measures, revolted from Magnentius; among the rest, the important city of Treves shut its gates against Decentius, who had been invested by his brother with the title of *Cæsar* or of *Augustus*. Magnentius, dispirited by his misfortunes, despatched a Senator, and afterwards some Bishops, with the offer of resigning the Sovereignty, on condition that the Emperor would allow him to spend the remainder of his life in some honourable service. Constantius received the Senator as a spy, and dismissed the Bishops without an answer. Magnentius, now convinced that his situation was desperate, vigorously prepared to sustain the impending blow. But the signal rout and defeat of his troops in the Cottian Alps, near a castle called Mount Seleucus, forced him to take shelter in Lyons. The few forces who attended him resolved to gratify his successful enemy by an act of treachery. His house was surrounded: his escape cut off. When he advanced to address them, he was interrupted by the unanimous cry, "Long live Constantius Augustus!" The usurper, who easily saw that they designed to purchase their

Constantius

From
A. D.
323
to
A. D.
361.

Defeat of
death of
Magnentius

A. D.
359.
Aug. 11

* Zosim. lib. ii. Julian, Orat. i. li.

† Vict. Epist. Hier. Chron. Eutrop.

‡ Julian, Orat. i. li.

§ Zonar.

* Julian, Orat.

† Zon. lib. ii. Zonar. p. 15. &c.

‡ Julian, Orat. ii.

History. own safety or advancement by delivering up the object of the Emperor's inflexible resentment, closed his existence by falling on his sword. Before his death, (if the account deserves credit,) he slew with his own hands his mother, his brother Desiderius, and such of his friends and relations as were with him at that moment of fury and despair.* Decentius, then at Sens, and enclosed on all sides by hostile forces, strangled himself on receiving intelligence of his brother's death. The panegyrist† of Constantius describe his conduct as having been marked by the most admirable lenity towards those whose former outrages he had experienced, or whose future fidelity he had reason to suspect. But Historians‡ represent him as giving scope to a proud and inhuman disposition. Many persons, both in Civil and military capacities, charged with having rendered services to the usurper, were dragged in chains to the Imperial tribunal and sentenced to death; some lost their estates by confiscation; others were banished to desert islands; sometimes on the accusation of inimical or unprincipled witnesses, sometimes upon mere suspicion; nor was the rack unemployed to precede and aggravate the miseries of exile. By this indiscriminate severity many innocent subjects were wantonly sacrificed. Informers, the constant attendants of suspicious and timid tyranny, soon abounded. The most notorious, Paulus, (surnamed *Calena*, or *Chain*, from the fearful facility with which he linked together a series of accusations,) was sent to perform his horrid occupation in Britain. His injustice and inhumanity roused the indignation of Martinus, a man of known probity, Vice-prefect of the Island. As he nobly interposed to save the innocent, Paulus threatened to send him as a traitor in chains to the Emperor. Aware of the consequences of his conduct, Martinus drew his sword against the informer, who, by a dexterous movement, received but a slight wound. Martinus then buried the weapon in his own breast.§

When the revolt of Magnentius, now extinguished, called forth the most vigorous exertions of Constantius in the West, intelligence was received that the Persians were preparing to attack the Roman Empire in its Eastern Provinces. In this emergency, the Emperor invested his cousin Gallus with the dignity of *Cæsar*, and endeavoured to strengthen the bonds of political union by marriage with his sister Constantina, the widow of Hannibalianus. Gallus and Julian, saved as we have above related, in the massacre which ushered in the reign of the three sons of Constantine, had been placed first in Ionia and Bithynia, afterwards, during six years, when advance of age began to excite alarm, in the castle of Macellum, near Cæsarea. Experienced masters to direct their studies, and numerous attendants who, though careful to keep guard upon their persons, stood ready to comply with their commands, joined to the agreeableness of the site, rendered their residence as tolerable as the precariousness of their situation would allow.

Gallus was now removed from a state of inactive confinement to a post of dignity and of danger. Not only the East, but even Thrace and Constantinople, were assigned to his care.¶ Previously to his departure, he had

an interview with Constantius, and the two Princes took a solemn oath, in the presence of the Bishops who were then at Court, to cherish mutual and unalterable fidelity.*

Gallus, having fixed his residence at Antioch, undertook the administration of the Eastern Provinces, but soon evinced his incompetency for the task. Destitute of experience, he showed himself equally deficient in prudence and sagacity. The sudden reaction of prosperity on a mind long checked and fretted by ill fortune and the vague fears of solitary imprisonment, soon manifested itself by a display of insupportable haughtiness and arrogance, and by scenes of the utmost violence and extravagance. While some unimportant successes, exaggerated by the adulation of panegyrist, contributed to nourish his infatuation, his wife Constantina, whom the Historian stigmatizes with the appellation of the *Megæra* of her sex,† sharpened his natural cruelty, and stimulated him to acts of the most atrocious injustice. A necklace of great value was a sufficient bribe to obtain a death-warrant against a nobleman, whose only crime was his exemplary virtue. Spies and informers were encouraged, and multiplied. Mere suspicion was esteemed sufficient to justify peremptory punishment. Numbers, without even the form of trial, were hurried to execution or privately destroyed. Gallus himself, in order to discover new victims, often, in disguise, walked the streets at night, and mixed with the populace in public taverns. Innocence offered no security of person or of property. Confiscations and murders became fearfully familiar. The Imperial apartments presented the spectacle of instruments of death and torture. The cities and Provinces were deluged with blood. Thalassius, then Prefect of the East, inveighed against his measures with more warmth and roughness than skill and prudence, and, by openly informing the Emperor of them in exaggerated language, only incensed the haughty Cæsar to increased excesses. The conduct of Gallus, in short, resembled rather that of a man labouring under a partial aberration of mind, than that of any person, however capricious and inhuman, in full possession of his faculties.

Constantius, who had affected to be ignorant of the disgraceful administration of the Eastern Provinces during the continuance of the Civil war, had no sooner brought it to a successful close, than he determined to institute a severe investigation of the proceedings of Gallus. A circumstance took place which was justly considered not only as barbarous in itself, but as an insult on the Emperor. The inhabitants of Antioch, having requested Gallus to give orders for the importation of foreign corn into their city, he replied, that if their supplies were not sufficient, the fault rested with Theophilus, Governor of Syria. The remark was not forgotten; and, at a moment when the price of provisions had increased, Theophilus, a man of a mild and unblemished character, was barbarously murdered by an enraged populace. By a special commission, Domitian, who had been appointed, on the death of Thalassius, Prefect of the East, and Montius, Questor of the Palace, were instructed to examine the state of these affairs, but at the same time to treat the Cæsar with all the deference and attention which his birth and station entitled him to receive. Domitian was not possessed of

Constantius.
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Cruel and extravagant
conduct of
Gallus.

* Zos. lib. ii. See, however, Zonar. p. 16 † Them. Orat. vi. &c.
‡ Zosim. lib. ii. Ammian lib. xiv. Comp. Liban. Orat. ii.
§ Ammian. lib. xiv.
¶ Aurel. Vict. Zos. lib. ii. Ammian lib. xiv.

* Philostorg. lib. iv. c. 1.
† Ammian. lib. xiv.

History.

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Massacre of
Domitian,
Prefect of
the East
and Montius,
the Quæstor.

A. D.
354.

those arts of politeness and address which were requisite to effect the designs of the Emperor.

On arriving at Antioch, he passed before the palace without paying his respects to the Cæsar; and, under pretext of indisposition, remained several days retired at home, procuring information respecting the measures of Gallus, and transmitting to the Emperor a memorial calculated to increase his exasperation. At length, at the solicitation of Gallus, he appeared at Court; but careless of resorting to the artifices of persuasion, he signified at once to the Prince, in an abrupt manner, that it was the Emperor's will that he should immediately repair to Italy, and that he himself would punish any refusal to comply, by suspending the allowance for the maintenance of his household. Having delivered this haughty message, he retired without adding a single word, or waiting for a reply from the Cæsar, who both called him back and afterwards requested him to return to Court without success. Gallus, naturally incensed, ordered the rash Prefect to be delivered to the custody of a guard. Montius strongly remonstrated with Gallus, observing that he ought to pull down the statues of Constantius, before he ventured on laying violent hands on his Prefect.* According to another account, he contemptuously exclaimed, "The Emperor has not thought proper to empower you to create a single magistrate, and you speak of putting a Prefect to death!"† Irritated in the highest degree, Gallus complained of this conduct to his guards, who, immediately seizing Montius and Domitian, and binding their legs together with cords, dragged them through the streets of Antioch; and, after having inflicted on them many insults, cast their bodies into the river Orontes.‡

The wily Constantius, repressing his indignation, † it could be displayed without hazard, addressed frequent epistles to Gallus, couched in the language of unsuspecting friendship, and filled with earnest solicitations to be relieved from a portion of his arduous duties in the West by the presence and assistance of the Cæsar. At the same time, under a variety of pretences, he insensibly drew off the veteran legions from the Eastern Provinces. Gallus, whether aware or not of the dangers which surrounded him, took no measures calculated to avert the blow. The death of Constantina, on whose influence with the Emperor he depended, threw him into the greatest perplexity. The resolution which he is said to have entertained of assuming the title of *Augustus*,§ and staking his fortune in open revolt, receiving no encouragement from his former friends, whom his savage and ungovernable passions had alienated, was abandoned. He was at length prevailed upon by the artful assurances of the Tribune Scudilo, who was sent to him as a messenger by the Emperor, a man of a crafty mind and insinuating manner, to quit Antioch, and to set forward on his journey to Italy. He stopt some time at Constantinople, and, like a person who is free from apprehension, entertained the people with an exhibition of Circensian Games. As he advanced, he was met by officers, who, under pretence of waiting on him, kept a vigilant eye on his motions, and prevented the receipt of any communications likely to be the means of causing Civil war. To avoid all risk, arising from any tender of

services on the part of the troops, so easily seduced by corruption, the garrisons were carefully removed from the towns through which he passed. Repeated letters required him to accelerate his progress. After having remained a few days at Hadrianople, he was haughtily commanded to proceed with a small retinue to Milan, where the Emperor then resided. On his arrival at Petavium, in Pannonia, he was met by the General Barbatio, who entered his lodging on the same evening with a band of soldiers, stripped him of the ensigns of his dignity, and hurried him away to Flanona, not far from Pola in Istria, where, twenty years before, the blood of Crispus Cæsar, the son of Constantine, had been shed. The Eunuch Eusebii, and Pentades, his Secretary, were sent hither to examine him respecting his administration. Gallus confessed the errors of which he was accused, but, by ascribing them to the evil counsels of his wife, provoked the indignation of her Imperial brother. After this partial procedure, Constantius suffered himself to be persuaded that his safety could not be ensured without the destruction of his cousin, and signed the sentence of death. Gallus was beheaded in prison like the meanest criminal. According to some accounts, the Emperor, soon relenting, countermanded his execution; but the Eunuchs, avowed enemies of the Cæsar, pretended that the reprieve had arrived too late.*

On the elevation of Gallus, the situation of Julian, his companion in the splendid prison of Macellum, was considerably improved. Relieved from the irksomeness of continued seclusion, he was allowed to prosecute his studies at Constantinople. But the fame, which soon represented him as a Prince worthy of reigning, disturbed the rest of the jealous Constantius, who commanded him to withdraw to the more retired quarters of Asia Minor. The misfortunes which soon closed the chequered life of Gallus, exposed that of Julian to the most imminent danger. Arrested and consigned to guards, he was removed from the quiet scenes of Ionia to the city of Milan, where the Court was then held. There he remained above seven months, aware that he was continually exposed to the hatred of intriguing Eunuchs, and apprehending the same calamities which had terminated the career of the adherents of his unfortunate brother. All his actions were malignantly watched. His very looks were studiously scanned.† His enemies would fain have fathomed his inmost thoughts to find matter for crimination. An expression of complaint, so natural in his forlorn state, would infallibly have led to immediate ruin. Under this harassing scrutiny, Julian, though not usually given to taciturnity, behaved as one schooled in adversity, with a cautious reserve, by which he extricated himself from the snares that encompassed him, without at the same time sacrificing the regard which he owed to his own character. He was too discreet to betray his feelings, however intense: too conscientious and high-minded to stoop to court Imperial favour, by a semblance of approbation of the murder of his brother. But his safety is mainly attributable to the protection of the Empress Eusebia, a woman of a humane disposition, and attached to the Sciences, whose influence on the mind of her husband prevailed over the powerful hostility of the Eunuchs.

Constantin
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Death of
Gallus.
A. D.
354.
Decembre

Situation of
Julian.

* Ammian. lib. xiv. Zozar. p. 10.

† Philostorg. lib. iii.

‡ Socrat. lib. ii. c. 34. Ammian. lib. xiv.

§ Socrat. lib. ii. c. 34. but compare Zozar. lib. ii.

* Ammian. lib. xiv. &c. Comp. Julian. ad Athen. and Liban. Orat. xii.

† Ammian. lib. xv.

History.
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.
Sent to
Athens.
A. D.
355.
May.

Through her means, Julian was admitted to an interview with the Emperor; the manner in which he defended his cause produced a favourable impression, and a second audience was promised. But the artifices of the Eunuchs were effectual in preventing it, and Julian retired into the neighbourhood of Milan, till the Emperor permitted him to proceed to Athens, a kind of exile indeed, but an exile which his passion for the language and the literature of the Greeks rendered peculiarly agreeable. His residence of six months in this celebrated city, produced a very marked effect on the train of thought, and tone of feeling, which he manifested at a subsequent period. Orators, Philosophers, and Priests, naturally prepossessed in favour of a youthful Prince, remarkable for his talents, his rank, and his misfortunes, tended to encourage, at once, his abilities and his vanity. The Pontiff of Eleusis, famed for his knowledge of Theurgy, obtained his friendship and nourished his superstition. A reception so congenial to his temper, inspired him with an affection for Athens, which he never laid aside. But the turns of fortune soon obliged him to quit the city, which he regarded as his true Country, and in which he expressed the desire of fixing his permanent residence.

Transferred to Milan.

The sole government of the immense Empire of Rome, with all its numerous and complicated duties, embarrassed Constantius. Rebellion had scarcely ceased to thin the flower of his armies, before the prospect of external wars of momentous consequence arose. Gaul was ravaged by hosts of Barbarians. The Isaurians also, pouring down from their rocks and mountains, and not satisfied with predatory excursions alone, had ventured to besiege Seleucia, though defended by three Roman legions. To complete his difficulties, Sapor, his most formidable enemy, exulting in the remembrance of success, again assumed a warlike attitude, and the Provinces of the East were in danger of being wrested from the grasp of Roman power. At this critical conjuncture, Constantius was convinced of the necessity of resting upon some able and vigorous colleague a portion of the burthen which, singly, he felt unable to sustain. Without heirs united to him by the ties of natural affection, by whom his dominions might be successfully defended, and to whom they could be securely bequeathed, the Emperor doubtless experienced some touch of remorse at the bloody tragedy, in which the members of his family had untimely perished. One scion alone of the tree, thus unsparingly stripped and mutilated, remained, on which he might still rest his hopes. On him, therefore, he now turned his eyes, persuaded by the counsels of Eusebia, which triumphed over the selfish policy of the Eunuchs. To prevent the example of the late Cæsar from forming an objection to her plans, she with great address marked the contrast between the dispositions of the two brothers, showing that, from their earliest youth, Julian had been compared to Titus, and Gallus to Domitian. It is true, the deep wrongs which the Prince, thus proposed, had endured, must naturally have inspired him with feelings of alienation and resentment, however cautiously dissimulated, but it was hoped that a foretaste of Imperial power would at once produce oblivion of the past, and loyalty for the future. These arguments prevailed, and it was determined that Julian, after having been united in marriage with Helena, sister of the Emperor, should be invested with the dignity of Cæsar, and take his share in stemming the torrent of dangers which burst

on all sides of the Roman Empire. On receiving the order, which recalled him to Court, Julian felt that he was destined to relinquish scenes of leisure and retirement, in order to be entangled in suspicions and peril, under the disguise of splendour and authority. The bloody image of Gallus presented itself to his mind. He raised his hands for protection to the Temple of Minerva, and before his departure, he prayed the Goddess, with a flood of tears, not to abandon her most devoted votary.

On his arrival at Milan, he received an encouraging reception from Constantius and Eusebia, but he found difficulty in reconciling himself to a situation so well calculated to excite his fears, and so little adapted to his former habits. Previously to the proclamation of his new title, his beard was shaved, and the cloak of the Philosopher exchanged for the accoutrements of a warrior. A secluded scholar, he was wholly unacquainted with the grace and etiquette of rank, and the perplexed and maladroit awkwardness of his manner, under this kind of masquerading process, was a source of temporary diversion to the Court.

The sanction of the army towards the nomination of Julian declared Cæsar was now solemnly required. For the Emperors at this degenerate period were always confident of the consent of the Senate, which could scarcely be refused to any measures that had previously received the acquiescence of the soldiery. The forces stationed at Milan being assembled under arms, the Emperor ascended an elevated tribunal, encircled with Roman Eagles, holding by the hand the nephew of Constantine, who entered on that very day into the twenty-fourth year of his age. After having in a concise speech touched upon the wants of the invaded Empire, he set forth the merits of Julian, and declared his design, if it met with their approbation, of raising him to the dignity of Cæsar. A murmur of applause interrupted his speech as he invested the young Prince with the Purple. As soon as the proclamation was concluded, the troops, who had gazed on the ingenuous glow of Julian's countenance, which, at first abashed and embarrassed, soon brightened with an open confidence at the demonstrations of surrounding joy, and who observed that the fire which gave brilliancy and animation to his eyes, was blended with a look of inexpressible sweetness, and announced an union of courage with amiableness,—loudly struck their shields against their knees, to express, in their usual manner, their entire concurrence and delight.* The approbation which followed the Emperor's address was marked by that fine sense of decorum, which neither exceeds, nor falls short of, the measure of praise which reverence for a superior demands. The ceremony being finished, the two Princes returned in the same chariot to the palace. Yet Julian, though the current of events had raised him to an unexpected pitch of honour, could not banish the workings of secret fears from his mind. He remarked with horror that he was surrounded by the assassins of his family, and he repeated a line of his favourite author, Homer, by which, by turning an epithet from its original meaning, he intimated his apprehensions of the dangers which lurk in the rich folds of the Purple:

* Ἐλλὰς παρθένης ἑστάναι καὶ ραῖα κενεῖται.

His situation, during the twenty-four days which he

* Ammian. lib. xv. Socrat. lib. iii. Sozomen. lib. v. c. 2.

Constantius
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

declared
Cæsar.
A. D.
355.
Nov. 6.

History.

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

spent at Milan, was not indeed entirely calculated to release him from his terrors. Adorned with honours, he was scarcely possessed of freedom. His movements were subjected to a sedulous espionage. He was allowed to retain only four of his ancient domestics; his librarian Evemerus, his physician Oribasus, and two young pages. Constantius himself wrote with his own hand a set of instructions to regulate not only his conduct on the slightest points, but even the service of his table, with such minuteness of detail that they resembled rather the rules which might be given to an unexperienced schoolboy, on the eve of entering his preceptor's roof, than the directions of a Prince, to whom was committed the arduous administration of the East. But as if he were a mere automaton, decorated with Imperial ensigns, he was not permitted to carry on his measures independently of the officers who commanded in Gaul, nor were these officers unapprized that the *Cæsar* was to be viewed with as much distrust as the enemy itself. The kindness of his patroness, however, continued unabated, and the gift of a numerous and valuable collection of books tended to diminish his regret at his absence from Asia, and as it were to transplant the literary charms of Greece into the unlearned regions of Gaul.*

False accusation, revolt, and death of
Sylvanus.
A. D.
355.
September.

The suspicions of Julian were not likely to be allayed by reflecting on the unmerited fate which had awaited Sylvanus, a man of eminent merit, in the summer prior to his own promotion. That General had been appointed to protect Gaul from the incursions of the Barbarians, at the recommendation of insidious courtiers, who designed by removing him, under colour of distinction, from the presence of the Emperor, to effect his ruin with greater facility and success. The following plot was accordingly devised. A dexterous agent of the intriguers, having obtained from Sylvanus some letters of recommendation, erased the entire contents except the signature, filled the vacant space with treasonable projects, and contrived that the supposed scheme should be communicated to the Emperor. The fraud, indeed, was in consequence of an inquiry detected, the treachery of the devisers laid open to shame, and the innocence of Sylvanus established. But the ill-requited General, informed only of the malice of his enemies, had already been forced to resort to measures of resistance, and a real conspiracy arose out of one which had been invented. His estate had been hastily seized, his friends were arrested and put to the torture. As a measure of common defence, therefore, he assumed the Purple at Cologne, and, supported by his troops, prepared to prosecute the rebellion into which he had been thus unexpectedly driven. Struck with extreme astonishment and alarm, the Emperor immediately despatched against him Ursicinus, a General, who was soon enabled to fulfil his wishes by an act of treachery, which tarnishes the lustre of his military reputation. Under pretence, it would seem, that, goaded by wrongs, he had deserted the cause of Constantius, and hastened to share the fortunes of Sylvanus, he found no difficulty in gaining the confidence it was his object to betray, and thus in decoying into ruin the very man whom he insidiously professed to admire and assist. Some of the guards, corrupted by his promises, at the dawn of morning forcibly entered the palace with drawn swords, and, having over-

taken Sylvanus as he attempted in his flight to take refuge in a neighbouring church, butchered him with repeated blows. The insurrectionary forces afterwards returned to their allegiance. Thus perished an able and successful chief, who had rendered signal services to Constantius, the victim of the intrigues of ministers and the credulity of their master; and thus ended the dangers of a revolt which calumny alone had caused, and perfidy defeated.*

Constantius had never visited the ancient metropolis of his Empire: an interval of peace, which, after Julian had departed somewhat more than eighteen months, gave him respite from his cares, afforded a favourable opportunity for the gratification of his curiosity. Accordingly, having proceeded from Milan by the Æmilian and Flaminian Ways, he entered Rome with all the pomp of a Triumphant procession.† Seated alone in a gilded chariot, resplendent with a rich variety and blaze of precious gems,—amid a gorgeous display of purple banners fantastically shaped as dragons, which, bound on the ornamented tops of spears, waved and coiled their flexile folds in the wind,—he passed through glittering lines of full-armed cuirassiers and other troops splendidly begirt with their different accoutrements. He was attended by the Senate and Magistrates, who had come forth to meet him in their robes of ceremonial, amid the acclamations of an immense multitude. During the whole march, the Emperor, the slave of rigid etiquette, preserved that extreme affectation of statelyness and of imperturbable, almost motionless, gravity, which forbade him even to raise his hands to his face or to turn his eyes to the right or to the left. During his stay of thirty days, he presided in the Senate, harangued the people, and examined the magnificent structures which adorned the Seven Hills and plains of the Eternal City. The extensive Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian,—the towering Amphitheatre of Titus—the majestic Pantheon—the Temple of Peace—the Theatre of Pompey, and, above all other edifices, the Column and Forum of Trajan, called forth his unbounded admiration. He acknowledged that fame, which generally exaggerates, had given him but an imperfect description of the wonders which he witnessed. Inspired with a desire of adding his own name to the list of those who had enriched this seat of grandeur with monuments of surpassing beauty and strength, he brought to Rome an enormous Obelisk of granite, a hundred and fifteen feet in length, which Constantine had removed from the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis to Alexandria, and which had remained there in consequence of his death. It was afterwards, though not without great difficulty, erected in the Circus Maximus, and in later times was placed by Pope Sixtus V. in the square before the Church of St. John Lateran.‡

The political horizon wore again a loning aspect, and Constantius was soon called away from these peaceful occupations, on the description of which the Historian dwells with pleasure, as upon spots of verdure which are sparingly scattered over a sickening waste of foreign wars, or domestic assassinations. He received intelligence that irruptions had been committed by the Suevians and by the Quadi. After continued intrigues, the Emperor at length marched in person to repel the

Constanti-
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Constanti-
visits Rom
A. D.
356.
April 28

New Obs.
Ist.

War with
the Quadi
and the
Sarmatians
A. D.
357.
to
A. D.
359.

* See Julian, *Orat. ad Athén.* iv. Ammian. lib. xv. c. 8. lib. xvi. lib. v. &c. La Blotière, *Vie de Julien*, lib. i.

* Ammian. lib. xv. &c.

† Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. xiz.

‡ Ibid. lib. xvi.

History. invaders, crossed the Danube on a bridge of boats, and spread desolation and terror through the hostile regions into which he penetrated. The Barbarians, alarmed at his progress, came in suppliant crowds to solicit peace, which they obtained upon condition of restoring their prisoners, and delivering up selected hostages. Constantius then proceeded against the Limigantes, a race of slaves, who had expelled the Sarmatians, and seized their ancient possessions. Frequent irruptions into the Roman dominions, sufficient in themselves to call for heavy retaliation, confirmed the obvious policy which dictated the restoration of the expatriated Sarmatian exiles, and the erection and consolidation of a Government attached to Rome by every tie of gratitude and dependence. The attempt, however, was rendered peculiarly hazardous by the wild and marshy nature of the country, which was no less perplexing to strangers than favourable for the shelter and for the stratagems of the experienced inhabitants. The devices which were attempted by one of the fierce Tribes dwelling in an islet towards the conflux of the Danube and the Teyss, were utterly baffled, and great numbers were trodden down and slaughtered, without having deigned to beg for quarter, or to relax the grasp which still unyieldingly clenched their weapons in the pangs of death. The invasion was prosecuted with the utmost energy and vigour. Pursued with fire and sword into the very heart of their wretched wilderness, though the most undaunted of the Limigantes preferred to fall in the field rather than to submit to the conqueror, the greater number sued for mercy at the hands of the Romans. Constantius assigned them a distant Country, where they might dwell in future unmolested. The wily Barbarians returned, before they could have occupied their place of exile, to complain of their new settlement, and to entreat the Emperor that it might be fixed within the boundaries of the Roman Empire. The unsuspecting Constantius gave them audience in a large plain: he addressed them, as they insensibly surrounded the tribunal, in the language of mildness, when suddenly one of the apparently attentive but faithless crowd gave the signal of defiance and tumult. They rushed furiously towards the Imperial speaker, whom the gallant defence of his guards, who perished round him, enabled to escape. So signal an act of treachery, was avenged by the total extermination of the Limigantes.* The Sarmatians, declared a free people, were restored to the possession of their native Country. One of the Chiefs of their nation, Zizais, was placed over them with the title of King, and his subsequent conduct justified the choice which was then made. For these important achievements the army saluted the victorious Emperor with the surname of *Sarmaticus*.

While Constantius in the West and Sapor in the East† were employed in repelling the progress of Barbarians, who threatened the tranquillity of their respective dominions, Musonianus, Prefect of the East, had entered into a private negotiation with the Satrap Tamsapor, the result of which was transmitted to the Persian King. In consequence of this overture, Sapor sent Narses as his ambassador to Constantius, then at Sirmium, with an epistle, couched in the pompous style of Oriental arrogance, and carefully folded in a silken covering, to intimate that Sapor, "King of Kings, and brother of the

Sun and Moon," though justified, as the successor of Darius Hystaspes, in considering the river Strymon in Macedonia as the real limit of his Empire, was content to confine his demands to the restitution of Armenia and Mesopotamia, of which his ancestors had been most unjustly deprived. He added, that unless these proposals were favourably received, he was determined to assert the justice of his cause by the force of his victorious arms. Constantius replied, that, although he was not unwilling to conclude Peace upon honourable terms, he could not, now that he was sole master of the Roman Empire, accept the same conditions which he had rejected with indignation, while his power was limited to the Provinces of the East. A few days after the departure of Narses, the conciliating courteousness of whose manners, so well adapted to purposes of diplomacy, had been exerted to diminish the impression of the haughty message with which he had been charged, Constantius, who was seriously desirous of Peace, or at least of an armistice, sent a solemn embassy, consisting of a Count, a Notary, and a Sophist, by which combination of rank, ingenuity, and eloquence, he hoped that the imperious Prince might be persuaded to accede to more reasonable demands.* Their efforts towards procuring pacific measures were rendered abortive by the opposition of Antoninus, a Roman subject of Syria, who, having fled to the Court of Persia, proved, as well by the intensity of his resentment, as by his knowledge of the resources of the Empire, a very able and dangerous opponent of the people, whose oppression he had experienced, and whose cause he had deserted. After this failure, ambassadors of a higher rank were sent, but the Persian King, threatening to regard them as spies, detained them sometime in close confinement, though eventually he dismissed them uninjured.†

The views of the Persian Cabinet were materially assisted at the Roman Court by the intrigues of the Eunucli Eusibius. Ursucinus, an officer so eminently fitted by his military talents for the task, which devolved upon him, of resisting the invasion of the Eastern Provinces, was removed from his command, and replaced by Sabinianus, a decrepit veteran, whose only merit consisted in his immense wealth. Antoninus no sooner learned this change, than, well acquainted with the incapacity of the newly-appointed General for the sphere of action in which he was engaged, he pressed Sapor to march directly to the Euphrates, without wasting his time in the siege of towns, and, crossing that river, to enter and reduce the rich and ill-defended Province of Syria. The Persian Monarch made preparations on a large scale to execute the proposed plan. Constantius, with an inconstancy produced by alarm, again ordered Ursucinus to hasten back to the boundaries of Mesopotamia, and left him to undertake the dangers and responsibility of a war, from the glory of which he was shamefully debarred. By the wisdom, however, of his operations, the advance of Sapor, whose army consisted of more than a hundred thousand men, was materially obstructed. The inhabitants of Mesopotamia had been enabled by a timely warning to remove their effects into places of safety; the forage and even the corn, already ripe, were set on fire, in order to deprive the enemy of all means of subsistence: the fords of the Euphrates were fortified with stakes, and

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Sapor invades Mesopotamia.
A. D.
359.

* See Ammian, lib. xvii, &c.
† P. 176.

* Ammian, lib. xvii. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. xix.
† Ammian, lib. xviii.

History.

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Siege of
Amida.

its banks with military engines. Thus obliged to abandon his intention of attempting a passage by the bridge of Thapsacus, the Persian Monarch, by the advice of the sagacious Antoninus, bent his march by the foot of the mountains which divide Mesopotamia from Armenia, towards the head of the Euphrates, where that river was fordable. In pursuance of the counsels in which he had acquiesced, Sapor seems seriously to have intended to press forward without interruption. On approaching the strong city of Amida, however, being desirous merely of sounding the intentions of the garrison, he appeared with regal pomp and parade before the walls. A discharge of arrows, one of which pierced his royal robes, excited, in a high degree, his indignation and anger. Another occurrence inflamed still further his offended pride, and silenced all the suggestions of prudence. The ensuing morning, as Grumbates, King of the Chionites, (who had accompanied and cooperated with his army,) advanced towards the gates with a chosen band, to demand the surrender of a city, his only son, a youth remarkable for his courage and personal charms, was stretched dead at his father's feet, being pierced through the heart by a weapon shot from one of the balistæ. Transported with ungovernable resentment, and reckless of his former schemes, Sapor resolved that the city of Amida, which had inflicted on him and his aged ally so bitter an affront, should serve as a funeral pile for the unfortunate Prince. Amida, besides a supply of warlike engines, was reinforced by seven legions, at the time it was attacked by Sapor. An assault, conducted with the utmost impetuosity and repelled with the most obstinate resolution, having failed of success, a regular siege was begun, in the prosecution of which the most striking efforts of art and of valour were displayed. At length, when the garrison was reduced in numbers, and exhausted by watching, and wasted by disease, the Persians made a successful breach and entered the town, which had resisted their attack during seventy-three days, and before which, upwards of thirty thousand of their veterans had fallen. The city was rased to the ground, the chief Officers were crucified, and the rest either massacred or carried into captivity, with the exception of a small number, (who contrived to make their escape in the dead of night, through a postern gate,) one of which number was the Historian and warrior, Ammianus Marcellinus,* who, having been himself shut up in the town, and enabled to be an eye-witness of the manœuvres both of the assailants and of the assailed, has left us a detailed narrative of this siege, from which the sketch we have given has been drawn. During the whole continuance of the siege, Sabinianus was employed in exercising his troops with useless parade under the walls of Edessa. Ursicinus continually pressed him to adopt some determined plan: he suggested to him to harass the enemy by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys, by which means he might have checked the vigour, and perhaps wholly have prevented the success of the besiegers of Amida. The indolent Chief merely replied, that he had received instructions not to endanger the safety of his forces. Yet when Amida was taken, Ursicinus was most unjustly subjected to a partial inquiry, which, though it led to no decision, extorted from him the unguarded expression, that, as long as the government of Eunuchs continued, the

Emperor himself would be unable, at the head of his army, to protect his Eastern dominions. His words were immediately reported with the usual accompaniment of exaggerations, and Ursicinus—the best officer of his Age—at a moment of danger which peremptorily called for his consummate abilities and long experience, was deprived of his rank, and condemned to retire to his native Country.

Sapor had reason to regret that, in the ebullition of anger, neglecting the judicious counsels of his guide, he had sacrificed so large a Body of his troops, and lost the opportunity of extending his power, in order to satiate his desire of revenge. His army was thinned and disheartened, and his schemes were proportionably contracted and lowered. Entering into Mesopotamia in the following year, he took by assault the strong post of Singara, and carried the garrison and citizens into captivity. He next reduced Bezabde, a fortified town on the Tigris, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and subjected the rest to slavery. He demolished Singara, but repaired the fortifications of Bezabde, and left it defended by a garrison of his veterans. He then proceeded against Virta or Birlha, on the most distant borders of Mesopotamia, but after repeated unsuccessful attacks he abandoned the siege of that fortress, celebrated for its great strength, without entering upon any other enterprise, and returned to his own dominions.

Constantius, after having quelled the Barbarians of the Danube, proceeded into his Eastern Provinces. As he pursued his march to Amida, he could not behold the melancholy scene presented by a city, once so formidable, with its lofty towers and ramparts now lying a neglected heap of ruins, without giving vent to feelings of humanity, not unmixed, perhaps, with the regrets of disappointed ambition; and he shed many tears. He then attempted to regain possession of Bezabde, but his frequent assaults were intrepidly repelled, and the besieged, though almost reduced by famine, still resisted, till at length the severity of the season, in which heavy rains prevailed, obliged him to lay aside the fruitless enterprise and to retire into winter-quarters at Antioch.*

Our attention has been hitherto turned to the affairs of the Romans in the East; it is necessary to take a retrospective glance at the events which had taken place in the Provinces of Gaul, and the brilliant union of military and political talents, which exalted the character of Julian to a high pitch of glory.

After having been raised to the dignity of Cæsar, Julian left Milan, attended only by three hundred and sixty soldiers, in order to proceed to Gaul. The situation of that Province was, at this period, peculiarly distressing. In the Civil wars which had marked his reign, Constantius, more eager to promote his personal advantage than the general weal of the Empire, had rashly engaged the Alemanni to make a diversion in his favour, by the invasion of Gaul, promising to concede to them all the territories which they should reduce. It was not long before the blind policy of the measure became apparent. Intent on enriching themselves by depredation and rapine, the Barbarians were soon discovered to be but unprincipled and dangerous allies. When Julian arrived in Gaul, they had ruined forty-five cities besides castles and villages. They had stationed themselves

Constantius
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Siege of
Singara,
A. D.
360.

Constantius
marches
to Mesop-
otamia.

Julian
left
Gaul.

* Lib. xix.

* Ammian. lib. xx.

History.
from
1. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.
his first
campaign
in
Gaul.
1. D.
356.

along the Rhine, from the sources to the mouth of the river, and the extent of the country over which they poured the ravages of war was three times greater than that which they had conquered. The open towns still distant from these scenes of desolation, were deserted through fear, and the inhabitants of fortified posts, plundered of their flocks and of their harvests, were obliged to be satisfied with the small supply of corn which could be raised within the enclosure of their walls. An inexperienced Prince, whose life had been spent far from the din of arms, in obscurity and retirement, was appointed to enter upon a career of warfare and peril, and to remedy a state of the utmost confusion and misery.*

At Vienna, where Julian spent the winter in making the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign, he received intelligence that the Barbarians, who had besieged Autun, had been effectually baffled, and forced to abandon their design by the unyielding bravery of the few veterans by whom it was defended. The young *Cæsar*, careless of personal ease, and deaf to the counsels of flattery and of effeminacy, placed himself at the head of a small band of archers and heavy cavalry, marched in pursuit of the enemy, who moved in large masses about the country, and gave an early symptom of his prompt decision and vigour by preferring the shorter, but the more dangerous of the two roads which led from Autun to Auxerre. Thence, as he advanced to Troyes, he was attacked on all sides by the Barbarians, who, though far superior in numbers, were put to flight, many of them slaughtered, and some of them taken prisoners. From Troyes he proceeded to Rheims, where the main body of the army was assembled. Leaving Rheims, with a design of falling on the enemy, he was taught by an incident, which might have been attended by fatal consequences, the necessity of circumspection and foresight in forming the character of a General. The Alemanni, assisted by their local knowledge, concealed themselves in ambush, and taking advantage of a dark and wet day, unexpectedly attacked his rear, and would have almost destroyed two legions, had not the alarm been suddenly raised and assistance given. He had soon an opportunity of retaliating, by defeating the Barbarians, though not with great havoc, in the neighbourhood of Brotnagus, now Brumt, in Alsace. This slight victory opened him a way to Cologne, which the Germans ten months before had destroyed; for as they were wont to look upon towns as prisons and sepulchres, it was their practice to ruin, not to fortify, the places which they had taken. Having repaired the walls of Cologne, he fixed his winter-quarters in the city of Sens, where, with a small number of troops, the rest being dispersed throughout the wasted Province, he was besieged by multitudes of the Barbarians. In this extremity, Marcellus, the Commander-in-chief of the Cavalry in Gaul, either yielding to petty jealousy, or complying too literally with the orders of the suspicious Emperor, which instructed him to distrust the *Cæsar*, refused, though stationed in the neighbourhood, to advance to the relief of the distressed town. Julian, thus shamelessly abandoned by those on whose obedience he relied, made a most vigorous resistance, which compelled the Barbarians, at the end of a month, to retire in despair. Thus ended the first campaign of Julian, which would doubtless have been signalized by more glorious ex-

ploits,* had he not been under the guardianship of Generals, who, anxious to gratify the envious humour of Constantius, made it their object to thwart and disconcert, not to promote, his designs, and to give him far more scope for the exercise of his patience than of his activity and courage.† The insult of Marcellus, however, was so marked, that the Emperor could not safely dissemble it. Marcellus was deprived of his command, and succeeded by Severus, an experienced officer, possessed of a high spirit of disinterestedness and honour, who united the talents of a consummate General with the obedience of a faithful soldier. He was commissioned to act dependently on Julian, who, by the interest of the Empress, was at length appointed Commander-in-chief of all the forces in Gaul.

The line of operations, by which the Emperor designed to repress the devastations of the enemy, was wisely drawn. Julian, who had reinforced his troops by new levies, was to march against the Alemanni, and, at the same time, Barbatio, (who had been appointed General of Infantry, in room of Sylvanus,) proceeding from Italy at the head of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, was so to time and direct his advance, that the Barbarians, simultaneously enclosed and pressed between two armies, might be either exposed to destruction, or compelled to retire into Germany.

But Barbatio was an officer whose reputation for military skill must be regarded as factitious, or whose conduct was influenced either by private instructions or by dishonourable motives. His presence, instead of seconding the views, seems destined merely to cross and embarrass the projects of Julian. The Leli, a German nation, having contrived to pass between the two camps, penetrated as far as Lyons, which they hoped to surprise; but experiencing a decided resistance, they contented themselves with pillaging and burning the surrounding country. Upon the first intelligence of this aggression, Julian sent detachments to seize the passes through which these bands of adventurers were to return. By these means all were destroyed, except such as directed their route near the camp of Barbatio, who not merely suffered them to escape without molestation, but, by complaining to Constantius of some officers who had attempted to interrupt their retreat, caused them (one of whom was Valentinian, afterwards Emperor!) to be cashiered. A portion of the Alemanni still retained their acquisitions, blocking up the ways with trees hewn down and cast across them, or taking shelter in the islands formed by the Rhine in the environs of Basle. These last it was the wish of Julian to attack, but Barbatio preferred to burn all his boats, rather than to send seven, which were required for the execution of this design—an act of insubordination, which could only find a parallel in his conduct on another occasion, when he burned the provisions which had been sent for both armies, after he had abundantly provided for his own. The *Cæsar*, thus unexpectedly denied assistance in a moment of need, and forced to rely on his own resources, caused some of the most resolute among his troops to wade over to the nearest island, where they massacred all whom they met, without distinction of age or sex. Their boats being seized, the slaughter extended to other islands;

Constantius.
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

His second
campaign.
A. D.
357.

* Ammianus describes this campaign as very glorious; (lib. xvi. c. 2, 3.) but Julian himself acknowledges that he performed nothing worthy of notice. (*Ad Athem.* p. 510.)
† Liban. *Orat.* ix.

‡ Ammian. lib. xvi. &c.

* Ammian. lib. xvi. Gibbon, ch. xix.

History. till the Barbarians, deeming it impossible to struggle against the power of Julian, abandoned the rest, and retired to their respective homes.

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Having thus dislodged the Germans from their cantonments, Julian employed himself in rebuilding and increasing by new works the demolished fortifications of the Tres Tabernæ, now called Saverne, a fort near Strasburg in Alsace, which was fitted by its situation to check the nations beyond the Rhine, and to prevent their irruptions into Gaul. Having supplied this important post with provisions for a whole year, he left in it a numerous garrison. At the same time Barbatio, anxious to engross all the credit of the war, was endeavouring to lay a bridge of boats over the Rhine; but the Barbarians, informed of his purpose, threw huge trees into the river, which, borne by the stream, sank many of his boats and parted the rest; then, falling suddenly upon him as he retreated, they cut to pieces a great number of his troops, captured most of his baggage, ravaged the neighbouring country, and left him, baffled and defeated, to return to Court to make war against Julian by his calumnies.*

Battle of
Argentora-
tum, or
Strasburg.
A. D.
367.
August.

Elated with this victory, the Alemanni assembled in great numbers to overwhelm the Romans. Their chief commander was Chnodomarius, a fierce and experienced King, who had formerly overthrown in battle Decentius, the brother of Magnentius, and thirsted with impatience to make the young *Cæsar* experience the terror of his victorious arms. Formidable by his boldness in conceiving, and his celerity in executing his plans, he felt that confidence which a long career of successful achievements naturally inspires. His vast frame and external appearance contributed to confirm the impression which his valour had produced. He was accompanied by six other Kings, with ten Princes, and a train of Nobles, at the head of thirty-five thousand men, who encamped in the neighbourhood of Strasburg. Being informed by a deserter that Julian had but an army of thirteen thousand men, Chnodomarius sent a message, requiring him to depart immediately from the country, which the Alemanni claimed as their own by the double right of conquest and of compact. The messenger employed on this occasion produced a letter of Constantius, written to the Barbarians in the time of Magnentius, in which the Emperor had promised to relinquish whatever territory they should be able to gain. Julian, without paying any regard to the summons, affected to consider the messenger as a spy, and detained him, under this pretext, though, doubtless, his real motive was the fear that he should reveal to the enemy his inferiority in numerical force. On learning that the Barbarians were within twenty miles of his camp, he left Saverne, and marched directly with a view to confront their hosts, and to decide the fate of the expedition by a general engagement. The Romans advanced in two columns, the cavalry on the right, and the infantry on the left. When part of the road was traversed, Julian, apprehensive lest his troops, exhausted by a long and toilsome march at a season of great heat, should attack an enemy so much more numerous at great disadvantage, was desirous of giving them rest, and of deferring the battle till the next day. But the cries of the soldiers, who, gnashing their teeth with impatient fury, struck their shields with their spears, and demanded to be led

on without delay, seconded by the advice of the principal officers, determined him, though not without reluctance, to hazard a combat. Both armies fought with obstinate courage and it was long before victory decidedly inclined the balance in favour of the Romans. The Roman cavalry gave way, but they were rallied by the exhortations and example of Julian, who threw himself before them as a barrier against retreat. Thus sustained, the infantry, which the enemy, after reiterated desperate attacks, had been unable to break, made a vigorous effort, routed the Barbarians, and pursued them with destructive havoc. The Romans lost four Tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three soldiers; while six,* or according to another account,† eight thousand of the Alemanni were left on the field, and great numbers having thrown themselves into the Rhine, which was in their rear, were either drowned in their attempts to swim across the river, or pierced through by the arrows of the victors. Among the prisoners was Chnodomarius himself, whom Julian, after having treated him with respect, and expressed the pity which his downfall—an instance of the nothingness of human grandeur—inspired, sent to the Emperor. Julian had the policy to ascribe to Constantius, and Constantius the ridiculous vanity to appropriate to himself, the whole glory of this celebrated battle, which, by one decisive blow, had restored Gaul to its ancient liberty. Chnodomarius, who, fallen from the pride of his over-confidence, had evinced all the abjectness of a prostrated Chief, was removed to Rome, where he did not long outlive his humiliation and captivity.‡

When Julian had repaired an ancient fort erected by Trajan, and granted the alarmed Barbarians a truce of ten months, after having prevailed on his army to penetrate into Germany, he received information that a body of six hundred Franks, seizing the opportunity of his absence, had laid waste the country about Rheims, and fortified themselves in two castles on the river Meuse. Accustomed to brave the severest inclemencies of the weather, and devoted (as if they formed the great end of life) to the conflicts of war, in which they were reckoned the most terrible of the Barbarians, they maintained their reputation by the determined bravery with which, during a siege of fifty-four days, in the rigour of winter, they sustained the attacks of the *Cæsar*. Being at length reduced to desist from a defence, which they perceived must terminate in their total destruction, they were sent as captives to the Emperor, who gladly incorporated them among the Roman troops.

Julian, having closed this successful campaign, fixed his winter-quarters in Paris. The whole city,§ now of such great extent, was at that time situated on a small island in the midst of the Seine, surrounded with walls, of which that river lathed the foot, and accessible only by two wooden bridges. The Northern side of the Seine was covered by a forest, but the Southern adorned with a Palace, an Amphitheatre, public Baths, an Aqueduct, and a Field of Mars. Leucetia, or Leutetia,|| for so the city was anciently called by the Gauls, was long cherished by Julian with feelings of sincere attachment.

* Ammian. lib. xvi.

† Ammian. lib. xvi. xvii. &c.

‡ See an interesting description of Paris in the time of Julian, in his *Misopogon*.

§ *Παρις* εἰς τὴν γλῶσσαν Ἀστυναίαν, ἰσχυρὰ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλαφρῶν τοῦ κράτους—Julian in *Misop.* See La Bletterie, *Vie de Julien*.

* Ammian. lib. xvi. &c.

† *Litton. Orat. 2.*

State of
Paris.

History. The character of the Gauls, simple and severe, so unlike the tone of feeling found in the levity of "some high-iced city," and so perfectly in unison with his own temper, which was a stranger to effeminacy and parade, was also peculiarly calculated to conciliate his esteem. His disposition continued unchanged, though the robe of Philosophy was laid aside. The exercises of war were to him rather a duty than a pleasure; when he was taught the Pyrrhic dance—which formed a part of the military education of the Greeks and Romans—he thought with regret on his earlier studies, and repeated the name of Plato. Yet he evinced by his example how little the speculative lessons of the Schools, which had infused into his mind the spirit of honour and the glow of heroism, had unfitted him for the occupations of active life. Trained to the most rigid frugality, taught "to spurn delights and live laborious days," he banished delicacies from his table, and contented himself with the simple fare of the common soldier, which he took in small quantities, and often standing. His sleep was short and broken at pleasure; his bed-chamber was without fire;* his bed was but a carpet spread on the floor; and his covering a simple skin. He frequently rose at midnight to despatch business, to visit his sentinels, and afterwards, if leisure remained, to indulge in studious pursuits. It is much to be regretted that one of the fruits of his application is lost—the History of his Gallic campaigns.†

That The season was no sooner fit for action, than Julian took the field, designing effectually to reduce the Franks before the truce concluded with the Alemanni had expired. His convoys not having arrived from Aquitain, he ordered his soldiers to take a provision of biscuit for twenty days, and had already arrived at Tongres, before the enemy was aware that he had set forth from Paris. His first attack was on the Salii, the most powerful Tribe of the Franks, who, being driven by the Saxons from their German possessions, had fixed their habitation in Batavia;‡ and Toxandria.§ Pouring upon the astonished Tribe with extraordinary rapidity, he compelled them to submit, but treated them, it would appear, with comparative favour.

With equal speed, turning his arms against the Chamavi, another nation of the Franks, who had also fixed themselves in Gaul, he overcame them in battle, and compelled them to retire to their former settlement beyond the Rhine. The Chamavi, defeated and expelled, sued for Peace, on which occasion a theatrical but interesting circumstance is said to have taken place. Julian demanded that the son of their King should be delivered to him as a hostage. He had no sooner expressed his wish than the King and his followers, prostrate on the ground, raised a pitiable cry, exclaiming that he required impossibilities—that they could not revive the dead. Deep silence then testified their anguish, till the aged monarch expressed the bitterness of his regret that his own domestic misfortunes should entail ruin upon his people also. In the height of this affliction and despair, the young Prince, who, it was thought, had

been slain in battle, suddenly appeared. While the Barbarians, mute with surprise, doubted the reality of the figure which stood before their eyes, the *Caesar* addressed them in terms like the following:

"Behold without doubt the Prince whom you have wept. You had lost him by your fault: God and the Romans have restored him to you. Though my captive, I receive him as a hostage, and take charge of his happiness. Should you violate the faith which you have pledged, it will not be on his innocent head that I shall avenge the treachery—wild beasts alone fly upon the first person they meet, though they have received from him no injury. But remember that, sooner or later, the unjust aggressor is crushed with merited punishment, and that you will then have as enemies the Romans and myself, by whom you have been vanquished, and from whom in their compassion you now receive Peace."** Thus did Julian inspire the Barbarians with feelings of gratitude and respect, after having secured by the sword that Peace which a Roman Prefect had wished to obtain by a purchase derogatory to the dignity, though sanctioned by the permission of the Emperor; and which enabled the Gauls, no longer obstructed by the Chamavi, to procure from Britain those supplies of corn which their ravaged and uncultivated lands could not afford.

On the expiration of the truce which had been granted to the Alemanni, Julian again passed the Rhine, and spread the ravages of war over their Country. Under the pressure of this distress, Suomar and Hortaire, two of their Kings, came to him in person, and obtained a Peace, offering to restore all their Roman prisoners. Having selected from the inhabitants of the various ruined villages and cities a list of such persons as to their knowledge had been carried into captivity, he discovered every attempt to conceal any part of the numbers vanishing, with an exactness, which appeared to the Barbarians the result of supernatural knowledge, and with a tone of command and menace, which alarmed them into the faithful performance of their promises. The number of prisoners whom he rescued out of the power of the Barbarians amounted to twenty thousand.

Julian's third expedition beyond the Rhine was attended by circumstances which raised to a still greater height the fame which a series of victories had conferred. In consequence of the hostile movements of the enemy, having penetrated as far as Salles, where the territories of the Alemanni and Burgundians ended, wasting the country far and wide, he was enabled to prescribe his own terms of Peace to six of the Kings of the Alemanni. A war so meritorious in its nature, and so glorious in its result, being thus concluded, Julian put his forces into winter-quarters, and retired to Paris.

The wisdom of Julian during the intervals of public tranquillity, was no less conspicuous than his courage during the eventful seasons of war. He was sedulously employed in repairing the shattered cities of Gaul, and rebuilt in particular seven posts of consequence between Mentz and the mouth of the Rhine.† It formed a part of his excellent policy to require the Barbarians, by the conditions of the Treaties which he granted, to provide and

From A. D. 323. to A. D. 361.

Expedition of Julian beyond the Rhine.

A. D. 359.

Julian repairs the cities of Gaul.

* *Misopogon.*

† *Liban. Orat. iv.*

‡ Batavia then comprehended the islands formed by the several branches of the Rhine, from the fort of Slenk to the sea. Modern Holland, therefore, does not exactly correspond with ancient Batavia.

§ The country called Toxandria began about a league from Maestricht, and extended about twenty leagues along the Meuse, where are situated present Bois-le-duc, Breda, and Antwerp.

* This incident is related briefly by Zosimus, largely by Ensenpurg, *Excercp. Leg. p. 15.* See La Bletiere, *Vie de Julien*, lib. ii.

† *Amman. lib. xviii. c. 2. Liban. Orat. x. p. 279.*

History.

From
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convey the materials necessary towards the completion of works, by which themselves were curbed and overawed. Cities rose from their ruins at the expense of the very persons who had laboured to demolish them, and had exulted in the hope that the effects of their vengeance would have been permanently felt. While the Barbarians contributed to the work through fear of the *Cæsar*, the Romans were moved by attachment to him to prosecute it with the most strenuous activity. Even the auxiliary troops, though they had always claimed exemption from tasks of this nature, vied with the Romans in undergoing the fatigue of the most laborious and servile duties. Yet the soldiers were not without subjects of complaint. Since the arrival of Julian in Gaul, they had received neither the extraordinary donative nor their regular pay, and it required all the conciliatory arts and eloquence of the *Cæsar*, denied as he was even the power of recompensing merit, to silence the clamours and mutiny which the parsimoniousness of the Emperor had caused.* To prevent the disastrous consequences of scarcity, arising from the suspension of tillage, which the ravages of war had induced, it was the particular care of Julian to restore the secure navigation of the Rhine. In consequence of his measures six hundred ships,† having made several voyages to the neighbouring coasts, returned with large supplies of corn,—a circumstance calculated to give a favourable idea of the state of agriculture in Britain. By these wise measures the Province of Gaul felt again the impulse and the blessings of industry, and presented a picture of established security and rising wealth.‡ The administration of Julian was marked by a strict adherence to justice, tempered with mildness and clemency. Before he departed on his campaigns, he referred to the Governors of Provinces the parties who had been brought before his tribunal, to be judged according to the rigour of the law; but he enjoined these officers to defer till his return the execution of sentences, which he then revised and softened on the principles of natural equity, and by the dictates of a humane disposition. Careful to require in all cases unquestionable evidence in order to convict, and to avoid attaching the weight of proof to mere warmth of assertion, he checked the vehemence of Delphidius, who prosecuted on a charge of extortion Numerius, a former Governor of Narbonese Gaul.—“Who will ever be guilty,” exclaimed the fiery advocate, “if it be sufficient to deny?” “And who,” replied the *Cæsar*, “will ever be innocent, if it be sufficient to affirm?”§

But, although inclined to lenient measures, he had the firmness, when occasion required it, to discharge the duties of justice against those who, appointed to administer it, had violated its laws. Such persons, in consequence, assailed him with the falsest calumnies, or exercised against him the more subtle and secret arts of a malice, which put on the disguise of admiration itself, in order to excite with keener edge the jealousy of the Emperor. Nor was it in his judicial capacity alone that

Julian evinced the sincerity of his regard for the welfare of the Province which had been consigned to his care. The receipts of the Public Treasury were examined, and the means of alleviating the landed proprietor attentively considered. Florentius, Prætorian Prefect of Gaul, an oppressor insensible to pity or to shame, had insisted on the levy of an extraordinary tax, which Julian, having demonstrated it to be unnecessary and vexatious, resolutely rejected. The Prefect, though checked at first by this vigorous conduct, sent a new superdiction for his signature, which he indignantly cast to the ground. “How,” he himself writes, “could a disciple of Plato and Aristotle act otherwise than I have acted? Could I abandon the wretched subjects to robbers, who by unworthy acts have already reduced them to the last extremity? A Tribune, who deserts his post, which he could not retain without the immediate loss of his life, is punished with death, and even deprived of the rites of sepulture: how then can I have the meanness to abandon the post of defending these unhappy men against such oppressors? As God has placed me in this post, so will he assist me. Should I be doomed to suffer, the testimony of a good conscience is no small consolation. Would that the Gods gave to me a counsellor like the excellent Sallust! If I should be superseded, I shall submit to it without repining. It is better to act well for a short time, than ill for a long time.”¶ Sallust here mentioned, was a meritorious officer, who had gained the intimate friendship and almost filial reverence of Julian by the integrity which dictated, and the delicacy which recommended his counsels, and who had been recalled by the intrigues of the ministers who surrounded the jealous Emperor. The complaints of Florentius were not effectual, so that Julian diminished even the ancient impositions which were too heavy for a distressed Province, the prey as well of the Barbarian as of the Roman, of the foreign and the domestic plunderer.

While the military and Civil measures of Julian excited the dread of the Barbarians, whom he was sent to repress, and the admiration of the Provincials, whom he laboured to organize and protect, they were obscured and ridiculed by the courtly buffoons, who studied the humours and inflamed the passions of the deluded Constantius. The Eunuchs had at first opposed his promotion: they now decried the qualities which it had served so conspicuously to display. The coarsest raillery was directed against the uncouthness of his person, and awkwardness of his manner.‡ The unassuming narratives of his great exploits were represented as the rhetorical inventions of a loquacious Greek pedant. But so far was the force of Truth from being suppressed by the artifices of affected contempt, that the Emperor himself, with most extravagant vanity, was desirous of placing on his own brow the laurels which the *Cæsar* had reaped: his arrangements, his courage, his ability during a conflict, in which he was not even present, were celebrated in an edict, from which the name of Julian was wholly omitted. But a piece of absurdity so palpable was but ill calculated to calm the secret apprehensions which, excited by his own jealousy, were carefully nurtured by the intriguers who infested his palace. The workings of hatred became

Constanti-

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Jealousy of
Constantius
and his
Ministers
against
Julian.

* Ammian. lib. xvii. c. 9.

† *Jul. Orat. ad S. P. Q. Atheniens.* p. 280. “If we compute the six hundred corn ships of Julian at only seventy tons each, they were capable of exporting one hundred and twenty thousand quarters; (see *Arbutnot's Weights and Measures*, p. 237.) and the Country which could bear so large an exportation must already have attained an improved state of agriculture.” (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. xix.)

‡ *Liban. Orat. Parent. in Imp. Julian.* c. 38.

§ Ammian. lib. xviii. c. 1.

* *Julian. Ep. ad Oribas.*

† *In odium venit cum extorsit sua capella, non homo; ut hiruntum Juchanan corporis, expellenteque lapuorum talpam, et purpuratum sinium, hiltetorem Græcum, &c.* Ammian.

History.
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.
Part of the
lives of
Julian re-
counted from
fact.
A. D.
360.

at length more apparent by a step most insidiously contrived to effect the ultimate ruin of Julian. While the *Cæsar* was still in winter-quarters at Paris, he was surprised by the arrival of Decentius, charged with peremptory orders from the Emperor to bring away from the army the Batavians and other auxiliaries, and three hundred men selected out of each of the remaining bands, that this large Body might march without delay against the Persians. By a message which commanded him to give up the flower of his troops—the veterans whom he had trained and led to victory—Julian was reduced to the alternative, either of drawing upon himself the resentment of Constantius if he refused to attend to it; or, of being left to the mercy of the Barbarians if he complied with it. In this dilemma, he resolved to obey, but at the same time to resign the title of *Cæsar*, and to return to private life. He pointed out, however, the breach of public faith which the execution of the mandate would cause. The greater part of the auxiliaries, raised in Gaul and Germany, had engaged in the Roman service upon condition that they should not be obliged to pass the Alps; and the violation of an article, which had always been positively stipulated by the people beyond the Rhine, would naturally tend to annihilate all confidence for the future. No attention was paid to the remonstrances of Julian. Discontent arose among the forces, terror among the inhabitants: the former were increased at being torn from the General to whom they were devoted through the remembrance of kindness and of glory, and the lands to which they were attached by ties of habit and affection, in order to march, “with many a weary step, and many a groan,” into distant regions of the East; the latter were filled with consternation, lest their territories, unprotected by the veterans, to which they owed their renovated prosperity, should be again exposed to the irruptions of the Germans, and replunged in all the horrors of war and desolation. The wives of soldiers, showing their infants at the breast, conjured them again not to desert the objects of their love.

Decentius
of the
Army.

Julian, destitute of trusty counsellors, was anxious to confer with Lupicinus, the General of the Cavalry, and with the Prefect Florentius. But the former was absent in Britain to check the incursions of the Scots and Picts; the latter, who, it was commonly reported, had induced the Emperor to adopt the measure, was at Vienna, where he persisted to remain, notwithstanding the pressing solicitation of the *Cæsar*. Decentius, fearful lest the outcries which were heard in all quarters, and the libels against Constantius, which were privately dispersed among the soldiery, should lead to some seditious movement, prevailed on Julian to give orders for the immediate departure of the troops. Moved by the distress of the soldiers, who bitterly complained that they were banished like criminals into the most remote parts of the Earth, while their wives, children, and relations would be carried into captivity by the Barbarians, he supplied them with a sufficient number of public carriages to transport their families. When the forces were ready to depart, Julian warned Decentius of the danger of suffering them to march through Paris, where he was still in winter-quarters; but Decentius, on the other hand, apprehensive lest the refusal of a last interview should lead to mutiny, neglected his judicious advice. On the approach of the troops the *Cæsar* having received them with peculiar kindness, ascended a tribunal in a plain before the gates of the city, and

made a long and studied harangue, in which, after having recalled and extolled their achievements, he encouraged them to submit cheerfully to the commands of the Emperor, who had the will and the means to reward their merit. After this address, the soldiers preserved a mournful silence, while the crowds conjured them not to abandon a Country which they had delivered by their courage. Julian then entertained, with every mark of the tenderest friendship, the chief officers, who returned to their quarters full of anxiety and affliction at the prospect of being left as well from their native homes, as from a General so affectionately interested in their welfare.* Their feelings found a corresponding tone in the breasts of the soldiers. Amid the festivity allowed on the eve of departure, the only resource by which their misfortunes could be averted, was discussed; their passionate murmurs and mutual exhortations were gradually increased by the effect of wine, and by the circulation of secret libels. Their feelings being thus wound up, at the hour of midnight they flew to arms, hastened to the palace, and with tumultuous cries proclaimed Julian *Augustus*. Julian ordered the gates of his palace to be closed, and refused to show himself to the impatient multitude till the ensuing morning. At the dawn of day, the soldiers forcibly entered the palace, and again saluted Julian with the title of Emperor. Julian endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose, reminded them of their allegiance, and promised that he would prevail upon Constantius to countermand the order which had occasioned their sedition. But the soldiers, conscious of their danger if left to the mercy of the Emperor, against whom they had rebelled, were at length so transported with rage as to threaten the *Cæsar* with immediate death if he continued to decline the dignity which they were eager to bestow.

Having yielded to this menace, he was lifted up on a shield, amidst the loud acclamations of the troops, and a golden collar, enriched with precious stones, supplied the place of a diadem. A donative was then promised to the soldiers, and Julian shut himself up in his palace, with the appearance of the utmost grief. How far such grief was sincere,† can hardly be determined. A high sense of honour and justice characterised his conduct; yet ambition held strong sway over his mind, and resentment may, perhaps, have had its influence. Julian himself calls the Deities to witness, that he was unacquainted, till the close of the evening, with the intentions of the army. Yet it may be doubted whether his credulous reliance on certain dreams and predictions, which assured him that he would one day become Emperor, had not some effect in leading him to expect and desire a result, under existing circumstances so natural; and in inducing him, perhaps almost in such a manner as to escape his own consciousness, to court popularity with greater art and assiduity. On first receiving intelligence of the conspiracy, he retired to rest, and afterwards related to his friends, that he had seen in a vision the Genius of the

Constantius.
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.
Julian pro-
claimed
Emperor.

Considera-
tions on
Julian's
conduct.

His vision

* Ammian. lib. xx. Liban. *Orat.* xii. Julian. *ad Athen.* &c.
† The Christian writers, Gregory Nazianzenus, (p. 58. 67.) Philostorgius, (lib. vi.) Theodoret, (lib. ii. c. 28.) and Sozomen, (p. 18.) seem to have thought that he was privy to the designs of the soldiery. Zonaras says that he privately gained the officers, who, by his direction, excited the soldiers to threaten him as they did, that he might appear to have accepted the Purple in order to save his life. (p. 18.) See *Univ. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 219. note x.

History. Empire, holding, as represented by paintings, the horn of abundance, and complaining that he had long waited at his door, and had often been forced to retire. On hearing the clamours of the soldiers, he besought Jupiter to signify his will, and he was directed by an omen to yield to the entreaties of the army. In these instances may be discerned that bias towards superstition, which is so rarely untinctured by duplicity.

From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

The resolution with which Julian rejected the advice of his soldiers to put to death the partisans of Constantius who had opposed his elevation, and the generosity with which he forgave an Eunuch, who, it is said, was bribed to murder him, are traits calculated to confirm the high opinion entertained of his character. No blood was shed: Florentius fled from Gaul; Lupicinus, on returning from Britain, was arrested, but experienced humane treatment.

His letter to
Constantius.

After having assembled his troops, and exhorted them to protect him whom they themselves had exalted to the Imperial dignity, he wrote, in his name and that of the army, a conciliatory epistle to the Emperor, which he sent by two of his chief officers, Pentadius and Euthorius. Assuming only the name of *Cæsar*, he detailed the circumstances of his promotion, and solicited that he might be permitted to enjoy the title which he had been forced to accept; he allowed the supremacy of Constantius, to whom he promised to send yearly Spanish horses and some foreign troops, and to leave the nomination of the Prætorian Prefect. But he reserved to himself the appointment of the other officers; and, at the same time, represented that the state of Gaul was such, that so far from being able to spare any of the inhabitants of her wasted regions, she needed the assistance of the other Provinces.*

Negotiation
between
Julian and
Constantius.

The ambassadors of Julian met the Emperor at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. The letters, with which they were charged, transported him with inordinate rage, and he dismissed them, trembling, from his presence, without interrogating or listening to them. In the height of his fury he hesitated whether he should prosecute his expedition against the Persians, or march without delay against his rival. On calmer thoughts, he despatched Leonas, his Quæstor, into Gaul, with a threatening letter, in which, after annulling Julian's Civil and military appointments, and nominating new officers, he required him to lay down the title which had been conferred by rebels, and, as he valued his own safety and that of his friends, to rest satisfied with the rank of *Cæsar*, which he was permitted to retain. Julian gave audience to Leonas, sitting on his tribunal, surrounded by the soldiers and people, purposely assembled, and the Quæstor read with a loud voice the letter of Constantius. Julian then declared that he was willing to resign his new dignity, if he obtained the consent of the soldiery, by whom it had been bestowed. The words were scarcely uttered, when reiterated exclamations confirmed to him the title of *Augustus*. When that part of the letter was read, in which Julian was accused of ingratitude towards the Emperor, who observed, that he found him an orphan, and with all the tenderness of a father had taken care of

his infancy and education. "An orphan!" (cried the indignant Julian,) "does it become the assassin of my father and of all my family, to reproach me that I was left an orphan? Does he wish to reopen wounds which are scarcely closed?" The assembly being dismissed, Leonas, who had been treated with the attentions due to his rank and merit, was sent back with a letter, in which Julian expressed without disguise the feelings which he had long smothered.

Julian's
fourth and
fifth expec-
tion be-
yond the
Rhine
A. D.
360, 361.

In the mean time, while the Emperor was engaged in the Persian war, Julian passed the Rhine at Tricesima,† and fell suddenly on the Attuarii, a Tribe of Franks, inhabiting the present Countries of Cleves and Munster, who had repeatedly invaded the Gallic frontier. He slaughtered great numbers of them, and compelled the rest to submit. Having spent three months in this expedition, he visited the fortresses along the Rhine as far as Basle, recovered the fort and fortified some places which were still in the power of the enemy, passed through Besançon, and took up his winter-quarters at Vienna. Here he celebrated the fifth year which had elapsed since his elevation to the rank of *Cæsar*, and assumed the diadem, adorned with pearls and precious stones, which was borne by the Emperors since Constantine.‡ But the Alemanni, though subdued by arms and bound by Treaties, still evinced a disposition to avail themselves of every opportunity to frustrate his design of imparting permanent tranquillity to Gaul. They again broke into that Province on the side of Rhaetia, and recommenced the work of devastation. Radomirius, one of their Kings, (whose Country lay near Basle,) an extremely crafty and dangerous man, pretended to feel the deepest respect for Julian, on whom he lavished the most lofty titles, and, at the same time, invited communications with Constantius, secretly fomented the hostilities of which he affected to complain. Julian, having intercepted a letter which disclosed his dissimulation, resolved to use artifice against artifice, caused him to be arrested at a banquet, which he imprudently accepted, and banished him into Spain. Julian had already despatched against the Alemanni, Lebas, one of his commanders, who was killed, and his troops routed. He advanced, therefore, in person, passed the Rhine for the last time, surprised the Barbarians, destroyed great numbers, and obliged the rest, after having restored their booty, to receive Peace on the conditions which he chose to prescribe, and which they durst not violate during his lifetime.

In the mean time, the active and formidable preparations of Constantius indicated, in a manner not to be mistaken, that he was unalterably determined on war. Julian, after the failure of several messages, hopeless of effecting by negotiation any amicable settlement of

Open
war
with
Constantius

* Tricesima is supposed by some to be Cleves, by others Kellen.

† About this time died Helena, his wife. Her pregnancy had been rendered fruitless, and her days abridged, by the detestable arts which Eusebius, it is said, (though the assertion is irreconcilable with the known character of the Empress,) caused to be employed, when delivered of a son. *Uxoribus corruptis mercede, mox natum prætorio plaquam contraxerat umbilico n-ccidit.* (Ammian. lib. xxi. c. 10.) When she accompanied to Rome the Emperor and his wife, the latter *quantum viscerum dolere per fraudem dicitur, et quatuordecim concupiscit, immortem obstrictum peritum.* (Id.) Her body was sent to Rome, and interred near that of her sister Constantina. (Id. lib. xxi. c. 1.) She is styled on medals Flavia Julia Helena, and on some has the title of *Augusta*. Julian did not re-marry. Pagan writers speak of his chastity in a tone of panegyric, which seems to derive confirmation from the silence of the Christians. See La Bletterie, *vie de Julien*, p. 109.

* Ammianus adds, that besides this public letter, Julian added a private one, filled with cutting reproaches, which he had not seen, and would have thought it unbecoming to insert in his History. (lib. xx. 167.)

their dispute, ventured at length to throw off the mask which he had hitherto worn, and openly committed the care of his life to the Gods. At this critical period he bent his mind towards the most effectual means of securing his newly acquired power. He perceived the high importance of seizing by a sudden movement the Province of Illyricum, which was able both to furnish his army with recruits, and to enable him to sustain the expenditure of the war, by the resources which its mines of gold and silver might supply. Accordingly he opened this design to his assembled troops, and, after expatiating on the advantages which would result from the attempt, however daring, conjured them to be mindful of that strictness of discipline, and that regard for moderation towards the people, which had reflected upon them more lustre than the most splendid military achievements. No sooner was his animated address concluded, than the same soldiers, whom the prospect of leaving Gaul had roused to rebellion against Constantius, now, filled with enthusiasm, evinced by their unanimous acclamations, and by the loud clashing of their shields, their readiness to follow the fortunes of Julian to the farthest extremities of the world. They then proceeded to take the oath of allegiance to his person, and, pointing their naked swords to their throats, swore with dreadful imprecations, that, devoted to his service, they would shed for him, if necessity should require it, the last drop of their blood. Nebridius alone, who held at that time the office of Praetorian Prefect, courageously refused to enter into this engagement. Raised to his dignity by the sole favour of Constantius, he had the nobleness of mind to declare, that he would not bind himself to act against his benefactor and master. It was with difficulty that he escaped falling a sacrifice to the armed crowd, from whose fury he was screened by Julian, who threw over the Prefect his Imperial mantle, and afterwards allowed him to retire unmolested into Hetruria. His disinterestedness and loyalty, though unfeelingly disparaged by an ancient Orator, cannot but obtain their full meed of praise from the impartiality of the modern Historian. The office of Nebridius was afterwards conferred on Sallust, who had thus an opportunity of practically displaying, in his own administration, those principles of moderation and justice which had before distinguished his instructions.

Julian, now fully assured of the fidelity of his troops, divided them in such a manner, that their numerical strength might appear large beyond reality, and that they might spread the terror of their arms in a greater variety of directions. Twenty thousand men were sent into Pannonia, under the conduct of Nevitta, Jovius, and Jovinus, and ordered to march by different routes: the remaining three thousand, which completed his army, were commanded by Julian himself; all were appointed to meet at Sirnium, as the place of rendezvous. At the head of his select band, Julian boldly penetrated into the Marcan Forest, advanced with rapidity over mountain and morass, careless whether he passed the Country of the Romans or of the Barbarians; and pressing on with the greatest vigour and secrecy by land and water, after a series of the most skilful manœuvres, arrived unexpectedly at Bononia, which is but nineteen miles from Sirnium, before the enemy had any certain knowledge that he had begun his march from the banks of the Rhine. Dagalaiphus, one of his officers, hastening with a Body of light infantry, immediately surprised Lucilian, who

commanded the military in Illyricum, and intended, in consequence of certain confused reports, to assemble his forces. Suddenly roused from repose, seized, and thrown upon a horse, he was brought, stupefied with terror, into the presence of Julian. But no sooner had he recovered his self-possession and bewildered senses, than with singular imprudence he ventured to remark to Julian, that he had rashly thrown himself, with a small number of men, into the midst of his adversaries. "Reserve for Constantius these prudent counsels," (replied the conqueror with a bitter smile,) "when I gave you my Purple to kiss, I wished not to receive your advice, but to dispel your fears." Sensible that his fortune, and perhaps his life, was placed on a desperate act, Julian continued with undiminished speed, energy, and boldness, to urge on the execution of his project. As he approached the suburbs of Sirnium, he was received with every demonstration of joy by the soldiers and a promiscuous crowd of people, who led him, with due honours, to the Imperial palace. Departing on the dawn of the third day, he seized without opposition the important pass of Succus, a very narrow and precipitous defile between Mount Hæmus and Mount Rhodope, which separates the Provinces of Thrace and Illyria. Having intrusted the defence of this post to Nevitta, who, with the other commanders, had ably effected, in ten or eleven days' time, the designed junction at Sirnium, he returned to Neissus, where he employed his time in levying fresh troops from all quarters, and in writing to several cities of Greece, among the rest, Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, to explain and justify, with a degree of study and solicitude which evinced the weight he attached to public esteem, the motives which induced him to revolt against Constantius.* The power of Julian soon became widely felt. Taurus and Florentius, who were stigmatized in the public Acts of the year by the title of the "fugitive Consuls,"† abandoned the Prefectures of Italy and Illyricum, over which they had been respectively placed, and hastened to acquit the Emperor with the imminent dangers which threatened his Empire. The deserted Provinces submitted to Julian, the master of Italy; he addressed to the Senate of Rome an epistle, which contained invectives so severe against the vices of Constantius, that the assembly exclaimed with one accord, as if Julian had been present, "We beseech you to respect the author of your fortune!"—an expression which may, perhaps, be considered as evincing their courage and gratitude, though it might be interpreted to mean that the choice of Julian as Cæsar was a blessing conferred on them, and was sufficient to throw the many faults of Constantius into the shade.‡

Constantius was no sooner apprized of the speed and success of Julian, than, availing himself of the retreat of the Persian Monarch, against whom he was engaged, he prepared to attack his rival—a task the difficulties of which he affected to treat with the utmost contempt.

* The only one of these epistles which still remains is that written to the Athenians,—an eloquent composition. We have also a few lines of a letter addressed to the Corinthians, when he was already in possession of a great part of the Empire.

† *Zosim. p. 712.*

‡ *Quæ cum, Tertullio administrante adhuc præfecturam, recitarentur in Corinth, emittit Nihilulatus cum speciosi fluerit benignitas gratia. Exclamationem est enim, in unam cunctorum sententiam congruenter: "Auctori læ reverentiam rogamus."*

Constantius
From
A. D.
328.
to
A. D.
361

History.
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

The progress of Julian, hitherto so prosperous, was suddenly interrupted by an event, which seemed likely to be attended with considerable embarrassment and danger. Having found at Sirmium two legions and a cohort of archers attached to the cause of Constantius, he had determined to remove them to Gaul: on the march, however, they resolved, with common feelings of discontent, to occupy, in concert with the inhabitants, Aquileia, a town of the greatest strength on the side of Illyricum, and the key of Italy and Gaul. On the first intelligence of their refractory movement, Jovinus was ordered to lead back a part of the army into Italy, and to form the siege of this almost impregnable post. But whilst the legionaries defended themselves with obstinate courage, the forces of Julian were weakened by this diversion, and his situation would have been rendered perilous, had not the further progress of Civil war been unexpectedly prevented by the death of Constantius. On his arrival at Tursus he was seized with a slight fever, occasioned perhaps by intense mental anxiety, which he thought might be reduced by exercise. Accordingly he proceeded to Mopsucrene, a small town on the borders of Cilicia, where, by the increasing heat and violence of his distemper, he was obliged to stop. All remedies proving ineffectual, he expired in the forty-fifth year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. Before he closed his life, he is said to have named Julian his successor—a circumstance which is perhaps explicable on the supposition that his extreme solicitude for the safety of Faustina, whom he had lately married, on the death of Eusebia, and whom he now left with child, may, in the moment of parting anguish, have softened down into tenderness the angry feelings, which it was become useless to indulge, and urged him to assume the right of bestowing that which it was no longer in his power to refuse.

Death of
Constantius
Nov. 3.
A. D.
361.

His
character.

The character of Constantius was marked by weakness which unfitted him for the station in which he was destined to move. The slave of his Eunuchs, who retained their ascendancy over him from his earliest years, he suffered desert to be neglected, whilst appointments were bestowed on men, who purchased the favour of his Ministers, and who, in order to realize the profits which had tempted them to incur this expense, grievously oppressed the wretched people whom they were sent to govern and protect. Surrounded by heartless flatterers, he had not perhaps the opportunity of being convinced of the inexpediency and injustice of the measures which they

suggested or approved. His capacity was limited, his vanity inordinate. Jealous of his power, and suspicious of danger, he lent a ready ear to informers, who prompted him to acts of atrocious cruelty, to which he appears not to have been naturally inclined. His proneness to mercy, except in cases of treason, where fear smothered feeling, though generally believed to be sincere, has been represented as feigned, but it has been so represented by an enemy. He was not, however, without virtues, which might have produced for him an unsullied reputation in private life, where his faults, perhaps, would not have been so glaringly exhibited. Frugal in his diet and temperate in his habits, he was remarkable for a chastity which suspicion has not aspersed. His filial deference is also an amiable trait, which redeems some of his failings. On the whole he swells the catalogue of Princes, whose good qualities have been repressed and whose defects elicited by the arts of evil counsellors.

Upon intelligence of the death of his rival, Julian hastened to Constantinople, the place of his birth, into which he entered in triumph amid general rejoicings. The crowds which gathered round him with all the eagerness of curiosity were surprised at the small stature and youthful appearance of the conqueror of Barbarian Kings and nations, whose fame was diffused through the vast extent of territory which had witnessed his extraordinary success. The attempt of the intriguer Eusebius and his adherents to oppose his career and maintain their own influence by electing another Emperor, were rejected by the army, who immediately acquainted Julian with their readiness to acknowledge his authority, which was thus established without bloodshed. The remains of the deceased Emperor were brought to Constantinople and solemnly interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Julian accompanied the funeral procession on foot, without a diadem, in a mourning habit. The tears which he shed seemed to evince that reflections on benefits conferred, predominating over the remembrance of past wrongs, had drawn forth the effusions of a feeling heart; yet, it cannot be denied, that policy, rather than sincerity, may have dictated this apparent burst of grief. The legionaries who occupied Aquileia, on learning the death of Constantius, submitted to the new Emperor and obtained his pardon. Thus was Julian left in his thirty-second year sole master of the Roman Empire.

Constanti-
From
A. D.
323.
to
A. D.
361.

Julian's
try into C
stantinop
Dec. 11.

Univers
acknow-
ledged
peror.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XLIV

FROM THE DEATH OF CONSTANTIUS TO THE DEATH OF JULIANUS.

FROM A. D. 361 TO A. D. 363

History.
From
A. D.
361.
to
A. D.
363.
363.
Julian.

JULIAN no sooner found his power established on a secure basis, than he applied himself to the correction of numerous abuses, against which the public voice had been raised, with a degree of zeal which appeared to have derived an additional stimulus from the remembrance of private wrongs. A Chamber of Justice* was instituted and fixed at Chalcedon to investigate the conduct of such as were thought to have discharged improperly the authority with which they had been intrusted under the preceding Emperor. But some of the persons selected as judges were themselves of too obnoxious a character to inspire respect for this tribunal. Their proceedings, too, were marked by an excess of severity, which sometimes proved fatal to innocence itself, or, at least, which confounded the different shades of criminality. The Consul Taurinus, for instance, whose only guilt consisted in his fidelity to the deceased Prince, was condemned to banishment, and the Acts of his trial were dated from his Consulate; an ill-judged and unnecessary measure, which was calculated to excite indignation, as it seemed to reflect new disgrace on an office which had not yet wholly lost its attractions. But "Justice herself wept and taxed the Emperor with ingratitude," to use the terms of the impartial Ammianus, when Ursulus,† who, during his office of Treasurer in Gaul, had opportunely assisted Julian in opposition to the known wishes of Constantius, was put to death. It was in vain that the Emperor endeavoured to clear himself from the deep odium and execrations which so unjustifiable a sentence had excited, by denying that he had ever consented to his execution, and by restoring to his daughter a part of his confiscated property. He represented the unfortunate man as the victim of a soldiery, provoked at expressions which he had dropped against their want of courage. A very different impression was produced by the signal punishment of some notorious informers. Paul, called the Chain,‡ whose very name could scarcely be uttered without a shudder of horror, was consigned to the flames. Capital punishment was also inflicted on the Eunuch Eusebius, the Chamberlain of Constantius, who, raised from the most abject condition, had exerted a complete and pernicious ascendancy over the mind of his master.

The plans of reform, which Julian had adopted, were next extended to the Imperial household, into which the wasteful dissipation of Constantius had introduced every refinement of luxury. Yet here, as in other instances, an alloy of inconsiderate rigour is said to have mixed

itself with measures of unquestionable utility. A thousand cooks, with as many cupbearers, and a still greater number of barbers, besides eunuchs as countless as swarms of summer insects,* drained, in haughty indolence, the public revenue. Julian, having occasion for a barber, one so splendidly arrayed presented himself, that he exclaimed with astonishment, "It was a barber I sent for, not a receiver-general of the finances."† This man, being asked the value of his appointment, replied, that he received a daily allowance for twenty persons and as many horses, without reckoning a considerable annual pension and many profitable perquisites. The indignation of the Imperial Philosopher was aroused, and he soon cleared his Palace of inmates so useless and so expensive.‡ His love of simplicity, however, so strongly, and, doubtless, so intentionally contrasted with the ostentatious taste of his predecessor, was blamed by those, who considered it as a violent extreme, liable, by stripping power of its glittering externals, to deprive it of much of its influence on the feelings of the multitude. It was a juster subject of censure, that his indiscriminate severity struck with poverty and disgrace, not merely the profligate menial, by whom that treatment was amply deserved, but the faithful domestic, whose long services had a claim to indulgence, if not to gratitude.

The conduct of Julian towards the Senate was equally different from that observed in the preceding reign. Constantius had never condescended to visit their assemblies, to consult their opinions, nor even to offer them a seat when summoned to receive his commands. Julian, on the contrary, who wished to appear observant of the forms of the old Republic, was assiduous in his attendance at their deliberations, allowed them to enjoy the full liberty of discussion, and took pleasure in giving scope to the studied variety of his own oratorical talents. It has been incorrectly asserted, however, that he was the first and last of the Roman Emperors, since the death of Julius Cæsar, who made harangues in the Senate.§ Averse to the haughtiness of despotism, he refused the title of *Dominus*, or Lord,|| to which

Julianus.
From
A. D.
361.
to
A. D.
363.

Conduct of
Julian to-
wards the
Senate.

* *Βιβύονες, τριγυρίαι, αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῇσι.* Liban. Comp. Soerat. lib. iii. Zonar. lib. xiii.

† "*Ego,*" inquit, "*non rationalem juam, sed tonsorem acciri.*" Ammian. lib. xxii. c. 4. In Zonaras, *Καμία ἡμεῖς ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλει.* Lib. xiii.

‡ The officers called *Agentes in rebus* were reduced from ten thousand to seventeen; (Liban. Orat. xii.) and the *Curiosi*, whose employment was to give information to the Emperor of what happened in the Provinces, were dismissed, and their office suppressed. (Ammian. lib. xxii.)

§ Soerat. lib. iii. c. 1. See, however, Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xii. c. 3. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. c. 22.

|| Jul. *Momp.* p. 319.

* Ammian. lib. xxii. c. 3. Liban. Orat. *Parent.* c. 74.

† Ursulus *verò necem, largitionum Comitæ, ipse michi videtur fuisse Justinus, Imperatorum arguens ut ingratus.* (lib. xxii. c. 3.)

‡ See above, p. 179.

History.

From
A. D.
361.
to
A. D.
363.

Amelioration of the
Laws.

Military im-
provements.

Persian
invasion.

Superstition
of Julian.

habit had at length familiarized the degenerate sons of the Republic. So great was the reverence which he felt or affected to feel for the office of Consul, that he fined himself ten pounds of gold on being reminded that he had trespassed on its jurisdiction by the manumission of some slaves during the Circensian Games, in presence of that Magistrate.* His attention was also bestowed in the most useful manner on the simplification and improvement of the ancient Laws. Subtleties, the web of chicanery, were removed, and that degree of precision introduced which might enable every citizen to ascertain the nature and extent of his public duties. His moderation and disinterestedness towards the Provinces in refusing to receive crowns of a value likely to prove oppressive, evinced his sincerity in the contempt for riches which he was fond of expressing. He relieved, moreover, many celebrated cities of Greece, and diminished the burthen of some grievous imposts.

The cares of Julian in Civil matters, though eminently great and unremitted, proved no bar to his military exertions. Experienced officers were appointed to important posts, and strict discipline was established in the various parts of the army. The towns of Thrace were fortified; the garrisons on the banks of the Danube were effectively supported; nations the most rude and distant were awed into respect. The Indians and the inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon† had sent Ambassadors loaded with presents, and had courted the friendship of the Romans. The Persians were the only nation who still made a show of resistance. It would have been easy, however, to have induced them, spent with a protracted war, of which the advantages had been neglected, to entertain more pacific sentiments. But the stirring spirit of Julian, still full of youth, and impatient of an inactive life, longed to break into new fields of warlike enterprise. It was proposed to him to undertake to chastise the Goths, a deceitful and treacherous nation. But to tame the power of Persia, which had so frequently scattered terror through the armies and the territories of the Empire, was an object better suited to the loftiness of his views. Preparations were accordingly made in a manner commensurate with the extent of the undertaking; and neither the outcries of the envious nor the warnings of the cautious could deter him from the prosecution of a scheme, which he hoped would form a brilliant consummation to a long series of triumphs.

Suddenly raised to the possession of supreme power and universally feared, if not admired, Julian was not insensible to the feelings of pride which so remarkable a change of fortune was calculated to inspire. His views were stretched beyond the petty sphere of ordinary minds, and his plans were laid out on a scale of gigantic magnitude.‡ It is an instance, however, of the inequalities which exist in the greatest characters, that the same large and vigorous intellect which could compass projects of the widest range, should, even in the execution of them, betray the influence of the narrowest prejudices. Numerous and profuse sacrifices, far-fetched victims, and ruinous ceremonies, insipid tales, and absurd practices—all, in short, that could open an avenue to folly or to fraud,—were the preludes of an undertaking

in the conduct of which strength and clearness of judgment were so conspicuously manifested.

After having conciliated, by his liberality, the inhabitants of Constantinople, for which city, as being his native place, he felt peculiar attachment, which he demonstrated by conferring on its Senate the privileges and authority enjoyed by that of ancient Rome,* he proceeded to visit Antioch, the pride of the East. On his way he arrived at Nicomedia, once famed for the number and magnificence of its public and private edifices, but then reduced, by the successive ravages of an earthquake and a conflagration, to a mournful heap of ashes. As he passed in silence through the ruins of seats, in which he had spent a part of his early days, and caught the well-known features of some former friend, he was so much affected as to be unable to refrain from tears. Nor did he fail to manifest the sincerity of his affliction, by taking measures for the reparation of the wreck which he had witnessed.

Arriving at the borders of Galatia, Julian, changing his route, proceeded to Pessinus in Phrygia, to visit the ancient Temple of Cybele, whose statue had been transported to Rome by Scipio Nasica in the second Punic war. It was in this place that he composed a *Discourse*, still extant, on the *Mother of the Gods*, in which, after the manner of the Pagan Philosophers of that Age, he labours to give an allegorical explanation of the fable of Atya and the worship of Cybele. He also wrote against a Cynic who found fault with the conduct of Diogenes—a Philosopher on whom he lavished such extravagant applause as makes it easily perceptible that he found in his own breast a flow of congenial feeling, which accident alone had drawn into a different channel.

On entering Cilicia he was greeted by his former fellow-student Celsus, then Governor of that Province, who pronounced his panegyric; for Julian, whose actions were rarely untainted with vanity, appears to have courted the suffrages of literary characters, whose eloquence could impart a durable circulation to their praises, by investing them with honourable and important posts. It was shortly after, that, impatient to enjoy the advantages which he expected to find in Antioch, he made his entry into that city for the first time, on the anniversary of the death of Adonis—an ominous moment, in the opinion of the superstitious, when the seat of Princes resounded with cries of lamentation and woe. His first act was calculated to inspire a favourable sense of his magnanimity. When the Magistrates came to offer their customary salutations, he had forbidden the presence of one of them named Thalassius, in consequence of his conduct towards Gallus. Many mean individuals, quick at availing themselves of a state of mind which would give sanction to their vindictive feelings, collected the next day round the Emperor, enumerating various alleged wrongs which they had received from Thalassius, the enemy of the Prince. Julian was too penetrating not to perceive that these were attempts to complete and profit by the ruin of a man, who, however he had merited his displeasure, might be innocent towards others: "I own," he said, "that the person you speak of has given me just cause of offence; but, on this very account, it befits you to be silent till I have received satisfaction, who am his principal enemy."†

Julian

From
A. D.
361.
to
A. D.
363.

May 15
362.

He sets out
for Antioch

*Discourse
on Cybele.*

He writes
against a
Cynic.

Julian
enters
Antioch.

His ele-
mentary.

* *Multa quidem correxit in melius, ambagibus circumscissa, insensum liquida quædã sobrietas fieri vel restituit.* Ammian.

† *Ab usque Divis et Severandis.* Amm. lib. xx. c. 7.; on which see the note of Valesius. See also J. Vossius in *Oberer*, ad Pompon. Melam. lib. iii. c. 7.

‡ *Prosperis Julianus elatior, ultra homines jam spirabat.* Ammian. ab. xii. c. 9.

* Zosim. lib. iii.

† Ammian. lib. xxii. c. 9.

History.

From
A. D.
361.
to
A. D.
363.

He then enjoined the Prefect to take no notice of their complaints, till he should be reconciled with Thalassius, and shortly after a reconciliation took place. On another occasion, as he was sacrificing to Jupiter on Mount Casius, he suddenly perceived a suppliant at his feet, who implored his mercy. On being asked his name, he answered that he was Theodotus, an ancient Magistrate of Hierapolis, and confessed that he had accompanied Constantius on his departure from that city, requesting with tears and low adulation, the head of the very man, before whom he now abjectly crouched, to be offered like that of Magnentius a spectacle of chastised rebellion to the public gaze. "The circumstance had been reported to me," replied Julian; "but return home in peace, freed from all fear by the clemency of one, who, agreeably to the advice of the Sage, is anxious to increase the number of his friends and to diminish that of his enemies."^a

The same clement temper was evinced towards ten of his domestic guards, (the ring-leaders of whom alone were banished,) who had conspired against his person. With equal leniency he condemned to simple exile from Rome, two Officers convicted of having aspired to the Imperial dignity. And, although he visited with capital punishment a similar attempt made by the son of that Marcellus, (the General of whose conduct in Gaul he had so much reason to complain,) yet he was so far from extending his severity to the father, that he endeavoured to soothe his grief with honorary distinctions.† But this merciful mood was by no means of a stable duration; for, on other occasions, Julian exercised a degree of unwarrantable, and even impolitic rigour. Gaudentius, Secretary to the late Emperor, and another Officer, were brought to Antioch loaded with chains, and, shortly after, perished under the executioner, because they had manifested too much zeal and devotion in the service of their master Constantius. Thus there was nothing of a defined and equable nature in his conduct; it was alternately swayed by passion and by reflection; at one time hurried into one excess, and at another driven into the contrary extreme. A proper perception of the true medium appears almost always to have been wanting;‡

Julian had promised to himself much gratification from his sojourn in Antioch. He imagined that a city, in which the Christians were broken into different communions, and notorious for their relaxed morals, would yield an easy acquiescence in his efforts to reestablish the ancient superstitions of Idolatry. He supposed that they would not be proof against the attractive pomp of Pagan ceremonies, associated as they invariably were with spectacles of licentious extravagance. He relied, moreover, on the influence of that courteous demeanour, which had been so often attended with success. His calculations were in every respect erro-

neous. His views and his manners were equally ill suited to the feelings and circumstances, the theory and the practice of their Capital. The city of Antioch, plunged in dissipation and gaiety, yet attached to the name of Christian, which had originated within its walls, was but little inclined to reverence one who despised alike the Religion which they admired, and the pleasures which they pursued. The only amusements, for which they entertained any horror, were such as had been appropriated to the worship of the Heathen Gods; and these were the only amusements which the severe, but superstitious, Julian, regardless of public Games, was willing to countenance. Divided on points of doctrine, they were united in their opposition to a Prince stigmatized as an austere and fanatical Apostate from the Christian cause. It has been well remarked, that the only point of resemblance between the character of the Emperor and that of the inhabitants, was a spirit of caustic railery;§ and, this being liberally exercised, served but to increase their mutual aversion. Add to this, that his affability produced but little effect, because it was destitute of that graceful dignity of deportment which is essential to maintain respect.

At a small distance from Antioch, on a spot which bore the classic name of Daphne, stood an oracular Temple of Apollo, famed alike for its antiquity and magnificence.† Supported by a range of columns of exquisite beauty and elegance, and decorated with a rich, but tasteful, profusion of precious gems, it was embosomed in immense groves of cypress and laurel, by which the rays of the sun were excluded. In the recess of the shrine, between the images of Diana and of the Muses, rose an enormous marble statue of the presiding Deity, of a workmanship so admirable that it was thought worthy to be compared with the masterpiece of Phidias. The "youth of light" was represented as holding in one hand his lyre, and in another a cup of gold, from which he appeared, by his bending attitude, to pour forth a libation to the Earth, and as it were to suplicate the Godless to resign the too timid Daphne, whom she had stolen from his enamoured pursuit, received into her bosom, and transformed into the fabled laurel. The captivating beauty of scenery which vied with the charms of the vale of Tempe—the luxurious serenity of the climate and the coolness of numberless streams, whose crystal, untouched by the sunbeams, glided silently through depths of shade, variegated with flowers and shrubs which filled the air with perfumed sweetness—all combined to lend enchantment to the spot, and to render it the favourite haunt of voluptuousness. The profligacy to which it had given rise, (for the coyness of the slinking Daphne had no imitators,) had been notorious, and indeed proverbial, till the time of the Cæsar Gallus, who, in order to counteract the evil, removed thither the body of the martyr Babylas, formerly Bishop of Antioch, and consecrated there a Christian Church. Since that period the debauchery diminished, and with it the fame of the Oracle died away; for the Priests were, doubtless, deterred from practising their frauds through fear of detection, or unable to gratify their cupidity through want of support.

Julianism

From
A. D.
361.
to
A. D.
363.Temple of
Daphne.In im-
munity.Socrates
in Antioch.Socrates
of his
life.

^a Ammian. lib. xxii. c. 14. A citizen of Ancyra was accused of having made for his own use a purple garment. Julian, having castigated himself respecting the character of the supposed aspirant to the Empire, bade the informer present him with a pair of purple slippers, to complete the splendour of his habit. B.

† Ammian. lib. xxii. c. 9, 10. Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 99.
‡ C'est ainsi que Julien semoit tour à tour dans les carcs contraires; plus souvent dans celui qui flottoit la vanité; plus volontiers peut-être dans celui qui satisfaisoit la vengeance; n'étant point capable de saisir le juste milieu, sinon à force de réflexions: encore les réflexions ne servaient-elles quelquefois qu'à le jeter dans l'extrême opposée à celle qu'il vouloit éviter. La Blotterie, Vie de Julien, liv. v.

^a La Blotterie, Vie de Julien.

† On the grove and Temple of Daphne, see Strabo, lib. xvi Liban. Narr. p. 185. 188. Antioch. Orat. xl. Sozomen. lib. v. cæ. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. ch. xxiii.

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Pagan rites.

Such had been the state of the place for about twelve years, when Julian came to Antioch. The day on which the Festival of Apollo was to be celebrated shortly afterwards arrived. The Emperor, who took the most intense interest in the rite, hastened to be present. His mind, which glowed with anticipation, pictured forth, as he himself confesses, magnificent trains of victims with libations, and dances, and incense, and bands of youth arrayed in white and resplendent robes.* His own account of his ludicrous disappointment is too characteristic to be omitted. "I entered the Temple," he writes, "but I found not a victim—not a cake—not a grain of incense. I was lost in astonishment. Still I thought the preparations might be without, waiting, out of respect, my orders, as Chief Pontiff, to be admitted. I asked the Priest what the city meant to offer on so great a solemnity. Nothing, he replied. But here is a solitary goose, which I have brought with me; it is the only sacrifice the God will receive to-day."†‡ No stronger evidence (if we may be allowed a cursory remark more appropriate to the Ecclesiastical department of this History) can be required of the root which Christianity had already taken, than this undisguised neglect of the Pagan ceremonies in a city of great extent, population, and wealth, on an occasion in favour of which long habit might have been supposed likely to have awakened some popular prejudice, and under an Emperor, who had most at heart the restitution of the ancient worship. The angry remonstrances of Julian, whose pride was piqued to the quick, though emphatically pronounced at the very foot of the statue, were unable to produce the desired effect on men, who preferred to court his vanity by tumultuous applause than to gratify his superstitious taste by a recurrence to despised ceremonies. But the zeal of the enthusiastic Julian was not of a nature to be damped by surrounding apathy. Sea and land were ransacked for the rarest birds to be mangled in religious rites, and whole hecatombs were immolated with such destructive profusion, that it was feared the breed of oxen would fail if the Emperor returned victorious from the Persian war.‡ The intemperance consequent upon such excesses excited the wantonness of the troops.§ On Festivals, like those of Venus, it was a spectacle, which tended to excite ridicule and contempt, to see the stern Restorer of Paganism, remarkable for his long neglected beard, his inflexible gravity of aspect, and his extravagant attempts to diminish, by pompous strides, the insignificance of his stature, marching in procession attended by an unseemly crowd of prostitutes and profligates, who gave way, amid peals of laughter, to the coarsest buffoonery and licentiousness.‖

This account appears not undeserving of credit, with some allowance, perhaps, for exaggeration; but to describe Julian, as he has been painted by Christian authors, hurried by the phrenzy of fanaticism into the

nocturnal mysteries of magic, and stained with the youthful blood of many a human victim, whose bones were afterwards discovered in the recesses of the Imperial palace,* were we, think, but to overlay the pages of History with the gloomy and unnatural colouring of credulous hostility.

It is a more credible proof of the superstition of Julian, that he consulted with fretful anxiety every Oracle of the Empire—(though the promises of victory which they uttered corresponded so ill with the event as to give the satirists an opportunity of observing that Apollo had forgotten the Art of Poetry)—and that, in his eagerness to pry into futurity, he gave orders to raise up an enormous mass of stone, with which Hadrian had covered the prophetic fount, from which, by means of a lead dipt in its waters, he had read his coming destinies. His endeavours to obtain an answer from the Oracle at Daphne were repulsed by the silence of the God, who, at last, intimated that his lips would continue sealed till the carcases by which he was surrounded were removed.† The hint was understood, and the bones of Babylas were disinterred. The Christians flocked to Daphne to fetch the body of the venerated Martyr, and triumphantly conducted it in long procession, chanting psalms, the burthen of which was a prayer for the confusion of idolatry, to the Church of Antioch from which it had been removed; an act which excited the anger, and, in some degree, the severity of the Emperor.

After the exhumation of Babylas, Oracles were again delivered in the Temple, round which Julian was raising a magnificent peristyle. But on the night of the 20th of October, the building, and the splendid statue, by which it was adorned, were destroyed by fire. This catastrophe was ascribed by Julian to the jealousy of the Christians; assisted, as he suspected, by the contrivance of the guardians of the shrine. Torture was resorted to, but the persons on whom it was exercised, persisted in ascribing the accident to fire from heaven; and their testimony was corroborated by the assertions of some countrymen, though it appeared inconsistent with the serenity of the weather. The misfortune was also ascribed to Asclepiades, the Philosopher, who is said to have placed at the feet of the statue a small figure of Urania, and to have left it with wax candles, which, being accidentally neglected during the night, caught some dry and combustible materials and destroyed the edifice.§ Julian, irritated at the event, ordered the great church of the Christians at Antioch to be closed, and its riches to be removed to the Imperial treasury. Julian, his uncle, Count of the East, and Sallust, the Prefect, were charged with the execution of this order. The latter, though attached to Paganism, was remarkable for a degree of mildness and integrity which conciliated the applauses of all parties. "The only failing with which he has been reproached is, a certain weakness or want of sufficient spirit;‖ an expression, which, it requires but little experience to know, is not unfrequently attached to the conduct of such a s s prefer peace,

Julianus.

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Disinterment
of Babylas.

Destruction
of the
Temple of
Daphne.

* Julian, *Misopog.*

† Ibid.

‡ Ammian. lib. xxv.

§ Ibid.

‖ *Reliquator enim ut Cercopora, homo brevis, humeros extensans angustus, et barbam præ se ferens hircinum, grandique incedens, tanquam Oti frater et Ephialtes, quocum proceratulus Homerus in immensum tollit: utiqueque victimarius pro sacerdotibus declatur, ad crederetur hostiarum alludentibus multis: et culpabatur hinc oportune, cum ostentationis gratia velum iterum pro sacerdotibus sacra, stipitacula mulierculis lictabatur.* (Ammian. lib. xxv. c. 14.) Compare Chrysost. *Cont. Gent.* p. 761, and Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv.

* Theodor. lib. iii. Compare Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iii. Chrys. *Cont. Gent.* xii. c. 12.

† *Misopog.*

‡ Ammian. lib. xxii.

§ *Βλαβίαν, Κυνάπ. Ce reproche s'entend à fait honneur à sa modération. La Bletérie. For the meaning of the word Βλαβ, see Rubens, not. in Tim. *Lexic. voc. Platone*, p. 60.*

moderation, and equity to the violent suggestious of heated intolerance. Count Julian, on the other hand, was a man of a very different temper. He hated the Christians, from whose Religion he had apostatized, with the impatient rancour of one who read in their consistency the reproach of his desertion. Far from imitating the conduct of his colleague, whose efforts were directed to soften the irritation of his master, he suffered his unforgiving acrimony to lead him into severities beyond what his commission directed. He ordered not merely the large church of Antioch, then possessed by the Arians, but all Christian churches in that city, to be closed. And, as if goaded by an unquiet conscience, he committed acts of the most revolting profanation. The Emperor, who was anxious to avoid the imputation of being a religious persecutor, expressed his extreme displeasure at his unauthorized execution of Theodoret, a Priest who had resisted his attempts at conversion. This reproof, which appears to have been an unexpected blow, was almost immediately succeeded by a noisome and excruciating disease, during the long torments of which he fluctuated between the profession of his old and of his new creed, and between the conflicting dictates of mercy and of rigour, till death put an end at once to his doubts, his cruelties, and his misery.

It is unnecessary to detail the many presages of evil, which seemed to have filled with apprehensions a mind but little accessible to fear on occasions of real danger; it is far more instructive to consider as a striking instance of the errors of some of the most enlightened among the Ancients on subjects connected with political economy, the measures which Julian adopted with a view to assuage the distress which prevailed at Antioch. His plan consisted in fixing the price of wheat below the current value, and distributing at a loss four hundred and twenty-two thousand measures, which had been brought from Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Egypt. The consequence was that the rich monopolists, instead of opening their granaries, bought the Emperor's corn at the maximum he had chosen, and secretly sold their own at a higher rate. Importations ceased. The city, abandoned by the merchants, became not merely in want of bread, but of the other commodities of life. The Emperor, who had undertaken to nourish the inhabitants at his own expense, was shocked at the apparent ingratitude of the people, whose affections this ill-advised experiment was designed to conciliate. He ought to have remembered, that a similar attempt had been made by Diocletian, and a similar result had ensued. But, in this state of perplexity, he cast the whole blame, which should have been mainly thrown on himself, on the Senate of Antioch, who had warned him of the impracticability of this scheme of relief. He went so far as to order the whole Body to be imprisoned; but Libanius had the courage to remonstrate against the decree, which he succeeded in persuading the Emperor to recall. It was not, however, so easy to convince him of the impolicy of arbitrarily fixing the price of provisions; for Julian was in the greatest degree tenacious of his purposes; and had the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of Gallus.* But present circumstances forced him to dissemble the anger he was unable to stifle.

Though his pride was severely wounded, Julian contented himself with literary vengeance; and wrote, in answer to his revilers, the celebrated Satire called *Misopogon*, or the *Beard-Hater*, in which he drew the double picture of his own person and habits, and of the manners and feelings of the inhabitants of Antioch. Though the ironical tone of self-disparagement which is assumed in the beginning of this singular piece, (which is in some parts interesting, in some not destitute of humour, and in some insipid,) was intended to convey an exalted idea of the writer's superiority, it often shows that Julian gloried in deficiencies, of which a nicer sense of propriety ought to have made him ashamed. When he boasts that his nails, his hands, and his beard betray his neglect of common cleanliness, and that, too, in terms calculated to heighten the disgust which the confession excites, he manifests the entire absence of that delicacy of mind, without which even qualities of the highest order are unable to protect their possessor from disrespect. His description of the corruption which reigned in Antioch is considered by Ammianus Marcellinus,* himself a native of the city, as overcharged, but the accounts of Christian writers tend but to illustrate and confirm its general truth.

It may be here the most convenient place to notice the other more celebrated Work, on which the reputation of Julian as a writer chiefly rests—the Satire or Philosophical Fable entitled the *Cæsars*.† A portraiture of the principal Roman Emperors, drawn by one of the most remarkable in that body for eminent Civil and military qualifications, could not fail to attract curiosity, even if void of that facility of touch and mellowness of colouring which distinguish the productions of more experienced artists. But, independently of the interest which the nature of the subject is sufficient to excite, the piece possesses many of the excellencies and graces which would render it valuable, considered only as a literary composition.‡—Romulus is represented as

* Ammian. lib. xxii. c. 14. Compare Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 93. Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. and the *Chronicle of Antioch* by John Malala.

† See the *Homilia* of Chrysostom.

‡ This Work has been translated into French, with very elaborate notes, containing proofs drawn from ancient medals, &c. by the learned Ezekiel Spanheim. The edition most esteemed is that of Amsterdam, 1728, in 4to. It has also been translated in a more pleasing manner, with brief remarks, by the Abbé de la Bletterie. (*Vie de Julien*, liv. i. p. 241—395.) An analysis of it may be found in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. xxiv.; and London, *Histoire de l'Empereur Julien*, liv. i. p. 338, &c. The *Cæsars* were edited by J. M. Heusinger, 1736, and also by T. C. Harles, 8vo, 1785.

§ Of the style of Julian, Wytenbach says, *Dictio ejus felix est imitatoria veterum, Platonia præsertim ac Demostheni; elegans, tersa, pura; et bene Attica; neque inanis præcis delectatur vobis, et inemptum efficitur Atticisim.* (Epist. Critic. super nomina loca Juliani Imp.)

|| The Works of Julian were published at Leipzig in folio, with the notes of Dionysius Petavius and others, by Ezekiel Spanheim. (1696.) The *Misopogon* and some letters were published by Marinus in 8vo. Paris, 1566. The most noted pieces of Julian were translated very elegantly into French by La Bletterie, at the end of his *Vie de Julien*, Paris, 1748. There is also a French translation of his entire Works by R. Tourlet, Paris, 1821. Among the numerous Letters of Julian may be remarked a long epistle to Theodoretus, which may be considered as a treatise on the duties of Princes. Among his Discourses, that addressed to the Cynic Heracleus contains an interesting allegorical fable, in which he alludes to his early misfortunes and dangers. For further information respecting the subject of his Works, see La Bletterie's Preface; (*Vie de Julien*) Fabric. *Biblioth. Græc. tom.* i. p. 719. Ed. Harles; and *Lux Salut. Evangel.*; D. Wytenbach, Epist. Critic. super nomina loca Juliani Imp. &c. Ad Davidum Ruhakenium,

* *Nepotian à propos de declination, Githi amica frateris, lecti immortales.* Ammian. lib. xxii. c. 14. Compare Jul. *Misopog.* and Liban. *Orat. Parent.* c. 97.

Julianus.
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to
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363.
The *Misopogon*.

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363.

offering, during the customary license of the Saturnalia, a feast to the Deities, among whom he had been enrolled, and to the Princes who, in later times, had governed his people. The Gods are seated in the highest heavens: the table of the Emperors is spread below the moon in the upper regions of the air. The most detestable of the Imperial monsters, such as Caligula, Nero, Commodus, Caracalla, are hurled by Nemesis into the depths of Tartarus, while the other Cæsars take their seats in order and hear, as they advance, their faults and errors, and sometimes their personal defects, satirically stigmatized by Silenus, who, half censor, half jester, conveys the opinions and the prejudices of Julian. The sketches are often lively and just. The political versatility of Augustus, for instance, is intimated by the chameleon colours of his visage, now pale, now red, at one time dark and gloomy, and almost in an instant lit up again with love and grace. The artful character of Tiberius immediately suggests itself, as he enters, bearing in his severe countenance the stamp of skill and courage, while his back is scarred and withered with searing marks of loathsome intemperance. When Hadrian presents himself with his long beard and pompous gait, turning ever and anon his anxious eyes towards the stars, and evincing his fretful curiosity to pry into all mysteries, Julian seems unconsciously to have drawn his own likeness. Among many of the judgments of this Historical piece, against which impartial posterity protests, may be reckoned the invidiousness of dwelling on the known avarice of Vespasian, and the early dissipation of Titus, without touching on the virtues which shed lustre on their names. The amiable Antoninus Pius deserved a better character than that of one moderate in all but love—a minute cum-in-sawyer. When the exploits of Constantine are compared to the perishable flowers in the little portable gardens of Adonis, and that Emperor is made to choose, as the Deity to whom he can appropriately attach himself, the Goddess of Indolence, who, having attired him in a particoloured female garment, consigns him to Luxury, there is scarcely a reader so blinded as not to acknowledge the flagrant injustice of the description. The chief heroes are Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, who are selected as competitors in a trial of merit, together with Alexander the Great, who is admitted to enter the lists with these illustrious Romans. Each successively dilates on his achievements, but it is evident that Marcus Aurelius, who maintains the most modest silence, though his failings are not spared, is the model of the Imperial author. The love of glory, of pleasure, or of power, had been confessedly the motive of the other heroes; but the moral qualities of clemency and benevolence—the practice of Philosophy in the highest station of Society—alone ensured the esteem of the Immortals. The speeches of Julius Cæsar and Alexander the Great

possess peculiar interest. When the Greek conqueror retorts on the Roman, who had undervalued his Persian conquest, that the portion of land held by the Parthians beyond the Tigris had defied the vaunted might of Rome during a war of more than 300 years, the reflection naturally arises, that the extraordinary man himself, who penned the remark, was soon to confirm and extend its truth by disastrous experience.

Before we proceed, however, with the particulars of the fatal campaign to which we allude, it is necessary to notice an instance of the instability of human schemes, which may form a kind of presage to the fall of disappointed ambition. It was during his residence at Antioch that Julian determined on the memorable attempt of rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem. His object was, doubtless, to ingratiate himself with the Jewish nation, whose enmity to Christianity was so congenial to his own, and whose aversion to an union with Paganism he might hope by signal favours to subdue, as well as by reestablishing their ancient ceremonies and worship, to shake the incontestable evidence which the truth of Revelation derives from the accomplishment of Prophecy in the dispersion of their Nation and the abolition of their Law. A contemporary Historian, by Religion a Pagan, a warm admirer too and companion in arms of Julian, but of noted candour and impartiality, has transmitted to us his account of this event written twenty years after its occurrence. He relates that Julian, on entering on his fourth Consulship, though his mind was filled with anxious anticipations of the future, and his attention ardently devoted to the complicated preparations of his Persian expedition, yet, longing to immortalize his reign by the greatness of his achievements, mediated the restoration, at an immoderate expense, of the once magnificent Temple of Jerusalem; which, after many bloody combats during its siege by Vespasian, was with difficulty taken and destroyed by Titus. He intrusted the execution of this plan to Alypius, (one of his favourite friends,) who had formerly governed Britain as Vice-Præfect.* "When, therefore, this Alypius applied vigorously to the work, in which he was assisted by the Governor of the Province, horrible globes of fire breaking out near the foundations, with reiterated attacks, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen, from time to time scorched and blasted, and, in this manner, the element obstinately repelling them, the undertaking was abandoned." It ought to be remarked, that this narrative is in no respect couched in the language of hesitation and doubt; that it falls in as an incidental fact with the general flow of the History, and that it is not accompanied by any comment or brought forward as bearing on any system; on the other hand, it ought also to be borne in mind, that Ammianus is sometimes apt to

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Attempt
rebuild
Temple
at Jerusa
lem

Goetting, 1769; (which Epistle was republished with remarks by O. H. Shæfer, Lips. 1802;) Schoell, *Hist. de la Littérature Grecque*, tom. vi. p. 186; and a Work, published in 1828, by L. H. Heyler, *Julian. Imp. que fecerunt Epistole, necnon quædam Fragmenta brevisque cum Poemata necnon Galli Cæsaris ad Julianum fratrem Epistola*. Julian composed a lost Work against Christianity. St. Cyril of Alexandria has left us his refutation of it, by the assistance of which the Marquis d'Argens published his *Défense du Paganisme par l'Empereur Julien*, which was attacked by two German writers, Meier in 1764, and Crichton in 1765. See also C. H. Van Harnedee, *De Juliano Imperatore, Religiosis Christianæ hoste, eodemque vindice*, Ludg. Bat. 1827.

* The text of Ammianus is too remarkable to be omitted: *Et licet accidentium varietatem sollicitè mente præcipera, multiplicitas expeditionum apparatû flagrantis studio perverteret: diligenter tamen ubique discent, imperique sui memoriam magnitudinis operum gestions propagare, ambithum quendam apud Hierosolymam Templum, quod post multa et inter necem certaminis, obdante Vespasiano postquam Tito, ægrè est expugnatum, indurare semperque egrediebatur incendia: negotiorumque maturandam Alypius dederat Antiocheni, qui olim Britanniam cæterorum præ Prefectus. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, Jurareque Provincie rector, utendi globi flammam prope fundamenta crebris adalutibus erumpentes, fecere locum crustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destitutum repente, cessavit incertum. (lib. xxi. c. 1.) On this event, see Warburton's *Julian, a Work full of ingenuity and research*. See also Lardner's *Jewish and Heathen Testim.* vol. iv.*

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place a credulous reliance on tales of no authority. This account is corroborated by three contemporary Christian writers: by Ambrose,* in a letter to the Emperor Theodosius; by Chrysostom,† who was in the neighbourhood of the place; and by Gregory Nazianzen,‡ in a writing composed the very year in which this celebrated occurrence took place. The two former writers mention it in a brief manner as a well-known fact: the latter describes it with more detail, and with the addition of an earthquake, a hurricane, a cross within a circle in the heavens,§ a supposed miraculous closing of the doors of a church to which the alarmed workmen took refuge, and the very singular, though not unexampled, circumstance of the figure of a cross|| being impressed on the bodies and garments of the persons present. In the next Age it is related by Rufinus,¶ Socrates,** Sosomen,†† and Theodoret.‡‡ In later times it is again repeated §§ with the variations and embellishments of exaggeration.

¶ It appears to us that the fact of a fiery eruption having tended to interrupt the undertaking of Julian cannot be denied on any principle which would not extend to the subversion of all Historical evidence. The supposition of these extraordinary effects being produced by artificial means and human contrivance, is too fraught with difficulties to have a claim to probability. There is certainly something more plausible in the hypothesis of natural causes.|||| Under Jerusalem were vast sub-

terranean cavities* and cisterns,† used as places of refuge from the enemy, and as repositories for provisions and treasures. Between the destruction of the city in the year 70, and the attempt of Julian, in 363, nearly three hundred years had expired, during which these vaults, obstructed by rubbish, might have become filled with inflammable air. The workmen, in the progress of digging, would naturally take torches to examine the old foundations; detonations, so common in our coal mines, might then occur, and sudden flames would appear bent on driving them from the spot. A similar fact is mentioned in Josephus. Herod, in descending into a subterranean place in search of treasures, which he had heard were concealed in the tomb of David, was repelled, the moment he opened it, by flames which killed two of his attendants.‡ It is evident, however, that this solution, even if satisfactory when applied to the narrative of the Pagan Historian, will not explain the other phenomena mentioned by Christian writers. One point is clear, that, whatever means, natural or supernatural, were employed, a great design, undertaken in the plenitude of power by the most formidable adversary of Christianity, probably with a view to weaken its strength, was in some signal manner defeated.

The preparations of Julian were so great, that confiding in his own might, he refused the proposed aid of several nations, replying, that the Romans were to assist their allies, not to stand in need of their assistance.§ The Saracens, whom he particularly disobliged, joined and faithfully adhered to the Persians. The Roman troops, passing the Euphrates, now broke into different routes, whence they were to unite on the arrival of the Emperor. Julian, with the utmost secrecy, suffered nothing to be known respecting the line of operations which he intended to pursue, or even the day which he had fixed for his departure. On leaving Antioch, he assigned the government of Syria to one Alexander of Heliopolis, a cruel and turbulent character, adding, "I know that he is not worthy of his office, but the inhabitants of Antioch, avaricious and insolent, deserve such a judge:"||—a sentence disgraceful to his character of Philosopher and of a sovereign. A large crowd, thronging about him as he departed, on the 5th of March, conjured him to entertain milder sentiments; but Julian, still

Julian's
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363.

The Romans
pass the
Euphrates.

A. D.
363.
March.

Julian sets
out from
Antioch.

* Epist. 40. l. 2.
† Advers. Julian. et Gentil.
‡ Orat. iv. ad. Jul.

§ Warburton considers this as "neither more nor less than one of those meteoric lights in still and clouded sky, which are not infrequently seen in solar or lunar halos." (Jul. p. 110.) On this subject, see a curious and learned Dissertation of J. A. Fabricius in his *Græc. Græc. vol. vi.*

|| Socrates asserts that it was accompanied with lightning. Warburton explains the crosses on the bodies and garments by two very interesting quotations: one from the *Adversaria* of Isaac Casaubon, (esp. *Mer. Casaub. in Tract. int. Of Credulity and Incredulity*, p. 110.) and the other from Boyle's *Discourse on some unheeded Causes of the Insularity and Salubrity of the Air*, (Works, in fol. vol. iv. p. 293.)

¶ Lib. l. c. 37

** Lib. iii.

†† Lib. v.

‡‡ Lib. iii.

§§ Lib. iii.

|||| It is mentioned by Philostorgius, Theophanes, Orosius,* Nicéphorus, Zonaras, Cedrenus, &c. of whom Warburton says, "These men have only the language of others, without any sense of their own; save that, like impertinent players, they sometimes presume to add their own inventions to their author's conceits." (Julian, p. 150.) There is a curious passage in a fragment of an Oration or Epistle of Julian himself, in which, speaking of the Temple as having been three times destroyed, he says, *Tetralix, triplex xelcus amaraulatus laudat miris sic quædam res statueret in ære*, which has some appearance of a covert allusion to his defeat. Warburton quotes as an additional authority the Rabbi Gedaliah ben Joseph Jechia, who lived in the XVth century.

||||| Warburton himself, is speaking of the destruction of a great part of the army of Brennus by thunder and lightning, and an earthquake, when on the march to plunder the Temple of Delphi, observes that the Temple was situated on a hollow rock, which would afford vent-holes for such fumes as were generated within to transpire, one of which was famous for the intoxicating quality discovered in the steam which issued from it; and adds, "Now if we only suppose this, or any other of the vapours, issuing from the fissures in so large and cavernous a rock, to be endowed with that unctuous, or otherwise inflammatory quality, which modern experience shows us to be common in mines and subterranean hollows, we can easily conceive how the Friends of the Temple might, without a miracle, be able to work the wonders which History speaks of as effected in this transaction. For the throwing down of a lighted torch or two into a chasm from whence such a vapour issued, would set the whole into a flame; which, by

rarefying and dilating the enclosed air, would, like fired gunpowder, blow up all before it." (Julian, p. 268.) But he maintains that the mountain of Jerusalem, by its compactness and continuity, was altogether improper for such a contrivance. (p. 273.)

* Tech. lib. v.

† These subterranean passages must have been very considerable. The cisterns furnished water during the whole siege of Jerusalem to the eleven hundred thousand inhabitants for whom the fountain of Siloa was insufficient. When the city was on the point of being taken by Titus, the chiefs of the rebels, putting their last hope in the vast cavities below, formed the project of hiding themselves there during the conflagration of the Temple, and until the Romans should have retired: most of them had not time to execute their plan. But one of them, Simon, son of Giora, descended into this retreat with some of his companions, and remained there till Titus departed for Rome; then, driven by hunger, he presented himself to the Roman guards. Researches were in consequence made, and many others were found. (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 2*.) Probably most of these subterranean hollows were made in the time of Solomon, though Herod dug some. (Antiq. Jud. xv. c. 11. sec. 7.) This view of the subject is given by Michaelis, quoted by Guizot in his translation of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, &c.

‡ *Ἐργα τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ἱεροῖς* Antiq. Jud. lib. xvi. c. 7.

§ Amnian. lib. xxiil.

|| *Ind. Comp. Liban. Ep. 722.*

History. irritated by the outrages and sarcasms which he had suffered, spoke to them in a tone of harshness, declaring that they would see him no more, as he had determined to spend the winter, at the end of the campaign, in Tarsus* of Cilicia. He then advanced by the route of Litarbe, in the territory of Chalcis, from which, on the morrow, he proceeded to Berea, and hence to Batnae, afterwards to Hierapolis. Crossing the Euphrates, near the latter city, he appeared in Mesopotamia, before the enemy were aware of his departure from Antioch. Leaving to the left Edessa, he proceeded to Carrhae, a city memorable for the death of Crassus.

His route. There were two roads which led from Mesopotamia into Persia; the one was on the left, crossing the Tigris, through Adiabene; the other on the right through Assyria, along the banks of the Euphrates. Julian ordered magazines to be prepared on both these roads, though he had fixed upon proceeding across Assyria. Sebastian and Procopius were left with 30,000 chosen troops to secure Mesopotamia against foreign invasion, till they could join Arsaces, King of Armenia, whose co-operation he had required, and, having overrun the boundaries of Media, could effect a meeting with the Emperor. From an eminence Julian surveyed his men, in number 65,000, the largest body ever conducted by any Roman General against the Persians. Having marched by way of feint towards the Tigris, he turned to the Euphrates, which river was covered with an immense fleet, destined to accompany the army into the interior of Assyria. Upwards of a thousand vessels laden with provisions and military machines, fifty ships of war, and as many flat-bottomed boats, which might be linked together into temporary bridges, convey an idea of the extensive scale on which preparations had been made to meet the difficulties of so important an enterprise. Yet no article of luxury was allowed to enter as an addition. "Away," cried the Emperor to some camel-drivers who had brought exquisite wines, "away with these sources of debauch. A soldier should drink no wine, but such as his spear has won, and I wish to live as a soldier."

He enters the Persian territory. In the beginning of April, Julian entered into Circesium, a strong and skillfully-built place, seated on a kind of peninsula, on the confux of the Aborat and the Euphrates. Here he received letters from his friend Sallust, the Præfect of Gaul,† who conjured him to suspend his expedition till he obtained more favourable prognostics from the Gods. But Julian, inflexible in his resolutions, passed the Abora with his whole army on a bridge of boats, which he caused to be immediately broken, to cut off from the timid all hope of retreat. At Zaitba he saw the tomb, and offered sacrifices to the manes, of the Emperor Gordian, who had fallen a victim to the treachery of his successor Philip, on his return from a victorious expedition. Among other presages, which are deserving of notice, inasmuch as they throw light on the state of mind both of Julian and of his followers, a lion was presented to him which had been shot by the arrows of the soldiers as it advanced to meet the army. Julian gathered from the circumstance the most flattering auguries; he imagined it betokened the death of the Persian Monarch, and he

looked forward with sanguine anticipations to the result of the campaign.* In this auspicious view he was supported by the opinions and arguments of the Philosophers. The Tuscan haruspices, on the contrary, came to a very different conclusion. They maintained, that as the war was an offensive one, and as the lion had come forward to meet the army, the omen threatened the life of the Roman Emperor. From the beginning of the expedition, the Seers and the Philosophers, constant attendants of a Prince, who strove to combine Philosophy and Paganism, were at variance in their view of the result. Every subtlety of explanation was employed to draw the most contradictory portents from the same event. And Julian, whose superstition was hardly on a level with his ambition, inclined to the side which fell in with his own wishes.

Ever anxious to display his rhetorical as well as his military powers, he ordered his troops to be assembled, and made an address to them, the chief object of which was to remove a groundless notion,—circulated in low whispers throughout the ranks, and calculated to check their efforts by the fear attached to all unexampled feats,—that no Roman army had ever before penetrated into Persia. After enumerating the illustrious Romans who had already won their laurels in that Country, he added: "It was the love of glory only which urged these great men to such signal achievements; but as for us, the recent desolation of our towns,—the shades of our many slaughtered armies,—the greatness of our losses,—the capture of our strong holds—all summon us to vengeance. Let us answer the expectations of our allies, repair past evils, and, establishing the peace of the Republic on an honourable basis, ensure to ourselves a fair fame in succeeding Ages. At your head, and fighting like one of you, you will behold me, with the aid of the eternal Deity, your Emperor, second you, not, I hope, without favourable auspices. But if capricious fortune blights this hope, I shall die satisfied with having devoted myself to my Country, like the Curtii and Mutii and Decii of old. We must exterminate a dangerous race, whose swords, stained with the blood of our kinsmen, are not yet dry. Our ancestors surmounted, by persevering exertions, every obstacle to their welfare. Carthage was only conquered after long and doubtful wars, and continued to inspire alarm till it was wholly annihilated. Numantia, after a protracted siege, was finally overthrown. The rivals of infant Rome are so entirely exterminated, that, notwithstanding the testimony of numerous monuments, we can scarcely credit their ancient might. These are the examples which History presents to our imitation." He then urged them to beware of the artifices of the enemy, and the love of plunder, so often fatal to the Roman arms; and exhorted them to march in order, and never to quit their standards, on pain of terrible punishments. He concluded by declaring, that when the enterprise would be successfully terminated, without availing himself of the prerogative of Princes to deem their commands infallible, he would give an account to whomsoever chose to call them in question.†

The impassioned words, and still more the example of Julian, infused fresh ardour into the assembled forces, who exclaimed, with uplifted bucklers, that they knew neither toil nor danger under the auspices of a

* Ammian. lib. xxiii.

† The Orientals ascribe it, Chaboras or Chabour, Gilbon, *Dehse ann. Euphr.* lib. c. xiv.

‡ He is to be distinguished from Sallust the Second, the Præfect of the East, of whom we have spoken above.

* Ammian. lib. xxiii. c. 5.

† *Ibid.* lib. xxiii. c. 6.

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leader, who submitted to the same fatigues as the meanest soldier. The Gauls especially, whose minds still teemed with ardent recollections, regarded his name as an earnest of success, and longed to press forward to new conflicts. The distribution of a hundred and thirty pieces of silver to each soldier served to keep up the enthusiasm thus kindled. Julian, now satisfied with the confidence and quickened spirit of his troops, and fired with the prospect of measuring his military skill with the most formidable enemy of the Empire, resolved no longer to delay a decisive blow. Accordingly, as soon as the next day rose, he advanced into Assyria with his army, divided into three columns, the baggage being placed in the centre. Alive to the necessity of vigilance in so intricate a march through a country where Persian stratagem had often proved superior to Roman prowess, he took the precaution to despatch fifteen hundred couriers in front and in flank to guard against ambush. The right wing, under the command of Nevitta, moved along the Euphrates, protected by the fleet, which neither outstripped the army, nor, notwithstanding the numerous windings of the river, lagged behind. The left marched in close order along the plain, with the cavalry under Arintheus, to whom was joined in command Hormisdas, a Persian of royal blood, who, having contrived to escape from the confinement into which he had been thrown during the minority of Sapor, had sought refuge in the Court of Constantine; and gained, by his abilities and fidelity, the protection and esteem of that Emperor and his successors. The rear-guard was led by Daglalaphus, Victor, and Secundinus. Julian himself conducted the centre, or rather the whole Body, for he appeared to be present in all directions, careering through every rank, inspecting every thicket, checking the insubordinate, confirming the resolute, and assuming, as occasion required, the demeanour of courteousness and benignity, or the tone of authoritative reproof.*

Ammonius
Anatha.

Influenced by the assurances of Hormisdas, the inhabitants of the castle of Anatha,† situated in an island on the Euphrates, opened their gates to the Emperor. He treated them with humanity, and transplanted them with their families and effects to a settlement near Chalcis in Syria; but burned the place, in pursuance of his determination not to weaken his forces by the necessity of garrisoning captured fortresses. Two other, but stronger castles, refused to submit till the Roman arms should be master of the interior; and the Emperor thought it more prudent to acquiesce in this condition, than to waste his strength on secondary objects, and stake his reputation for an inadequate prize. In the open country, the natives fled in terror before him into their distant mountains, and left their rich plains and vineyards a prey to the fury of the Roman army, who were allowed to waste every thing before them with the most unsparring havoc, as the best means of cutting off their retreat, and with it, all temptation to cowardice. Having passed at Baraxmalcha a river which flows into the Euphrates, and destroyed the deserted cities of Dacira and Ozogardana, the Emperor gave two days respite to his army.‡

The Roman armies continued to waste the regions of the enemy, yet there was no appearance, no report of any Persian forces to resist their progress; all was inaction and solitude. This tardiness arose not so

much, perhaps, from any deeply-concerted plan to draw the Romans more inextricably into the interior of the country, as from the defective nature of their military system. Instead of maintaining bands of regular troops, the King called, in emergencies, upon his nobility to lead their vassals into the field, a proceeding which, being necessarily slow, gave great advantages to a vigorous enemy. The extraordinary activity of Julian had been so little anticipated by men accustomed to the cautious movements of his less energetic predecessor, that Sapor had nothing to oppose his advance but a body of cavalry, under the command of the Surena, or General-in-Chief, which was merely sufficient to harass his march by desultory acts of annoyance. An encounter, in which this band received a check from Hormisdas, whom they designed to intercept by ambush, whilst engaged on a reconnoitring expedition, served to inspire the Romans with the courage which an auspicious prelude naturally excites. They proceeded to Macephrata, where the Euphrates divides itself into two large canals, one of which watered Babylonia, and the other, joining the Tigris, passed near Ctesiphon, the usual winter-residence of the Persian Kings. Julian having effected, by a dexterous manœuvre, the passage of this latter arm of water, encamped before Perisabor,* or Anbar;† a city of considerable size and population; situated on an islet, and girded with a double barrier of walls flanked with turrets, high above which rose the citadel, seated on the summit of a steep mountain, whose rugged outline, frowning over ramparts strongly cemented with bitumen, formed a complete circle, except in one quarter, which nature had fortified with rocks. After having unsuccessfully tried threats and promises to induce them to surrender, Julian invested the place with his army drawn in a triple line. To deaden the force of the missiles discharged from below, loose floating curtains tissue with goat's hair had been hung from the parapets. The besieged defended themselves with obstinate valour. They were protected by bucklers of thick osier, covered over with hides, and the plates of their armour were so admirably knit and adjusted to their limbs that they appeared like figures of iron.‡ Thus equipped, they indulged in taunts of defiance and railleury, and, calling for Hormisdas, inveighed against him with torrents of abuse, as a traitorous deserter from his Country. But on the approach of evening, the Romans advanced several machines, and began to fill the foss; and, on the dawn of the next day, the besieged, observing the progress of their works, and the success of their battering rams, which had already by a lucky blow made a breach in a tower at one of the angles, abandoned their double walls, and threw themselves into the citadel, from the heights of which they plied their bows with destructive effect. Julian, who frequently suffered the natural impetuosity of his spirit to hurry him into hazardous feats, while recklessly urging on a chosen band to burst the massive iron-bound gates of

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to
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Invasion of
Assyria.
May.

Capture of
Perisabor.

* Zonimus calls it Berrabara.

† Le terme Arabe Anbar désigne proprement un dépôt de subsistance. Le premier des Khalifes de la maison d'Abbas nommé Soffah, qui monta sur le trône en l'an de l'Hégire 136, de l'ère Chrétienne 754, établit en cette ville sa résidence, qui son successeur Al-Mansour lui succéda environ cinq ans après, transféra à Bagdad, en jetant les fondemens de cette ville, qui est demeurée la capitale de l'Islamisme jusque vers le milieu du treizième siècle. (D'Anville's l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 71.)

‡ Ammian. lib. xx. c. 2.

* Ammian. lib. xiv.

† See D'Anville's l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 62.

‡ Ammian. lib. xiv.

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the citadel, was much exposed to the galling shower of stones and weapons directed against his person. Foiled in his attempt, though unhurt, he ordered that the machine called *helepolis* should be constructed. This enormous engine, from the invention and successful use of which Demetrius had acquired the surname of *Poliurctes*, was the most formidable instrument known to the military Arts of the Ancients. At the sight of the terrific mass, which was to command and overawe their highest towers, the besieged, filled with alarm, sent to supplicate Hormisdas to procure by his mediation the mercy of the Emperor. On his assurances they opened their gates, and were allowed to retire in peace. An ample supply of arms and provisions was found in the place, which the Emperor, having first taken the quantity which appeared necessary, destroyed by fire.*

The next day intelligence was brought that the Surenas had fallen upon three of the Roman squadrons, carried off a standard, slain some of the troops, and among them a Tribune. The Emperor learned the disaster, whilst availing himself of a moment of leisure to take his repast. Transported with anger he hastened to the spot, routed the enemy, and recovered the standard. A severe disciplinarian, he disgraced on the spot the two other Tribunes, and, though scantily attended, fearless of personal danger, decimated the soldiers who had degraded themselves by flight.†

Having destroyed Persisabor, the Emperor ascended a tribunal, returned thanks to the assembled troops for the courage which they had displayed, and promised each a hundred pieces of silver. Perceiving that the smallness of the donative excited murmurs of discontent, he addressed them in an elevated tone of indignation; "Yonder are the Persians, who riot in wealth; your valour and unanimity must enable you to enrich yourself with their spoils. The Republic, once possessed of immense treasures, has been reduced to this state of destitution by the advice of Ministers, who, consulting only their private interest, have taught Princes to purchase a disgraceful Peace from the Barbarians. Our finances are disordered, our towns exhausted, our Provinces depopulated. As for myself, though of noble parentage, my only inheritance is a soul unconscious of fear. An Emperor, who places every good in mental qualities, does not blush to acknowledge his honourable poverty. The Fabricii, poor in estate, having glory their only treasure, conducted mighty wars. But here, you will have all these advantages in abundance, if, resigning yourselves, without fear, as far as human nature allows, to the will of Heaven and to my cautious guidance, you comport yourselves with more mildness and submission. But if, returning to the scandal of your old seditions, you resist my orders,—proceed. I alone, having completed so signal a career of exploits, will die as becomes an Emperor, standing;‡ in full contempt of an existence of which one little fever may deprive me. Or, at least, I will retire, for I have not so lived as to be unable to bear the lot of a private individual. It is a consolation that I shall leave behind me officers who are fully skilled in the art of war.§

This address, so likely to work on the different pas-

* Asiatick. lib. xxiv. c. 2.

† Eut. c. 3.

‡ An imitation of the expression of Vespasian: *Stantem Imperator excedere terra decessit.* Aurel. Vict. in *Vespasian.*

§ Ammian. lib. xxi.

sions of shame, ambition, and cupidity, came home to the feelings of the soldiers, and converted at once their complaints into assurances of implicit submission. They extolled, with heartfelt zeal, the magnanimity of their Prince, who, anxious to communicate the ardour with which he was himself inflamed, used every effort to impress them with a sense of the incomparable glory which would redound from the completion of so momentous an enterprise. "So may I reduce the Persians under the yoke! So may I restore the shattered Empire of Rome!" was the form of oath which he used in order to elevate their courage to the highest pitch.*

After having marched about four miles, they found the country to a great extent overflowed by the Euphrates, of which the Persians, to impede their march, had opened the locks. To remedy this difficulty, Julian, advancing forward, caused a great number of small temporary bridges to be constructed, over which the army were enabled, though not without difficulty, to pass.

Shortly after the Emperor proceeded to reconnoitre the town of Maogumalcha. While examining the state of the fortifications, he was suddenly attacked by two Persians with drawn scimitars. He contrived, however, with the greatest dexterity and presence of mind, to intercept with his shield two blows addressed against him at once, and at the same time to strike one of the assailants dead at his feet—an act of prowess which confirmed the admiration of his troops.

The strength of Maogumalcha impressed Julian with an imperious sense of the necessity of reducing it before he could proceed to advance further, with any degree of safety, into the interior of the country. A regular siege was accordingly commenced, for its numerous garrison, composed of chosen men, inaccessible to corruption, and resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their city rather than to submit, left no other alternative. The undertaking was fraught with difficulty. The aspect of huge rocks, which, broken into winding precipices, begirt the place in all directions, and presented, on their lofty summit, the citadel, rising amid a mass of well-fortified towers, while the activity of the plain towards the river was covered with military works, was sufficient to have discouraged a less vigorous and determined spirit than that of Julian. The utmost efforts were immediately made; various labours were regulated by proper divisions, and the exertions of each individual confined within the post assigned him. The most obstinate fury was displayed by the Persians, who, cased in impenetrable steel, used every art, discharging missiles, enormous stones, and burning torches, to prevent the destructive attack of the Romans. The engines of the besiegers, however, after a continuance of protracted struggles, had battered down a portion of the fortifications, and given an opportunity for the display of acts of the greatest valour, when the Emperor learned that the miners had extended their subterranean passages under the foundations of the city. An assault was at once directed against two quarters of the walls, inasmuch that the noise of the works under ground, drowned by the din and confusion above, was unnoticed by the besieged. During this scene of turmoil, some Romans emerged from their retreats, slaughtered such as dwelt in the building through which they

* Trajan was wont to swear, "So may I see Dacia reduced to the form of a Province! So may I traverse on bridges the Ister and the Euphrates." Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. 3.

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Siege of
Maogumalcha

Its c

penetrated, proceeded with cautious steps, and slew the sentinels on the way, who, heedless of danger, were singing the customary praises of their Monarch. The city, thus opened, on the third day fell into the hands of an enraged soldiery, who wreaked their vengeance without distinction of age or sex. Some, spectators of the sanguinary ferocity of their enemies, threw themselves in despair from the height of the walls and craggy rocks. The Governor Nabdates, however, being taken prisoner with eighty of his guards, was at first treated with mildness and clemency; but was afterwards, however, burned alive, partly because he had not accomplished an alleged promise of delivering up the city, and partly because, full of pride at the impunity which he had experienced, he had reflected on the conduct of Hormisdas. His sentence gives but a very unfavourable impression of the vaunted moderation of Julian.

Rewards were bestowed and the plunder distributed according to the merits of each soldier. The Emperor was content to claim as his share three pieces of gold and a dumb child, full of vivacity and information, whose pleasing manner of conveying ideas by signs and gesticulations excited his interest.* Julian appreciated highly the importance of his conquest: his vanity, hitherto unsatisfied, immediately broke forth. "At length," he exclaimed to Libanius, "I have given the Sophist of Syria materials for an Oration."† To eulogize deeds of blood was the task gaily proposed by the military Philosopher, who prided himself on his humanity.

The Roman army, continuing its march, was now but a small distance from the Capital, after having taken a castle, before which Julian had almost lost his life by rash exposure of his person. The Capital was seated on the Tigris, in front of the canal of the Euphrates, which Julian had followed. Where these waters joined, stood a town near the ruins of Seleucia, called Coche, which would, by its intermediate situation, have separated the fleet and army of Julian. But the Emperor remembered that a canal above the city of Seleucia had been hollowed by Trajan. Its ancient bed, which had been filled up, having been discovered and cleared, the Euphrates was turned into it, and the fleet entered into the Tigris.‡

† * Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. 4.

† † *Ἐπιβλέπων γὰρ τὴν αἰὶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἵσχυον ἡρώδην αἰσθόμενος, ἵσχυον ἡρώδην. Liban.*

‡ ‡ The operation is thus described by Gibbon: "The fleet passed from the Euphrates into an artificial derivation of that river, which pours a copious and navigable stream into the Tigris, at a small distance before the great city. If they had followed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nubar-Malcha, the intermediate situation of Coche would have separated the fleet and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of steering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midst of a hostile Capital, must have been attended with the total destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the Emperor foresaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same country, he soon recollected that his warlike predecessor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the right hand, conveyed the waters of Nubar-Malcha into the river Tigris, at some distance above the city. From the information of the peasants, Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient work, which were almost obliterated by design or accident. By the indefatigable labour of the soldiers, a broad and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A strong dike was constructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nubar-Malcha; a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had erected to oppose their passage." Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. ch. xxiv. But see the notes of Valesius in Amm. lib. xxiv. c. 6.

A career of continued success emboldened Julian to project schemes which were thought to border on temerity. He determined on the apparently impracticable scheme of effecting the passage of the river, which the hostile multitude was drawn up to prevent. Having unloaded the best transports, he caused eighty men to embark in each; and dividing the fleet into three divisions, of which he retained the principal, he ordered one to sail at the beginning of the night under Count Victor, in order to traverse the stream and occupy the opposite banks. The Generals, dismayed at the idea of so daring a project, entreated him with one accord to abandon the attempt. But Julian, fixed in his determination, gave immediate orders that five of the galleys should depart to execute his directions. On approaching the banks of the river, they were assailed by volleys of burning missiles, which set them on fire. The rising flame, glaring through the darkness at a distance, which prevented the state of things from being rightly distinguished, filled the Romans with a degree of consternation, which would have led to the very destruction they foreboded, had not Julian, with the instinctive promptness and felicity which characterised his expedients, exclaimed,—that it was the signal of his own men to announce that they were safely landed. The invention succeeded: the remainder, whose apprehensions were allayed, rowed with redoubled efforts, and the soldiers, in spite of a galling shower of stones and darts which was poured against them, succeeded in mastering the steep borders and maintained their ground. The Persians, baffled in their attempts, fled to some distance, and formed themselves in battle-array. A combat ensued, in which they were defeated with considerable loss. When returning thanks for this victory by a sacrifice to Mars the Avenger, a circumstance took place which filled the minds of the superstitious with most dismal prognostics. Of ten fine oxen to be offered as victims, nine fell of themselves before they reached the altar: the tenth, which broke its bonds and was dragged on with difficulty, presented in the state of its entrails signs of the worst augury. Julian, in the heat of his exasperation, protested before Jupiter that he would never again sacrifice to the God of War—a curious instance of the close connection between impiety and superstition.

The Emperor, now arrived at the gates of Ctesiphon, deliberated on the expediency of investing the place. A Council of the principal Officers being called, it was the opinion of some that it would be a rash and unreasonable attempt to besiege a place almost impregnable, at a time when Sapor was approaching with a numerous army. Julian considered this view of the subject as the most judicious. He felt himself too weak for the undertaking in the absence not only of the King of Armenia, who, studious of his own interests, and distrustful of his Roman ally, whose imperiousness had kindled his indignation, would not proceed into parts remote from his territories, but also of the two Generals, Sebastian and Procopius, who, owing to the want of mutual intelligence, which the independent nature of their authority occasioned, continued to linger in Mesopotamia. He confined his exertions, therefore, to predatory incursions into the rich plains of the vicinity, and made ineffectual trials to provoke by taunts and defiance the inhabitants of Ctesiphon to descend into the open field.

So alarmed was Sapor at the rapid progress of the

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Julian re-
fuses to ne-
gotiate.
June.

He burns
his fleet.

invader, that he despatched an emissary to Hormisdas, who, clasping his knees, conjured him in the most affecting manner to act as a mediator, and to negotiate a Peace for the King on any conditions. Hormisdas hastened to the Emperor, imagining that the intelligence would prove of the most gratifying nature. He had mistaken the character of Julian. Nothing short of entire conquest would satisfy his grasping mind. He refused to listen to any proposition. Fearing, however, lest the knowledge of a refusal, which gave an insight into the extent of his ambitious scheme, should transpire, and check the ardour of his troops, he requested of Hormisdas to send away the minister of Sapor in a secret, unostentatious manner, as if his mission had been merely the visit of a private friend.*

Sensible of his inability to reduce Ctesiphon,† Julian resolved to renege the Tigris; and to proceed to meet the reinforcements which he expected and required. His enthusiasm could have found no spot where on it was more likely to be kindled than the memorable plains of Arbela; where Alexander, the idol of many an ardent and heroic Roman,‡ had laid low the ancient monarchy of Persia. But the rapidity of the river rendered the ascent of the ships, which were drawn along, slow and toilsome. The anticipated succours were still delayed, and the prospect of a tedious march, to terminate in an unprofitable return, exasperated the impatient Emperor. In this indecision an event occurred which affected the whole fortunes of the war. A Persian of high birth, who had determined to stake his life in the cause of his Country, came and delivered himself into the hands of Julian, feigning that he had incurred disgrace in the Persian Court, and sought an asylum in the Roman camp. He was an old man, shrewd and adroit, accompanied by other deserters, fitted, by their cunning, to take subordinate parts in the stratagem which he had devised. His artful tale was woven with pathetic accounts of his misfortunes, with protestations of implacable hatred to his persecutors, and with assurances of his ability, if his counsels were followed, to place Persia in the power of the Romans. He represented the Kingdom as on the verge of ruin; dejection, the presage of an approaching downfall, was universally prevalent, and the Monarch himself was reduced to the greatest alarm. Still, he insidiously added, he will never have reason to entertain any real fear, as long as, shackled by your fleet, you confine yourself to constricting rivers, and enable him to avoid your armics. These are the refuges of indolence, snares which cripple your efforts, superfluities which hang as a dead weight on your courage. Warriors ought to trust only to their swords. While one half of the Roman army, he said, is exhausted in dragging the other, and toiling against the rapid current of the Tigris, the Crown might have been wrested from the brows of Sapor. But it was necessary, he urged, to take provisions for four days, as a Desert was to be passed. He then offered to conduct Julian, by his

guidance, to infallible success, and pledged his head of the truth of his representations. The deep-laid stratagem, suggesting a measure so bold in execution and so grand in its issue, which spared him, moreover, the use of twenty thousand soldiers employed in the fleet, succeeded. Julian suffered himself to be deceived. Prospects of mighty conquests thronged on his inflamed mind, and opened a new vein to ambitious speculations, which already extended to the subjection of India. He forgot the lesson which he himself had taught his soldiers when they entered the country of the wily Persian: "Remember Crassus and Antony."

Hormisdas was too well acquainted with the craft and duplicity of his Countrymen to be so easily deceived. He warned Julian, therefore, against lending a credulous ear to the story of the refugee. But the Emperor, tenacious of his purposes, and flushed with recent victories, was not to be diverted from the adoption of a scheme, the very boldness of which harmonized with his daring spirit. He gave orders that provisions should be taken, not for four, but for twenty days, and that fire should be applied to the fleet. A general murmur followed this extraordinary command. The Romans asked themselves with astonishment whether their own chief were acting in concert with his enemies. The appalling magnitude of the danger suddenly forced itself on his own mind.* He ordered the fire to be extinguished, and the Persian deserters to be examined by the rack. The prime actor in the subtle plot had made his escape: the minor agents, under the sufferings of torture, confessed the deception they had practised. Of the fleet nothing could be saved but twelve barks, which were put aside, to be carried on chariots, and employed in ease of need.†

In this desperate situation, in the heart of a hostile Country, where desert wilds and lofty mountains opposed a barrier almost insuperable to retreat, Julian preserved his usual unmoved composure and firmness. Full of confidence in an army, disengaged and concentrated, he looked forward with sanguine anticipations to the issue of some decisive blow. The fertile plains still afforded abundant sustenance to his troops. But the Persians soon perceived their advantage over the enemy. They destroyed their harvests and pastures; and, sometimes in combined, sometimes in detached

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Distrust

the Roman

* See Liban. *Orat. Parous*, c. 130. &c. Socrat. lib. iii.

† La Bletterie has justly observed that there is here an important chasm in the text of Ammianus, and has endeavoured to reconcile the accounts of other writers. He has been our chief guide. See also Yales. *not. ad Anim. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. 7.*

‡ On the high admiration expressed for Alexander by Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, Severus, and other Roman Emperors, see the note of Spanheim in his translation of the *Cæsar* of Julian. (p. 139.) It was a common tradition that those who carried a portrait of Alexander, engraved on gold or silver, were assisted by it in all their actions.

* On this subject see, besides Ammianus, Liban. *Orat. Parous*. Zosim. lib. iii. Zonar. lib. xiii. Greg. Naz. in *Julian. Orat.* ii. Augustin. *de Civit. Dei*, lib. iv. c. 29. &c. Gibbon says, "There are not wanting some specious and perhaps solid reasons which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis. The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable; and Julian must soon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet against the stream of a rapid river, which in several places was embarrassed by natural or artificial cataracls. The power of sails and oars was insufficient; it became necessary to tow the ships against the current of the river; the strength of twenty thousand soldiers was exhausted in this tedious and meretricious labour; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without achieving any enterprise worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was advisable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could save that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which would suddenly be poured from the gates of Ctesiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we should now admire the conduct as well as the courage of a hero who, by depriving his soldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conquest." *Decline and Fall*, &c. lib. xiv.

† Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. 7.

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bodies, kept up a series of the most harassing attacks. The Romans were soon reduced to the utmost distress. Their provisions were continually diminishing, and the horrors of famine menaced them. The gleam of distant armour gave evidence of the approach of an enemy, against whom they were unable to rush. Discouragement fell upon them, which Julian tried every resource to dispel. He ordered the Persian prisoners to be brought out as a specimen of the adversaries with whom they had to contend. Their tawny or livid bodies, naturally lank and meagre, were now wasted to the bone by long abstinence. "Behold," he cried, pointing with contempt to the skeleton figures which stood before them, "behold the forms which your warriors take for men—mere goats—squalid, deformed, hideous—and, as experience has often proved, cowards, who, before they close hands in battle, cast away their arms, and turn to flight."* But neither the spectacle, nor the speech, could reconcile the Romans to their disastrous situation. A Council was summoned, and long discussions ensued. The army, giving license to its feelings, called loudly to be led back by its former route. But the Emperor strongly resisted the measure, and many joined with him to demonstrate its impracticability. Almost every thing in the immense plain before them was destroyed; the few huts, which still remained, were wholly deserted; snow and melted ice had inundated all the roads, and the swollen torrents already caused the rivers to overflow. It was that season, moreover, in which the oppressive heat drew forth from marshy lands clouds of insects, which in a manner darkened the sky. Indecision prevailed. Victims were butchered, and their entrails consulted; but no guidance could be elicited from their appearances. The necessity of coming to some conclusion, rather than the conviction of the expediency of the scheme, induced the Emperor to fix upon proceeding to Corduene, a small Province, subject to the Romans, in the South of Armenia. The army had just begun to march, at daybreak, when a dark volume of rising dust, the unknown cause of which gave rise to numerous conjectures, made them halt. They stood in battle array, in a circular figure, having made a sort of rampart of bucklers. Thus they remained, ignorant of the cause of this cloud of dust, which grew denser till the evening. Filled with anxiety, they passed the night, without daring to close their eyes. The first rays of the morning discovered after the glittering armour of the King's forces, from which they were separated by a small river. They turned to rush to the conflict; but Julian checked their impatience. A sanguinary encounter, however, took place between the Roman and Persian scouts, which terminated in the discomfiture of the latter.† Moving forward, the army arrived at a place called Hucumbra, where they found, during two days, more than a sufficiency of provisions, and burned what they were unable to transport. The next day the Persians made an abrupt attack on the rear-guard, which would have been

easily destroyed, had not the cavalry immediately perceived and baffled their design.

At length the Persians resolved to try the issue of a regular combat. Their immense army, commanded by two sons of the King and several Nobles of Persia, was drawn up in a place called Marena. The aspect of troops completely locked in iron armour, admirably adjusted to their limbs; their faces hidden by casques, shaped like human visages, which admitted but the smallest apertures for their eyes and nostrils; the spear-men, standing so immovable that they seem rivetted by chains to the spot;‡ near them the archers, dreaded for their destructive skill in the management of the bow; and next, the elephants, scaring with terrible noise the Roman horses, and mounted by riders, ready with drawn knives to destroy the unwieldy animals the moment they became unmanageable; all, says the military narrator,§ presented a scene which it was impossible to view without alarm. Julian ranged his army, with its wings bent in the form of a crescent, and, lest the archers should throw it into confusion, he advanced, when within reach of the arrows, with the utmost rapidity up to the hostile front.¶ The shock was long and bloody. But the Persians, little accustomed to close conflict, at length gave way, discharging in their flight showers of darts, which precluded pursuit. The loss on their side was far more considerable than on that of the Romans, who, fatigued, but revived in spirits, returned to their camp, there to find a very different, but a more dreadful, enemy.

Want of food was now felt in a degree scarcely tolerable. Harvest and pastures had been wasted by fire, and men and cattle were alike reduced to the last extremity. It became necessary to distribute among the lowest ranks of the army the provisions which the Counts and Tribunes had destined for their own use. Alive to the state of suffering which surrounded him, the Emperor claimed no exemption from the hardships and privations of his subjects. In a small tent, he not only contented himself with a scanty portion of the coarsest fare, but, forgetful of his own wants, shared his humble repast with the most indigent.

One night, after a brief interval of light and uneasy sleep, having awakened, according to custom, to indulge in literary composition, for even at this critical season the Soldier never dropped the character of Sage, while his attention was profoundly absorbed by some Philosophical subject,—a moment, it may be remarked, when the mind is most open to superstitious influences,—he imagined he saw (as he related to his friends) the same Genius of the Empire, whom he declared to have appeared to him previously to his assumption of the title of Augustus.‡ The phantom was now changed. Its head

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Battle of
BlasengaWant of
provisions.Julian's
vision.

* *Para contra dimicantura stant immobilis, ut retinendis arsis a seom existimare.* Id. lib. xxv. c. 1.

† Ammian. lib. xxv. c. 1. They imitated the speedy manner of killing them followed by Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, and thus described by Livy: *Elephantis plures ab ipis rectoribus, quam ab hoste interfecti. Fabrici scalprum cum molle habebant: id, ubi aere bellum ac rursus in sua corpora, magister inter aurum posuim ipso in compage, quod jungitur capiti cervix, quanto maxime poterat ictu adigebat. Ea celerissima via mortis in tanta mole bellum invertit erat, ubi regendi spes vicissit; primusque id Hasdrubal instituit.*—Id. lib. xxvii. c. 49.

‡ *Illius concitiosis signis speculorum impetum fregit.* The same manoeuvre had been adopted by Miltiades at the battle of Marathon. (Herod. lib. vi. c. 112.) So also Ventidius against the Parthians. (Frontin. lib. ii. c. 2.)

§ See above, p. 182.

* *Hæc ob res ut solaretur anxios milites Princeps, captivos graviores subpreto naturæ, ut pensæ sunt Persæ, et macie jam confectos jussit in medium duci: postroque respiciens, "Ecce," inquit, "quos Martia ista pectora viros existimant, difforma siliæ capellæ et tætræ, siquæ credi decuerant cœlestis, antequam manus conferant, objecta armis eriscentes animi in fœnem." Ammian. lib. xxiv. c. 7.*

A similar expedient was tried by Agessilus. See Plutarch in Agessilus.

† Ammian. lib. xxiv.

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and its horn of abundance were covered with a veil, and it retired with an air of melancholy from the Imperial pavilion.* Recovering from a momentary impression of amazement, he arose, and offered to Heaven his midnight sacrifice to avert the impending misfortune. While performing this rite, he beheld a furrow of light, which, like a falling meteor, traversed the air and vanished. His excited imagination, gathering the most sinister presages from this phenomenon, viewed in it the menacing constellation of Mars.† Before dawn, Julian, in the greatest haste, sent for the Tuscan haruspices, who, having declared that the fatal sign had warned him against undertaking any enterprise, conjured him, if not to abandon, at least to postpone, his march. Heedless of advice, which his active temperament must have found unpalatable, and the existing emergency might have rendered dangerous, he ordered his tents to be struck as soon as day appeared.

The Persians, taught by frequent disasters that they were but an unequal match with the more practised troops of the Romans in regular conflict, contented themselves with the devices of stratagem, in which their proverbial subtlety was more likely to ensure them success. Keeping to their heights, they watched and followed the advancing enemy, ready to take advantage of any opportunity of successful annoyance which might arise.

Retreat of the Romans.

The Romans were moving onward in columns, which, owing to the nature of the ground, were not closely serried, but still were well protected in flank; and Julian, who through unwaryness, or perhaps over-confidence, remained unarmed, was in front, reconnoitring the country through which their march was to be held, when sudden information arrived that the rear of the army was attacked. On the spur of the moment, without stopping to put on his armour, he hastily snatched his buckler, and flew to the scene of disorder. While thus engaged, he was recalled by the embarrassing intelligence, that the vanguard was equally assailed. As he hastened with unabated activity to stay the evil in all directions, a body of Persian cavalry, sheathed in complete armour, poured upon the centre, and stretching themselves to the left wing, which had begun to bend back, dealt merciless havoc among the Roman bands, who were unable to sustain the appalling noise and onset of their elephants. But the presence of their great Commander, reckless of perils, throwing himself into the thickest ranks, produced an instantaneous effect on the infantry, and they rallied with a bold and successful charge. The Emperor, waving his hands, pointed out the flying enemy to his troops, urged them on with an animating cry to the pursuit, and mingled with headlong ardour in the fray. His guards admonished him against exposing himself thus rashly to a throng, most formidable in flight,‡ Just then a javelin, shot by some unknown hand,§ grazed against his arm, and, entering his side, remained fixed in his liver. After mangleing his fingers in useless efforts to tear out the double-

Julian is wounded.

edged weapon, he fell from his horse, and was carried by his followers into the tent. No sooner was the wound probed, than gradually recovering from the pain, he called for his horse and arms, to return to the field and to restore the courage of his men. But his strength, ill responsive to the mighty spirit that yearned for the onslaught, forsook him, and, exhausted with loss of blood, he found himself unable to move his limbs.

The sight of Julian, the idol of the army, borne back bleeding to the camp, filled the soldiers with the liveliest emotions of grief mingled with revenge. Striking their spears upon their bucklers, they resolved to inflict signal punishment on the authors of their distress. Chiefless,—blinded with clouds of dust,—oppressed by the excessive heat,—they fought with the frantic courage of desperation. The Persians, on the other hand, slowly preceded by their elephants, which alarmed both men and horses by their enormous masses and waving trunks, rendered themselves almost invisible by the dense showers of arrows which they discharged. The clash of arms, the snorting of steeds, and the groans of the wounded, continued, says the narrator,* to be heard afar, till night put an end to the conflict and separated the two parties, wearied out with fatigue and sated with vengeance. Fifty Lords and Satraps, with two principal Generals and a great number of inferior rank, among the Persians, left dead on the field, attested the relentless ferocity of the struggle.

Credulous to the last, Julian did not consider his wound as mortal, because, according to his account, it was foretold by an Oracle that he would close his days in Phrygia, which he understood to mean the Province of Asia Minor, which bears that name. But on learning that the spot on which he lay was so called, he became sensible that all hopes of life must be resigned.

His friends then assembled in his tent round the dying Chieftain, with looks in which the deepest dejection was impressed. Julian, stretched on a lion's skin, his customary couch, alone betrayed no symptom of weakness. "The time is arrived, my beloved friends," he said, "when I am summoned, though at an early season, to depart from life. The loan, which Nature redemands, I return with all the cheerfulness of a faithful debtor, and not, as some might imagine, with reluctant sorrow. Taught by Philosophy the surpassing excellence of the Soul over the body, I find more reason to rejoice than to repine at the emancipation of the nobler from the baser substance. I likewise reflect that the Gods have often sent death as the highest recompense of piety. I reckon it as a blessing which has prevented me from fainting under the pressure of difficulties, and from committing any action unworthy of myself. I have observed of all pains, that as they triumph over the weak and impatient, so they yield to those who resist them with perseverance and courage. I die without remorse. I am not stung with the recollection of having fallen into any heinous crime, either in the obscurity of early life or since the assumption of the Purple. I have regarded the Imperial authority as an emanation from the Gods, which I trust I have preserved pure and unsullied, by governing my People with moderation, and avoiding to embark in war without mature deliberation. If my efforts have not always been successful, it is

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The battle terminates doubtfully.

* Ammian. lib. xxv. c. 2.

† See above, p. 203.

‡ *Chen aux fers d'ivoire combattre.* Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains.* See Jondot, *Hist. de Julien*, p. 312.§ A rumour was spread that he had been slain by the Romans themselves. (Ammian. lib. xxv. c. 1.) The Christians are charged, without any appearance of reason, as having instigated his assassination. Liban. *De Ultracend. Julian. nec.* c. 13. See Gibbon, *Dreadful and Fall*, &c. ch. xxiv.

* Ammian. lib. xxv. c. 3.

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because success is at the disposal of a higher power. Convinced that the interest and happiness of his subjects ought to form the sole object of a good Prince, I have always, as you know, leaned to tranquil and pacific views,* and I have banished from my conduct that licentiousness which is destructive alike of the Moral Principles and of the prosperity of States. But whenever the Republic, whom I venerate as a mother, has called me to open dangers, I have encountered them with the firmness of one accustomed to trample under foot the varied accidents of fortune. I will not conceal from you that it had been predicted to me that I should fall by a violent death. I offer thanks to the Everlasting Deity that I do not terminate my days through secret treason, or by the protracted torture of disease, or after the manner of condemned criminals;† but that I have earned a great and glorious end in the mid-career of brilliant achievements. In the opinion of all just judges, it is equally pusillanimous to long for death when it behoves us to live, or to regret life when it is time to die. My failing strength prevents me from speaking longer. I purposely abstain from naming my successor. My choice might be erroneous, and if rejected, it might perhaps expose to peril the person to whom it pointed. But as a faithful son of the Republic, I hope she may obtain after my death a virtuous ruler.‡

Having thus spoken in the most composed manner, he ordered that his body should be removed to Tarsus in Cilicia, and distributed his private property among his most intimate friends. On learning the death of one of these, Anatolius, whom he had desired to see, he gave way to his affliction. Yet the same man had forbidden lamentations for himself, remarking to the melancholy circle by which he was surrounded, that it

was but weak and abject to grieve over a Prince who was about to be united to the Heavens.* While they strove to stifle their emotions, he entered into a subtle dispute with Maximus† and Priscus, the Philosophers, on the excellence of the Soul. But, as his wound reopened and the inflammation increased, his breathing became embarrassed. He called for a draught of cold water, and had no sooner drunk it, than, about the middle of the night, he expired without pain.‡

He was then in the thirty-second year of his age, having reigned seven years and a half from his elevation to the dignity of *Cæsar*, three years since his assumption of the title of *Augustus*, and one year, eight months, and twenty-one days since he had enjoyed the undisturbed possession of supreme power.

Thus perished, in the vigour of his age, after a brief but eventful reign, one of the only Princes who appeared capable, by the rare endowments which the vicissitudes of his checkered life developed, to call again into existence the ancient discipline of Rome, and to maintain the character of the Empire on the precarious elevation which it had reached. It has been justly remarked that his last moments were a copy of the death of Socrates, but without the ease and natural simplicity of the original. There is, indeed, in the whole scene a certain self-complacent, theatrical air, not very consonant with true greatness. It does not bear the gentle character of resignation. It exhibits itself too ambitiously by a studied display of phrases. And the visible effort to produce, as it were, the striking and the sublime of some grand catastrophe, tends to deprive the situation of the essential qualities of earnestness and solemnity.

In person Julian was of the middle size, but of a robust make, and thoroughly well-proportioned frame. His eyes were full of fire, and his eyebrows handsome. His hair

was peculiarly smooth; his beard long, and terminated in a point. His nose was straight; his mouth rather large, and his under lip hanging.§ His neck short and bent; his shoulders thick and broad; and his countenance neither regular nor remarkable for beauty.|| His public life was one unremitting struggle against the degenerate habits of the Age, by the fatal influence of which the sinews of Roman greatness were gradually unstrung. Combining the utmost ability with heroic

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His death,
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Remarks.

* The insincerity of this assertion is obvious. *Latus amicitiarum et prælia.* (Amian. lib. xxi.)

† *Philosophorum fides.* Florent. MS. The common reading "*delectatorum*" is not inconsistent with the character of Julian.

‡ As a specimen of the style of Ammianus, the original speech is subjoined: *Advenit, a vobis, nunc abunde tempus et vult improbatum tempestivum, quem repocant Naturæ, ut debitor bonæ fidei, redditorum exsolvo: non, ut quisquam opinatur, adflicto et marcoris: Phidolophorum sententiâ generalis productus, quantum corpore sit beatorum, et contemplans, quædam cunctis melior a deorum recreatur, defendenda esse potius, quam deditum. Illud quippe advenit, quod exiit. Dni cælestis quodvisque passus mortem tanquam munus præstitit: perrevertit. Abnuus autem id vultu delatam optimè oro, ne difficultatibus succubantem ordini, neve meo præcipuum unquam aut prostratum: expertus, quod dolores omnes, ut insulset ignavis, ita præstitit: cedunt. Nec me gestorum pariter, aut gravis flagiti recalcitra stringit, vel cum in umbra et angulis amandare, vel post principatum interceptum: quem tanquam a cognatione cæcidit decessit, immortalius (et existim) concurrens, et cælestis moderatur regna, et cælestia virtutibus bella inferens et repellens: laetitia prosperitas simul utilitatem consiliorum non ubique concordant, quantum exceptum eorum aspectu nobis evincunt potestates. Reptant autem, jussu esse finem imperii, obediunt commodata et salutem, ad tranquillitatem erumpit, ut solitis, proprior fuit, licentiam omnia actibus suis exterrimentis, verum corrupticulis et marcoris: quævisque, adeo secuta, quod, utinamque ne vellet impetiosa parvas commiserat periculis elapsis republicis, atque fundatis, turbatis calare formidantem adflicto. Nec fateri quidlibet, interitum me ferro dedit didicisti fatidici præcavisse. Ideoque emptorem venor nunc, quod non clauduntur insidias, nec longi morborum expectatæ, vel damnatorem fide decedo: sed in medio curam florentium gloriarum hinc merui clarem et mundo digressum. Ego autem judicio, jussu traditus est et ignavis, qui, cum non oportet, non decedat: et qui refugit, cum non oportuit. Hocetiam legi eorum virtutibus affligit. Super imperatore verò creandum cuncti retro, ne per improbitatem dignum se præstent: et non committunt, quem habere reor, antequam fortissimè alio in discrimine ultimum traham. Ut alumnus autem respiciat fragi, opto hominem post me reperi rectorum. (ib. xxv. c. 3.)*

§ *Munus esse cælo sideribusque consuetum lugeri Principem dicere.* (Amian.)

¶ This Philosopher, who had first inspired Julian with aversion for Christianity, had been invited to Court by him, and received with marks of esteem, which Libanius has praised highly, (*Orat. vi.*) but which Ammianus thought below the Imperial dignity. (Amian. lib. xxi.) He was so haughty as to be less easy of access than the Emperor himself. (Rusap. c. 5.) Julian's "whole Court," says Dr. Bentley, "in a manner consisted of Haruspices, Sacrificers, and Philosophers." Remarks on a late Discourse on Free-thinking. Comp. Encyclopædia, p. 115, note.

|| The above account rests on the testimony of the honest and well-informed Ammianus, with which the tales which are added by Christian writers seem inconsistent. It is pretended, that when Julian felt himself wounded, imagining he saw Jesus Christ, he filled his hand with blood, and cast it towards heaven with the blasphemous exclamation: "Glut thyself. Thou hast conquered, Galilee, but I still renounce thee." &c. See Theodor. lib. iii. c. 20. Sotom. lib. vi. c. 2. See the different reports of his death in Le Beau, *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, tom. iii. p. 374.

§ *Labor inferare deinceps, al. diris.* It was, probably, the pouring lip, like that of the Imperial family of Austria. See Valerius and Wagner, *in loc.*

|| Amian. lib. xxv. c. 4. Comp. *Misp.* See also Greg. Nazian. in Julian, *Orat. ii.*

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courage, he displayed the various qualifications of a consummate military commander in the conduct of sieges, the disposition of marches, and the management of encampments, than by the skillfulness of his plans, the fertility of his evolutions, and the boldness of his attempts in the field of battle. The terror of his arms continued long after the blows which he had inflicted were past; and the rugged Tribes, which he had quelled into submission, remained tranquil until his death. Possessing that double art which both inspires affection and enforces authority, he contrived to induce his troops, even without pay, to encounter the fiercest adversaries; and he succeeded in leading on bands of men, long accustomed and devotedly attached to the bleak regions of Gaul, into distant Countries of vast extent, through the burning plains of Assyria to the very frontiers of Media. So singular, indeed, was the ascendancy which he had acquired, that the mere threat of retiring into private life was sufficient, as it were, to silence the murmurs of the discontented. His well-built frame, hardened by long practice, enabled him to brave the severest changes of climate and to sustain the most harassing fatigues. Requiring but little sleep or sustenance, he divided the period which others lost in rest, between the duties of personal vigilance and the pursuits of literary composition. Of the less brilliant, but far more solid, qualities which constitute true greatness, his love of justice and moderation, with a few disgraceful exceptions, have appeared in the course of his History. The greater part of his time, when at Antioch, was devoted to judicial proceedings. Though he was apt during Trials to put irrelevant questions respecting the Sect to which the parties before the Court belonged, his decisions are said to have been free from the bias of religious prejudice. They were generally marked by precision, though sometimes grounded rather on natural equity than on established Law. Taught by experience the odious nature of calumny, he was slow to attend to the charges of informers; and he displayed the most dignified contempt for points to which weak and unjust Princes would have attached considerable weight. He rejected accusations, even when directed against men for whom he entertained a personal dislike. Yet the impartial Historian has stated as a circumstance which but ill accords with his character for equity, that in his reign, persons who complained against Magistrates, however distinguished might be their own privileges, connections, and services, seldom obtained the redress they deserved, and found themselves compelled to purchase by secret bribes exemption from annoyance. His chastity,* a virtue which he considered as shedding as fair a lustre on the mind as beauty confers on the body, was not, even in the ardour of youth, exposed to the slightest suspicion from his most intimate followers. When in Assyria, a Country no less remarkable for the seductive beauty than for the plant morals of the female sex,† he preserved unimpeached the character of Stoical indifference by which he was distinguished, and refused even to venture on the sight of the fair captives whom the chances of war had placed in his possession.‡

* Nameri, in *Panegyrr. Fel. Liban. Orat. Parent.* c. 88. *Recolat septem dictum Legeri Baccylidus, quem legemque juvenis, id advenit, quod ut egressus pictor cultum speciosum effugit, in pudici crimine consurgens vitam exornat.* Ammian. lib. xiv. c. 4.

† Quint. Curt. lib. v. &c.

‡ Ammian. lib. xiv. c. 4.

In a word,* had his virtues, flowing in a more natural and equable course from genuine feeling, depended less on the forced and fiftful suggestions of artificial self-schooling; had a proper sense of dignity imparted the minor attributes of grace to his demeanour, and true magnanimity enhanced the splendour of his exploits, by withdrawing from them all appearance of vanity and ostentation; and, above all, had right views of Religion inspired a more just and benign, as well as more rational, spirit, to his policy and conduct; his name, uniting the military fame of Alexander with the virtuous reputation of Marcus Aurelius, the two objects of his imitation,‡ would have shone among the most illustrious in the annals of History.§

His body was transported to Tarsus, and buried near that city. His monument, rising on the banks of the Cydnus, was regarded by the Pagans as a Temple, and here engraven on it the following simple distich:

Julian, having passed the rapid-rolling Tigris, lies here.
He united the qualities of a good Prince and a brave warrior. ||

* Thomas, after having shown the difference between the character of Julian and that of Marcus Aurelius, whom he affected to imitate, justly observes: *Non extrinsecus erat simple, non caractere se tenebat pas. Ses discours, ses actions avoient de l'appareil et sembloient avorter qu'il étoit grand. Suiviez-le; sa passion pour la gloire perce partout. Il lui fait un théâtre et des battements de mains. Il s'indigne qu'on ne les applaudit. Il se venge, il est vrai, plus en homme d'esprit qu'en prince irrité qui commandoit à cent mille hommes; mais il se venge. Il court à la renommée; il l'appelle. Il flatte pour être flatté. Il veut être tout à la fois Platon, Marc-Aurèle, et Alexandre.* (Essai sur les Eloges, ch. xx.)

† His character, as drawn by Prudentius, is well known:

— Ductor fortissimus armis;
Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manique
Consultor patrum; sed non consultor habenda
Religionis; amans tercentum milia Divum.
Perfidus ille Deo, sed non et perfidus Orbi.

Apolthea. 450, &c.

Ammianus has thus candidly mentioned his defects: *Leviora ingemis: verum hoc instituto cretissimo temperat, emendari se, cum deviare et fruge boni, permittens. Lingue fenerator et admodum raro silentis: paragonum succulentio minus doctus, ut equiparare videretur in hie parte principum Hadrianus: superstitiosus magis, quam sacrorum legimus observator, innumeris sine parsimoniam pecunia macians: ut estimaretur, si revertenti de Persia, bona jam defuturos: Marci illius similes Casaria, in quem id accipimus dictum, O' λυκοί βίαι Μάχης υψ' Καίσαρος. Λύ ούκ ούρα, λυκοί άσπλκλκλκ. Fulgi plausibus laus, laudem clamor ex minimis rebus intemperans adpetitor, popularitatis cupiditate cum indignis loqui sepe adflectans, &c.* (lib. xiv.)

‡ Comp. Julian. Ep. ad Theonist.

§ In this account of Julian, besides the original text of Ammianus, we have chiefly followed the elegant Work of La Bièvre, *Vie de Julien*. Additional information may be found in Jondot, *Histoire de l'Empereur Julien*, 2 vols. Paris, 1817. This latter Work, though it contains many just strictures on the conduct of the Emperor, is for the most part written in a vein of declamatory detraction. The author is fond of drawing a parallel in his Notes between the Russian expedition of Bonaparte and the Persian war of Julian. M. Jondot has likewise given an account of Julian in the *Biographie Universelle*, tom. xxii. Heyler mentions the following Work also on the subject of Julian, *Ueber den Kaiser Julianus und sein Zeitalter. Ein historisches Gemälde*, von A. Neander. Leipz. 1812.

|| ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΙΤΙΝ ΑΓΑΠΠΟΝ ΕΝΘΑΕΣ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΒΑΧΙΑΕΤΣ Τ' ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΤ' ΑΙΧΜΗΤΗΣ. Ζωσμιμος.

Cedrenus says: Τὸ ἄνθρωπον εὐρα ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀνδρείον, ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχυρῷ καὶ ἀνδρείῳ, ΚΥΑΝΟ ΕἶΠ' ΑΥΤΡΟΠΟΝ, ΑἶΠ' ΕΥΤΡΟΠΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΑΟ ΕΚ ΓΑΙΗΣ ΑΤΡΑΕΤΗΤΗΤΟ ΕΙΠ' ΕΥΤΟ ΚΙΝΗΑΙΟ ΚΡΑΤΙΑΝ, ΤΟΑΕ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟ ΑΛΛΕ ΧΗΜΑ, ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΒΑΧΙΑΕΤΣ Τ' ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΤ' ΑΙΧΜΗΤΗΣ. See Hudenbrug. not. in Ann. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. 10.

Julianus

From
A. D.
361.
to
A. D.
363.

PIED A. D. 270.

POTAMO.....	FLOURISHED TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF THE II ^d CENTURY.
ANMONIUS SACCAS	DIED POSTEA A. D. 243.
DIONYSIUS LONGINUS	DIED A. D. 273.
PORPHYRY.....	BORN A. D. 233. DIED A. D. 304.
JAMBLICUS	DIED CIRCAIT A. D. 363.
HIEROCLES.....	FLOURISHED CIRCAIT A. D. 485.
PROCLUS.....	BORN A. D. 412. DIED A. D. 485.

28

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History. to judge of his method of reasoning* which probably was not attended with distinguished success, but it appears not from it that he made Platonism the basis of his new scheme.

Ammonius Saccas. The first Philosopher of importance who attempted a regular combination of the various elements of the different Schools, especially the Platonic, was Ammonius, surnamed Saccas, who lived about the commencement of the III^d century. According to Porphyry, he passed from Christianity, in which he had been educated, to Paganism: according to Eusebius he was converted from Paganism to Christianity. The contradiction may perhaps be correctly solved by supposing that the latter alludes to another Ammonius, who wrote a Harmony of the Gospels. From a fragment of Hierocles, preserved by Photius, it appears that Ammonius Saccas, disgusted with the scandal brought upon Philosophy by the acrimonious disputes which existed among the Platonists, Aristotelians, and others, and which had even led them to corrupt the writings of their great masters, attempted, by the rejection of certain superfluous parts, to demonstrate that, in the main, the doctrines of Plato were in harmony with those of Aristotle. He had some eminent disciples, in which number are reckoned Herennius, Origen, Longinus, and Plotinus.

Herennius Origen. Of Herennius, nothing is known. Origen is, probably, not the same who acquired so distinguished a name in Ecclesiastical History.

Longinus Dionysius Longinus, † a native of Emesa, in Syria, is known to posterity, not in consequence of his Philosophical opinions, of which we have scarcely any extant memorials, but through his celebrated *Work On the Sublime*; which, occasionally fired with all the enthusiasm which the finished models of better days would naturally excite in a high and noble spirit, continues to charm and to instruct the great educated mass, while the barren speculations of his Platonic contemporary, who refused to concede to him the title of Philosopher, ‡ are confined to the closets of a few learned and meditative men.

A. D. 278. His private history, too, is of a nature which interests our common feelings in a high degree. After having studied under the most distinguished masters, and visited the most noted seats of literature, and acquired so extensive a fame by the profundity of his erudition, as to be called the Living Library, he fell a victim to the fury of the Roman soldiery, at the downfall, and, perhaps, by the ingratitude, of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, whom he had assisted by his instructions and defended by his counsels. From the slight shreds still remaining of his Philosophical Works, it is gratifying to perceive that he rejected the sophistical hypotheses, which had transferred the properties of Matter to the operations of Spirit, and had resolved all mental phenomena into the effects of mere Mechanical action.

Plotinus. But, undoubtedly, in Philosophical History, the most celebrated follower of Ammonius was Plotinus, from whom, as having completed the Eclectic system, that School afterwards took its name. He was born at Lycopolis,

Plotinus in Egypt, * in the year 205. His family is not known, and the events of his early life are involved in obscurity. After having finished his Grammatical studies at Alexandria, in his twenty-eighth year, he felt anxious to attend Philosophical Lectures, but the mixture of collateral knowledge on literary subjects, which entered into their composition, dissatisfied and saddened his mind, which yearned for pure Metaphysical speculations. The method of Ammonius was far more congenial to his turn for mysticism; and the instant he heard that Philosopher, he declared that he was the man whom he sought, and he continued to receive his instructions eleven years. The praises which this preceptor had lavished on the transcendental wisdom of the Magi and Brahmins, filled him with an ardent desire of visiting the East; and he availed himself of the opportunity of gratifying it which was presented by the expedition of Gordian against the Persians. But, in consequence of the disastrous death of that Emperor, he was forced to save himself by flight to Antioch, whence he proceeded to Rome. Here he observed for some time the secrecy which Ammonius had enjoined respecting the esoteric portion of his lessons; but, on learning that it had been violated by his fellow-pupils, Herennius and Origen, he considered himself released from all scruples on the subject. His Lectures, during ten years, were only orally delivered; but afterwards he committed parts of his precepts to writing, and communicated them to persons whose judgment he respected. At length the accession of Porphyry to the number of his disciples, induced him to write some Works, in order to explain with greater accuracy the difficulties which occasionally arose. During the six years that Porphyry studied under him, he wrote four and twenty Books; before that disciple's arrival, he composed twenty-one; and after his departure, nine. The different ages at which they were written have been, perhaps, fancifully, marked by the different Style of these several parts—before it reached, when it fully possessed, and after it had passed its mature strength. His mind was trained to the difficult task of going through the plan or composition of a whole Work with so much accuracy, that his sentences, when delivered, required no alteration, and casual interruptions were not known to disturb the thread of his meditations. To the badness of his hand-writing, the incorrectness of his orthography, and more especially the neglect of revision on his part, may perhaps be ascribed in some degree the confusion which is still complained of in his Works, notwithstanding the corrections of Porphyry.

Though the Lectures of Plotinus were of too abstruse a nature to become very popular, they were attended by Romans of Senatorial rank, and proved sufficiently powerful to induce some to resign their magisterial duties in order to indulge in a Philosophic life. So deep was the respect which was entertained for his integrity, that numerous lawsuits were referred to his arbitration, and many persons on their death-beds intrusted him with the guardianship of their children. The Emperor

* See, however, Diderot, *Œuvres*, tom. II. pl. I. p. 402. See, also, Gluckner, *Diæri, de Potamon. Alexandrini Philosophi*. Leipzig, 1745, in 4to.

† Called Cassius Longinus in Phot. *Lxx. v. Xepu*. See also *Suid. v. Arystius*. In a recent Treatise, entitled *Remarks on the supposed Dionysius Longinus*, the author attempts to show that the *Work On the Sublime* was written in the Augustan Age.

‡ *ὁλόκληρος πᾶς ὁ Ἀργύριος, φιλοσοφῶν ἐν σιδήρῳ*.

* Eunap. in *Plotin*. Plotinus himself would not tell the place of his birth, or his family. On the same principle—contempt for his body—he refused to have his picture painted. "As if forsooth it were not enough," he said to Amelios, "to carry the image, in which Nature has enclosed us; you think we should transmit to posterity, as a sight worthy of its attention, the image of an image?" And from the same cause, perhaps, he observed great abstemiousness, avoiding the flesh even of tame animals, and abstaining from baths. (*Porphyry de Plotino*.)

History.

His intend-
ed Platono-
pols, or Phi-
losophical
essay.

Gallienus and the Empress Salonina paid him marked regard; and it is attributed to the opposition of malevolent courtiers, that he was unsuccessful in his plan to have a city in Campania rebuilt, to be peopled by Philosophers, and governed by the laws of Plato's ideal Commonwealth. Various illnesses and infirmities, occasioned perhaps by his neglect of his health, filled with pain his latter days. When he felt his end drawing nigh, he said, in the language of his Philosophy, "I strive to return the Divine Principle within me to the Divine Being who animates the Universe." He died in the year 270, in his sixty-sixth year.*

Longinus acknowledged that he could not understand many of the subjects treated of by Plotinus, but that he loved beyond measure and venerated his manner of writing, the variety of his knowledge, and the Philosophical arrangement of his questions.[†] His mind, naturally ardent and enthusiastic, appears to have been deeply tinged with fanaticism; and his ecstatic contemplations, or pretended visions of the Supreme Being, bear a resemblance to the wild extravagances of modern mystics. To express the most profound contempt for the corporeal prison in which the Soul, an emanation from the Divine Nature, is confined, and to aspire by a high degree of mental elevation and illumination to an union with the God who fills the Universe, seems not to have been entirely peculiar to the latter Platonists. "In all Ages," as Locke remarks, "men, in whom melancholy has mixed with devotion, or whose conceit of themselves has raised them into an opinion of a greater familiarity with God, and a nearer admittance to His favour than is afforded to others, have often flattered themselves with a persuasion of an immediate intercourse with the Deity, and frequent communications from the Divine Spirit."[‡]

Surreption
 of the Pio-
 tian
 School.
 Amicus.
 A. D.
 246.

The Plotinian school was propagated by many eminent men. Amelius, (whose true name was Gentilianus) a Tuscan, in the year 246, embraced the principles, and drew up in writing some of the instructions of Plotinus. One of the books which he wrote was to show the difference between the doctrine of Numenius and that of Plotinus, in answer to the accusation brought against the latter of having borrowed from the former. But the most distinguished of its members was Porphyry, a Co-

Paraphery.

* *Πόρφυρος συγγράμματα τὰ ἐν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνδράνων πνεύματι τὸ ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς ψυχῆς.*—(Porphyry, *Vit. Plotin.*) The *Life of Plotinus* by Porphyry gives an account of his familiar spirit, and represents him as possessed of miraculous powers. See Bayle, *Dict. Hist.*

Ap. Porphyry. Vita Plotini. The only Latin translation of Plotinus is that of that of Marsil. Ficinus. The first Greek and Latin edition is that of P. Perna. (1580) A complete critical edition of his Works, which is much wanted, has been undertaken by the learned Fred. Creuzer, Professor at Heidelberg, who has already published an edition of the book *De Pulchro*, with a revised translation, notes, and a commentary.

‡ *Essay on the Human Understanding*, book iv. c. 19.

St. Jérôme call him Bataros. Ce mot a fort tourné et les interprètes. S'agit-il de Bétra ou Baan en Palestine, comme le suppose Baroniis? Faut-il voir dans Bataros une altération de Balasava, Bithynien; ou de Balasera, ecclésiast.; ou de Balasérius, curateur, affranchi; ou de Boraseni, nouveau d'Herbe, selon le régime de Porphyrus, ou bien l'épave de mancus Baltus, et d'expression grecque Βαλταρος, qui se trouve dans la Géographie d'Anonyme? En cette dernière hypothèse, proposée par Gouding, ni les précédentes imaginations par Sirmond, Holstenius, Tausenq Lefebvre, Humann, etc. ne nous semblent aussi plausibles; et nous trouvons une explication plus immédiate du terme employé par Saint Jérôme, dans ce que dit Étienne de Byzance, d'un bourg de Syrie, appelé Batana, et depuis d'une colonie Tyrienne; il ne pourroit que, soit en ce sens, ou sous un autre, servir, pour se reconnaître, ce nom de Tyrén, et que Saint Jérôme l'en replacé dans son bonroy naïf. (Diog. Vind. art. Porphyre.)

in Syrian, Malchus,) a Tyrian, born in the year 233, in the reign of Alexander Severus. His early education was first directed by a Christian preceptor, Origen, and afterwards in Athens by Longinus, to which latter Philosopher we may, perhaps, in a great measure ascribe the elegance of his style, the extent of his learning,* and his adoption of the opinions of Plotinus, of whom we find him a disciple in Rome, about his thirtieth year. His attainments recommended him to the especial favour of his master, whose tenets he defended and explained, and whose writings he revised and corrected. The morbid turn of mind, in which he indulged, may be inferred from the circumstance which he relates, that Plotinus deterred him from a resolution which he had taken, in his thirty-sixth year, of releasing himself from the burthen of life. After the death of Plotinus, Porphyry, who had passed from Rome to Sicily, appeared as one of the most determined and formidable enemies of Christianity, against which he wrote fifteen different Treatises, of which, as they were destroyed by the Emperor Theodosius, we have extant only such fragments as remain in Ecclesiastical writers. He was attacked with great zeal, particularly by Methodius, Apollinarius, and Eusebius. On his return to Rome, Porphyry publicly taught the tenets of his master, and pretended to have received Divine communications, with a confidence which is only to be ascribed to enthusiastical illusion, not unaccompanied, perhaps, with imposture. He died about the year 304, towards the end of Dioclesian's reign.†

The most distinguished disciple of Porphyry was

* His learning was acknowledged. *Doctissimus philosophorum Porphyrius, quamvis Christianorum acerrimus inimicus.* (S. August. de Civ. Dei. xix. 22. Comp. Euseb. Præp. Evang. V. 14. Sec.)

The life of Porphyry was written by Eusebius, viz. in modern times, by Lucas Holstenius, in his edition of Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*. Of the Works of Porphyry, (many of which are lost,) his *Traité de Abstinence ou des Animaux*; *De Vita Pythagorica*; *Sententia ad Intellectibus ducentes*; *De Astro Nympharum*, with a fragment *De Syggy*, found in Stolmas, were printed at Cambray, 1629, by Conrad Rittershusius, in 1610; by J. Donatus, 1629; and by Lucas Holstenius, in 1630. It was afterwards published by Kuster, at Amsterdam, in 1767, and also by M. Theophr. Reimling, together with that written by Jacobus. The *Traité ou Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals*, is one of the best. The *De Vita Pythagorica* is a curious treatise, in which the author is supposed at least by those who aspire to a perfect life, as soliciting too strongly the senses; he treats of the origin and object of sacrifices, to answer the objection drawn from the immolation of animals; he maintains that animals are gifted with reason, and entitled to the same justice which is exercised by men one to another; and finally he collects authorities, drawn from the examples of persons who have lived in the most perfect manner, to favour his conclusion by an authority not to be controverted. (See the Abbé Ricard, *Œuvres Morales de Plutarque*, tom. xiii. *Scuoli, Hist. de la Littérature Grecque*, tom. v.) The best edition is that of J. de Hebrae, (Utrecht, 1767, in 4to.) It has been joined in one volume to the edition of the *Works on the Cave of the Nymphs*, which had been published in 1765, by R. M. Van Goen. The *De Vita Pythagorica* was translated into French by J. de Hebrae, which belonged to a large Work on the *Isis*, was published by J. Leclerc, at Rome, in 1518; by And. d'Asola, in 1521; by J. Bedout, in 1539; and are to be found in the editions of Homer by J. Camerarius and Miculus (Basle, 1541, 1543, and 1551) and J. Barnes, (Cambridge, 1714.) His Work *On Poverty* was published by Villouson, (*Anecdota Græcæ*, vol. ii. p. 103.) The piece *Hæti in Arcia pascuntur*, on the subject of the *Isis*, was translated into French by M. de la Motte, his wife, were first published by M. Aug. Maius, (Milan, 1816, in 8vo.) and have been repeated with critical remarks in the Gœtting Collection of J. C. Orelli, vol. i. See also some remarks on the *Letter to Marcella* by Raoul-Rochette in the *Journal des Savans*, April, 1817. For an account of his other extant Works, and his Treatise on the *Intelligence of Aristotle*, see Falsenius, *Hist. Græcæ*; Schæffli, *Hist. Græcæ*, tom. v.; and his Life by M. de la Motte in the *Biog. Univ.* 1828, XXXI.

Plotinus.

History. Jamblicus, of Chalcis, in Cælo-Syria. He taught* the Plotinian theories, if with less eloquence and learning, with even greater celebrity and success. Not content with the aim of his enthusiastic predecessor to elevate the mind to an ecstatic intuition of the Divinity, he laid claim to Theurgic powers, pretending by certain forms and ceremonies to call down and command the assistance of supernatural Beings. The fame of his miracles was so great, that he acquired the name of Wonderful and Divine Teacher. His character seems to us more liable to the charge of studied imposture than of overheated fanaticism. But we are aware how unsafe it is to judge by the cold rules of ordinary life the conduct of such men as are born with intensely ardent imaginations, and with a sensibility more tremblingly alive to the varied impulses of Nature, and it may be, not untinged with hypochondriacal gloom.

His writings, though they evince much reading and throw light on the Alexandrian School, are destitute of clearness, method, and originality.†

Though the time and place of the death of Jamblicus are not known, it probably preceded that of Constantine, and may have taken place about the year 363.

Under Con- The Neo-Platonic School, though widely spread, naturally suffered a considerable diminution of influence from the ascendancy which Christianity had gained over the declining cause of Paganism during the reign of Constantine and Constantius. But on the accession of Julian, himself an enthusiastic Philosopher, and patron of Philosophers, and the consequent restoration of the ancient superstitions which it had attempted by various allegorical refinements to preserve, it resumed its importance, and exercised with renewed lustre the Magical powers to which it presumptuously laid claim. Though Eusebius of Myndus strove to restore only the Platonic intuitive contemplation of Intelligibles, Ædesius of Cappadocia, and others, made numerous and successful experiments on the credulity of their followers. Maximus, Priscus, and Chrysanthius swell the list of Philosophers, to whom the zealous Emperor extended his favour or his reverence.

Eusebius of Eunapius of Sardis, in the reign of Theodosius, recorded in his *Life*,‡ still extant, the extravagances of a School, to which he was blindly devoted; and, towards the close of the 5th century, Hierocles,§ the advocate of

Hierocles.

* His first teacher had been Anatolius, who presided in a Peripatetic School at Alexandria. There is a fragment of Anatolius still extant, entitled *Of Sympathies and Antipathies*, which was published with the version and notes of J. Rendtorf, by Fabricius, in the old edition of his *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. iv. p. 295.

† There is no entire collection of the Works of Jamblicus.* His *Life of Pythagoras* was edited by Theoph. Kiersling, (Leips. 1813, 2 vols. 8vo.) The piece *Περὶ αὐτῶν μαθημάτων ἱεραγίων*, which contains fragments of the old Pythagorean Philosophers, was first published by Villainon, in his *Anecdota Græca*, vol. ii. p. 188, and reprinted by J. G. Fric, (Copenhagen, 1790, in 4to.) His commentary on Nicomachus's *Institutes of Arithmetic*, was published by Sam. Tennulius, in 1667 and 1668, (2 vols. 4to.) The curious Work *Τὰ θεολογικὰ τῶν Ἀδελφάντων* was printed at Paris (in 1543, 4to.) by Christ. Wechel, and at Leipzig in 1817, 8vo. with notes by Fr. Ast. The Treatise on the *Mysteries of the Egyptians*, which is under the name of Abammon Magister, ascribed to Jamblicus, was edited by Th. Gale, Oxford, 1678, fol. Christ. Meiners thinks it is not a Work of Jamblicus. It was composed in order to solve the difficulties proposed by Porphyry, in his *Letter to the Egyptian Astrologer*. (*Judicium de libro qui de Mysteriorum Ægypti inscribitur*, in *Comm. Soc. Scient. Gotting.* tom. iv.) His arguments are answered by Tennemann. Stobæus has preserved a fragment of the Work of Jamblicus *On the Soul*, and also several parts of his *Letters*.

‡ See the Edition of his Works by M. Boissonade, 1807.

§ This is not the Hierocles of Berynia, who wrote a Work against Christianity, which was refuted by Eusebius.

Eclecticism, maintained in his Treatise *On Providence*, that the sentiments of Plato and Aristotle were reconcilable, and followed the same method in his *Commentaries on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras*.*

Although Alexandria, where Pythagorico-Platonic notions found warm admirers, was the cradle of the Eclectic School, it was also established at Athens, in which ancient seat of Learning the chair of Philosophy was supported, at first, by Imperial, and afterwards, by private, liberality. There Plutarch, the son of Nestorius, and after him Syrianus, the author of a *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*, and *On the Rhetoric of Hermogenes*,† still remaining, propagated the Alexandrian system.

Proclus, a favourite disciple of the latter Philosopher, holds a conspicuous place in the new School. He was born in the year 412 at Constantinople, though, as his parents had inhabited Xanthus in Lycia, where he received the first elements of his knowledge, he is often called a Lycian. After having studied at Alexandria, and having learned from Olympiodorus‡ to blend together the Aristotelian and Platonic doctrines, he visited Athens, where, by the successive instructions of Plutarch, the son of Nestorius, and of Syrianus§ he was introduced into the mysteries of their Philosophy. So rapid was the progress which he made in these obscure pursuits, that at the age of twenty-eight he had composed, besides other pieces, his best Work, a *Commentary on the Timæus of Plato*.¶ The skill which he acquired in the Theurgic art, as well as in the mysterious science of his School, pointed him out as worthy of filling the office of public Professor. His Lectures, full of dark mysticism, harmonized well with the taste of the Age, and won him many followers. His very credulous, or very inventive, biographer and successor Marinus,** relates that he prepared himself by abstinence from animal food, by long fastings and repeated prayers,

* The first edition of the complete Works of Hierocles was published in Greek and Latin, by John Pearson, London, 1654, and 1655, in two parts, small 8vo. The first contains the *Golden Verses*, the *Commentary*, and the Work called *Prothier*, (*Ἀρχαία*;) the second, the abridgement of the Work *On Providence*, with the extract of Plotinus, and the fragments preserved by Stobæus, together with the version of Curtius; and the notes of Sylburg, Lilius Gyraldus, and Meric Casaubon. The second edition is that of P. Needham, Cambridge, 1709, in 8vo. Rich. Warren published at London, in 1742, a critical edition of the *Commentary* only. For further information see Schoell, *Hist. de la Litt. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 99.

† The Greek text of the *Commentary on Aristotle* has not yet been published. Jerome Bagolini has published the Latin translation of the part which relates to Books ii., xiii., and xiv. Venice, 1658, 4to. The *Commentary on Hermogenes* may be found in the Aldine edition of the Greek Rhetoricians.

‡ This is not the Olympiodorus who wrote *Commentaries* on four Dialogues of Plato, the *First Alcibiades*, the *Phædo*, the *Gorgias*, and the *Phædrus*.

§ This following modest epitaph is a testimony of the affection which Proclus felt for his master Syrianus:—

Πρόκλος ὁπὸν συνέχον Ἀδελφὸν φίλον, ἐν Σαμῶνι
ἔθηκεν Ἀπολὼν τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμερᾷ.
Μὲντε τὸ ἀφῆκεν τῇ ἑξαμῶνι ἡμέρᾳ
Ἀδελφὸν καὶ φίλον τῷ ἑλπίσαντι.

Mar. Vit. Procl. 36. p. 29. ed. Boisson.

¶ As this *Commentary* does not extend to the whole of the *Timæus*, it may be, perhaps, incomplete. It contains the Work of *Timæus* the Locrian.

¶ See an account of the life of Proclus, and an interesting notice of a manuscript containing some of his unpublished Works by M. de Burigny, in *Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. i. p. 139—153.

** The Work of Marinus was published by Fabricius (Hamburg, 1700, 4to.) and afterwards, submitted to the *Biblioth. Latin.* 1763, 8vo. The best edition is that of Boissonade, (Leips. 1814, in 8vo.)

History. for immediate intercourse with the Divine Being, and that he possessed the power of expelling diseases, and of commanding the elements. Proclus died of the gout in the year 485.

His Works,* a strange mass of varied fanaticism, discover marks of a rich, but unchecked, fancy, and extensive, but misapplied, learning.

Marinus chose as his successor Isidorus who soon after removed to Alexandria, and left the Platonic Chair at Athens to Zenodotus. The succession of the School at Athens ended with Damascius of Syria, who suffered from the Persecution of the Emperor Justinian. His *Lives of Isidorus and others*, and some fragments of his Philosophy, still remain.

One of the Alexandrian Philosophers was Hypatia, the celebrated daughter of the able Mathematician Theon. Her acquirements, both in Literature and in Science, were so remarkable as to qualify her in an eminent degree to become a public preceptress in the Plotinian School. In this capacity she undertook to reconcile Plato and Aristotle with an eloquence which flowed from a highly cultivated genius, and which was regulated by a sober judgment. While the gracefulness of her address and lustre of her personal attractions were unobscured by vanity, the purity of her character continued untainted by suspicion. Among the crowd who enjoyed her acquaintance, and admired her talents and virtues, was Orestes, the Prefect of Alexandria, who had opposed the measures and incurred the enmity of Cyril, who filled the Patriarchal Chair in that city. Orestes, insulted by a body of seditious Monks, had put one of their leaders to death, and Cyril had buried him in the church, and caused his name to be registered among the Martyrs. The partisans of the Bishop extended their resentment to the unfortunate Hypatia. As she was one day returning home from the Schools, an infuriated mob seized her, drew her from her chair, and dragged her to the church called Caesarea, where, after having stripped off her garments, they killed her, and, with monstrous barbarity, consigned her mangled limbs to the flames. Cyril, violent and haughty, was reproached, perhaps not without foundation, as having connived in this atrocious murder.

Many learned men, though not professed Philosophers, embraced the new Platonic doctrines. Among the most noted was Macrobius II., who lived in the reign of Honorius and Theodosius II., and wrote, among other books, *A Commentary on Scipio's Dream, as described by Cicero*, and *Saturndia*, or conversations between the most eminent men of Rome; a curious Work, full of critical and antiquarian lore, but written without much spirit or accuracy. Themistius may also be added, an Orator whose honest eloquence, which shines with a stronger glare on the darkened theatre of degenerate literature, procured for him the successive favours of Constantius, Julian, Valens, Gratian, and Theodosius.

* For an account of the editions of the various Works of Proclus, see Schoell, *Lat. Græc.* tom. vii. M. V. Cousin has published some of his Works, hitherto unedited.

Some of the Works of Proclus have been translated into English by Mr. Thomas Taylor, an enthusiastic Platonist.

† Her life was written by the Abbé Goujet in tom. v. of the *Mémoires de Littérature* by Desmolets. See also Eofield's *Hist. of Phil.* vol. ii.

† The best edition of Macrobius is that of Leyden, (1676, in 8vo.) with the Variorum notes. There is also a good edition published in London, 1694, in 8vo.

§ The best edition of Themistius is that of Harduin, fol. Paris, 1684. See particularly the extracts from his Harangues or Panegyrics in Thomas, *Essai sur les Eloques*, ch. xxi.

The Historian, Ammianus Marcellinus,* also speaks with much respect of the Platonic Philosophers. A few passages, in which Ammianus mentions Christianity in favourable terms,† have been adduced to prove that he was himself a Christian. But it is surely one thing to approve of the morality, another to have embraced the doctrines, of a Religion ; it is one thing to contrast the intemperate conduct of certain Christians with the benevolent spirit of their professed principles, and another to have himself adopted those principles. A Jew not unfrequently appeals to Christian Charity, yet it by no means follows that he is converted. The manner in which he ascribes sudden relief, in a moment of distress, to sacrifices offered in the Temple of Castor, is, perhaps, of itself sufficient to show that the author was a Pagan.

Some, who devoted their time chiefly to the illustration of the Aristotelian Philosophy, may be, with more propriety, considered in the class of Peripatetic Philosophers. Such, for instance, were Olympiodorus, the Preceptor of Proclus, and Simplicius.

Although the exalted conceptions of Plato had filled the minds of his later followers with high and fervent aspirations, they appear to have despaired of attaining to the magic of his inimitable style. The language of Plotinus, teeming with ideas, is yet confused, immethodical, and unadorned. It is a task, therefore, of considerable difficulty to develop arguments which are rather sketched than completed, and to present in a clear light the whole of a system, of which the parts are not only, separately considered, obscure, but, in their general relations, il-connected. The labours of Porphyry, however, insufficient as we cannot but deem them, have doubtless prevented the confusion from being still greater than it is at present.

At the request of Plotinus, whose theories his habits of intimacy enabled him to ascertain, he distributed his Works into *Enneades*, to which he added some comments of his own. This Work, one of the most curious of ancient monuments, is highly useful as an exposition, for such it is, rather than an elementary view, of the transcendental Philosophy of his Age. We shall endeavour to point out, though in a very concise manner, its most leading features.

Each of the VI *Enneades* is composed of IX Books.

* The style of Ammianus is harsh, inflated, and obscure. But it should be remembered that it is the style not only of a soldier, but of a Greek, who wrote in Latin, at a period when most Historical works were destitute of elegance. He thus concludes his History: *Hæc ut scriber quædam et Græcis, à principatu Cæsaris Nervæ cœsus adeoque Palætia interitum, pro viribus explicavi menatur, apud veritatem præfatum nunquam (ut arbitor) ævis silentio ausus corrumpere vel mœdare. Scribant potius potiores actus, doctrinæ florentes.* Quos id (si liberis) aggressores, procedere linguis ad prælosum non erubescunt. M. D. 1778. (tom. iv. p. 16.) The History of Ammianus was divided, only the last eighteen, beginning with the death of Magnentius, in 353, are extant; though full of digressions, they are highly valuable for the information they contain, and the candour they evince. There is a good edition of Ammianus, with the notes of F. Lodenovicius, Hen. and Hadr. Valesius, Jas. Gronovius, J. Reinhold, and J. Augustus Wagner, by C. Gottlob Aug. Erfurdt, in 3 vols. 8vo. Lips. The *Dictionnaire Bibliographique* remarks: *Il y a une traduction Française d'Ammien Marcellin dont le titre est nom de l'auteur, etc. parut en 3 ans. in-12, d'abord imprimée à Paris, puis à Wetzlar. (tom. iv. p. 18.)* The author of the translation in question was M. de Molesville, who undertook it at the request of Frederick II.

† Especially because he says of George, the Bishop, *Professionis suae oblitus, quae nihil nisi justum suadet et lenis, ad delatorum ausu feracia descendeat.* (lib. xxi.)

Lib. xix. c. 10.

Plotinus,
Ammianus
Marcellinus

Character of the Plotinian Teaching.

The Emeralds of Motion.

History. The Ist, touching essentially on Moral subjects, treats, among other points, of Man, of the Virtues, of Happiness, of Beauty, of the Chief Good, of the Origin of Evils, of the Emancipation of the Soul from the Body. The IId, relating essentially to Physics, treats, besides other subjects, of the World, of Circular Motion, of the Action of the Stars, of the two kinds of Matter. The IId treats of Destiny, of Providence, of each man's Demon, of Love, of Eternity and Time, and other General Considerations on the Laws of the Universe. The IVth is on the Essence, the Nature, the Faculties, and the Immortality of the Soul; its descent into the Body and its diversities. The Vth is on Intelligence—on the three principal Substances, on Unity, on Ideas, &c. The VIth and last is a kind of recapitulation, treating on Being, Unity, Numbers, Ideas, Liberty, &c. The VI Enneads are composed of three divisions: the 1st contains the first III Enneads; the 2d, the IVth and Vth; and the 3d, the VIth.*

The Plotinian doctrine has been defined "the theory of absolute unity, perfect and primordial, and the graduated relations by which variety proceeds."

The Triads of Pythagoras and Plato, and the doctrines of the Christians, probably suggested the idea of three Principles.

The First Principle. The First Principle is above all things. From it all things proceed; without it nothing could be. It is One. It is simple. From it emanate motion and rest; but itself, having no place, has neither motion nor rest. It is infinite, not as matter is immense, but as being one, and as having nothing by which it can be limited. As there can be nothing better than that from which all things proceed, it is the best of all things. It is essentially good. It is the source and end of beauty. It is free, but its freedom, and its other attributes, must not be understood in the sense in which they are ascribed to other Beings, but in a manner altogether inexplicable.

The Second Principle. From this First Principle proceeds Mind, or Intellect, its lively image. It proceeds from it without action and without will, without altering or modifying the First Principle, even as Light proceeds from the Sun, Intelligence is at once the object conceived; the subject which conceives; the act of conceiving; these three things are identical. It contemplates itself incessantly: this contemplation is its essence.

The Third Principle. The third Principle, subordinate to the two others, is the Universal Soul, the Principle of Life, subsisting, as well as Intellect, of which it is the image, in the Divine essence. It is supramundane. It is the source of the Principle which is diffused through and animates the world.

This procession is not operated in time; it is from all eternity. The three Principles, though forming a hierarchy in order and dignity, are contemporaneous.†

* The IXth Book of the IId Ennead is *Against the Gnostics*. The object of Plotinus is to refute the theory of the two Principles and that of successive emanations.

† Brucker thus describes the Plotinian Trinity. Plotinus, he says, taught, *Principium omnium non esse omnia, et super omnia et potentem omnium, namque super-ea; illud intellectuale vite canonem esse, et infinitum modo singulari optimum ubi sufficientissimum, pulcherrimum, liberissimum, unum, ipsum essentiam; nec hoc in alia principia deducendum, sed hoc prepositum intellectum, quodque primo intelligi, non omnium potest esse efficendum, et ita tria tantum in divinis principia ponenda esse. Huius trinitatis canonem esse lucidissimum, lucem ex se naturam, atque divino modo generatam; hinc maximam potest illud, mentem esse, à Deo generatam, alii vero coelestem, que sit imago Dei, ut lux sola; intellectum hunc generare omnium. Intellectum itaque multa (omne obiectum) in se habere, et hinc esse multum et unum; quo actumque esse intelligentiam, ipsum suo modo multiplicem esse, et compositum, nempe complexum rebus diversis, ut est, intelligit et ideas pro conditione rationum seminat in mundo; ideas autem istas ab intellectu non differre, sed actum tantum accedere, ut multa sunt in ratione. Mentem divinam pro ideas in materiam agere intrinsecam, non iam esse eas, ut rerum irrationalium, et præstantiori gradu. In celo incorporata esse Deo duplicem intelligibilis et intellectualem; illas ideas esse, hoc intellectum omnes aternas idearum contemplatione beatos. Animam mundi non mundum tantum esse, sed et supramundanum. Ferreque duplicem, terrestrem et coelestem. Hanc supramundanam esse eternitatem ex essentia emanantem et existentem simul at mirram generante; ab eo generari animas reliquas, licet unum totum sit ubique. Nunquam fuisse tempus, quo unicum non animatum fuerit; atque materiam nunquam informem potuisse existere. Non enim corpus sit, omnino non fuisse progressum ex omni, cum cum unum inveniret in extremis mundum scire, tempus edificium speculum, non separatum ab effectu, ut nec illi fuisse comitatum. Quicquid attingat animam, inde perfici, prout essentia animæ naturaliter se habet; orationem vero esse ex animæ potestate; cum in rebus inanimatis non consensum parere, et tendere in aliud; cum retineat omnia à summi ad una per circuitum. Hæc de principiorum trinitate Plotinus tradidit, quo cum Christianorum trinitatem confutanda haud sunt. (Just. Hist. Phil. p. 335.)*

* In this system the Human Mind may also act, and receive knowledge in two ordinary ways; one by participating in Intelligence, the other by Forms; in the first, being in a manner filled and illuminated by Intelligence, it feels and sees it immediately; in the other, it uses certain laws or characters engraven in us, for God has imprinted in the Human Mind the rational forms of things. But true knowledge is that in which the thing known is identical with the subject knowing: such is that which the Understanding has of itself. (Enn. iv. lib. viii. c. 4. Enn. v. lib. iii. c. 4. Enn. vi. lib. vii. c. 4. Enn. vii. lib. i. c. 4.) The faculties of the Soul are of two sorts; one, directing themselves above themselves, constitute Reason, the others, descending to the lower regions, form Sensibility and Vegetation. Reason is, as it were, intermediate between the Understanding and the Senses, it acts not by means of corporeal organs, but by the sole force of Intelligence. (Enn. v. lib. iii. c. 2. Enn. vi. lib. i. c. 7.) The Understanding is never passive, it receives not forms from without; it is not even passive in sensation, as some Philosophers suppose. In sensation, it is not modified by an impression reaching it: on the contrary, it acts and carries itself without. Light comes not from the object lighted, but from the luminous body. (Enn. iii. lib. i. c. 10. lib. ii. c. 1. Enn. v. lib. v. c. 6.) In vision, the Mind places, but at a distance, the object perceived, and attributes to it a size very different from that of which it has the image. (See Enn. iv. lib. vi. c. 1, 2, &c.) Memory consists,

Matter is considered merely as the receptacle of forms, the basis of qualities; itself has neither figure, quality, magnitude, nor place, and must, therefore, be defined negatively. Plotinus. Matter, &c.

The Intelligible world—unchangeable and eternal—alone embraces true Essences, of which this visible world merely presents the appearance. The Intelligible world, or Plenitude of Ideas, rules over and penetrates into all parts of the Sensible world by the excellence and energy of its power.

Among celestial natures are different Orders, possessing different gradations of excellence, Gods, Demons, Genii, Heroes.

The Human Soul, derived from the Supramundane Soul, is in this respect sinner, as it were, to the Soul of the world. Preexisting before its union with the body, from which all its vices arise, it returns, after its separation, to the divine source whence it emanated. Here below, the Soul is not in the body, as in its place or receptacle, nor as a part of a whole, nor as Form is united with Matter, but it is present to the body as its animating Principle. The Human Soul may unite itself with the Divine Soul, and by this with the Divinity, whence it derives all its knowledge, for the most pure and exalted source of knowledge is in the contemplation of Divine forms.* The Soul perceives by means

reum, que sit imago Dei, ut lux sola; intellectum hunc generare omnium. Intellectum itaque multa (omne obiectum) in se habere, et hinc esse multum et unum; quo actumque esse intelligentiam, ipsum suo modo multiplicem esse, et compositum, nempe complexum rebus diversis, ut est, intelligit et ideas pro conditione rationum seminat in mundo; ideas autem istas ab intellectu non differre, sed actum tantum accedere, ut multa sunt in ratione. Mentem divinam pro ideas in materiam agere intrinsecam, non iam esse eas, ut rerum irrationalium, et præstantiori gradu. In celo incorporata esse Deo duplicem intelligibilis et intellectualem; illas ideas esse, hoc intellectum omnes aternas idearum contemplatione beatos. Animam mundi non mundum tantum esse, sed et supramundanum. Ferreque duplicem, terrestrem et coelestem. Hanc supramundanam esse eternitatem ex essentia emanantem et existentem simul at mirram generante; ab eo generari animas reliquas, licet unum totum sit ubique. Nunquam fuisse tempus, quo unicum non animatum fuerit; atque materiam nunquam informem potuisse existere. Non enim corpus sit, omnino non fuisse progressum ex omni, cum cum unum inveniret in extremis mundum scire, tempus edificium speculum, non separatum ab effectu, ut nec illi fuisse comitatum. Quicquid attingat animam, inde perfici, prout essentia animæ naturaliter se habet; orationem vero esse ex animæ potestate; cum in rebus inanimatis non consensum parere, et tendere in aliud; cum retineat omnia à summi ad una per circuitum. Hæc de principiorum trinitate Plotinus tradidit, quo cum Christianorum trinitatem confutanda haud sunt. (Just. Hist. Phil. p. 335.)

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History. of the First Principle, even as the Eye by means of Light. The vision, or intuition of God, the great point of perfection and felicity, by which the Mind, alike in the chain of Intelligence, ascends, by the various steps of purification, to the great Source of Life and Being,—was the high object of the Plotinian School. Porphyry relates that Plotinus had four times during his life enjoyed an intimate communication with the Divine Being, and that he himself had attained that favour once.*

The liberation of the Soul from its corporeal prison, was the end of the new Platonic Morals, to attain which it was to pass through several degrees of Human and Divine Virtues.† The Human Virtues are Physical, Economical, and Political; they relate to the care of the body and the duties of private and public life. The Divine Virtues are Purgative, requiring abstinence and mortification; theoretic, comprising the intellectual exercise of contemplating intelligible natures; and Theurgic, leading by immediate communications with superior Beings, to obtain power over Demons, and to attain to the enjoyment of the Divine Vision.

Comparison between the Plotinian School and the Quietists

It is evident that there is the greatest similarity between the mysticism of the Plotinian School and that of the *Quietists* in later times, who regarded an intense and undisturbed contemplation of the Divine perfections as a means of obtaining an intimate union with the Deity. Indeed, it would be no uninteresting speculation to compare the Plotinian reveries with those of the Hesychasts and of the Illuminati, as well as with those of Molinos, Malaval, Mad. Guyon, and Fenelon—names which show (and it is the best lesson of Charity) how often mistaken, and even dangerous, opinions may find admission into minds, to which it would be unjust to deny the praise of amiable and benevolent and pious feelings.

Difference between the theories of Plato and Plotinus.

It is to be remarked, that Plotinus not merely extended, but even departed from, the doctrines of Plato. For instance, according to Plato, Matter is coeternal with the Divinity, to whom he alone attributes those ideas, of which it imposes the forms on Matter; according to Plotinus, all that is real is in the Divinity, emanates from it; Matter is only a vain appearance, a mere negation. According to Plato, the object of Man is to draw near to God, to endeavour to resemble Him; according to Plotinus, Man may unite, and, as it were,

not in the preservation or trace of received impressions, but, on the contrary, in a development of the energy of the Soul, powerful in proportion as this energy is intense. (See *Enn. vi. lib. iv. c. 3. &c.*) (Degerando, *Hist. des Syst. Philos. tom. iii. c. 21.*)

* There are three ways of elevating oneself to the First Principle. Harmony, Love, Wisdom: these are expressed by Plotinus when he distinguished three states, called the Musician, the Lover, (*Erosistis*), and the Philosopher. The first is still placed in the midst of lower objects, but the admiration which is raised within him by the Image of Beauty reflected on them, prepares his Soul for Truth: the second resides in a more exalted sphere; he is engaged in the love of immaterial things: the third soars, as if borne on wings, to the sphere sublime, to the contemplation of Intelligibles in their very source. Plotinus recommends, therefore, his followers to prepare themselves by purifications, by prayers, by exercises, which adorn the mind to ascend to the Intellectual World, to nourish themselves with the celestial food which it contains; to raise themselves to that height where the spectacle becomes identical with the spectator; where the Mind not merely sees itself in itself, but every thing else; where Essence is one with Intelligence; where, confounded in a manner with the Universality of Beings, it embraces it not as being external, but as belonging to it. *Enn. vi. lib. vii. c. 36.* Degerando, *Hist. Comp. des Syst. Phil. tom. iii. p. 382.*

† See the learned Dissertation of Fabricius, *De Gradibus Virtutum*, according to *quod Proclus laudat Marinum*, in his *Prolegomena* to the Life of Proclus by Marinus.

identify himself with God. According to Plato, ideas are only present to the Supreme Intelligence; * according to Plotinus, they are substances identified with that Intelligence.†

It is scarcely necessary to point out the consummate art with which the Eclectic Philosophy was adapted to thwart and perplex the progress of Revealed Religion. By the help of allegory, of all devices the most accommodatingly flexible, it endeavoured to detect and trace the features of hidden wisdom in those monstrous fictions of Paganism, which afforded so much scope to the sarcastic severity of the early advocates of Christianity. By adopting, too, the Oriental theory of a scale of Divine emanations, and by representing those inferior Spirits as Mediators between the Supreme Deity and Mankind, it justified and enjoined Polytheistic worship. Moreover, by attempting to mould into accordance the chief tenets of various Schools, it undertook to remove the objection to which Philosophy was repeatedly exposed by the disputes of its most eminent Professors on momentous questions. Again, by the elevated tone of Morality and mysticism which it assumed, a strong effort was made to remove the stigma of inconsistency which rested on the character of a Philosopher. And while many of the peculiarities of the new Religion were adroitly introduced, in the disguise of expanded and embellished Platonism, every art of falsehood was taxed to maintain the pretensions of its effable communications with, and miraculous control over, the Powers of the invisible world.‡

Plotinus.

Maçon in which the Eclectic Philosophy was calculated to impede Christianity.

* This Platonic doctrine has been described with exquisite beauty by one of our own Poets, whose genius, "warm from the Schools" of Athens, and truly "enchanted with Socratic sounds," was peculiarly adapted to lend attractions no less to the Philosophical, than to the Political sentiments of Ancient Greece:

—*See the radiant sun*
Sprang from the East, or 'mid the vault of night
The moon suspended her serene lamp;
Ere mountains, woods, or streams adorn'd the Globe,
Or Wisdom taught the sons of men her lore—
Then lived the Almighty One, then, deep reined,
In his unfathom'd essence, view'd the forms,
The forms eternal of created things;
The radiant sun, the moon's nocturnal lamp,
The mountains, woods, and streams, the rolling Globe,
And Wisdom's mien celestial. From the first
Of days, so them his love divine he fix'd,
Fix admiration, till, in time complete,
What he admir'd and lov'd, his vital smile
Unfolded into being. Hence the breath
Of life, informing each organic form;
Hence the green Earth, and wild-resounding waves;
Hence light and shade, alternate warmth and cold,
And clear autumnal skies and vernal show'ers,
And all the fair variety of things.

Akenstide, *Pleasures of Imagination*, book I.
It would be curious to compare the above systems with that of Malebranche.

† Degerando, *Hist. Comp. des Syst. Phil. tom. ii. c. 21.* The following may serve as an instance of their manner of combining, or rather confounding the opinions of different Sects. After having explained the Plotinian cosmology, Brucker adds, *Largius ex hoc Plotiniana physologia systemate constare potest, qui pacto eternitatem mundi Aristotelicum cum Plotino opinionem, mundum à Deo, factum esse Plotinus conciliaverit. Intelligi autem ex eo quodque potest, quomodo Plotiniana secta random de rerum origine hypochresim Christianorum decrevit, omnia ex nihilo esse producta, amovissimè. Nam idem quodque dicere aut vult, et significatio diversæ; nempe Deum omnia, quæque materiam non præexistentem et sibi subiectam habuisse, sed ex suo sine libero voluntatis sue acta, adque ex nullo præexistente subjecto eduxisse. Quod exemplum esse potest, quod turpiter horum hominum syncretismus decrevit philosophorum, et ipsum christianum celestem corruperit.* (*Inst. Hist. Phil. p. 282.*)

‡ See Brucker, *Inst. Hist. Phil. p. 275.*

History.

In brief, for our limits forbid us from entering into the obscurity of the Neo-Platonic subtilties, the doctrines of Plotinus may be thus recapitulated. He considers the Metaphysical generation of ideas as the type of the generation of Beings, or rather he represents both generations as identical, for he admits no *Beings* but *Spirits*.^{*} Spirit in its turn is identical with its own ideas, it has no object out of itself; the intuition, immediate or reflex, is also the source of all Knowledge, and as particular notions are, according to Metaphysical order, comprised in the most general notion, the First Principle comprises all realities; the first Intelligence is at the same time the Universal Intelligence, and it contains necessarily all other Intelligences.[†]

"Even the errors of great men are fruitful of truths," and this one practical advantage at least may be derived from a survey, however brief, of Philosophical errors, that, in enabling us to trace, it teaches us to avoid, the source from which they have arisen, and the mazes through which they run. The History of the Plotinian School—of men who rendered profitless the high mental endowments they had received from Nature, by substituting "ungrounded fancies" and mystical aspirations for those sober inquiries which lie within the reach of the human intellect—affords, we think, a useful exemplification of that species of error, which the great Bacon has placed among the "peccant humours" by which Learning has been corrupted. It has proceeded "from too great a reverence and a kind of adoration of the mind and understanding of Man, by means whereof, men have withdrawn themselves from the contemplation of Nature, and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reason and conceits. Upon these Intellectualists, which are, notwithstanding, commonly taken for the most sublime and divine Philosophers, Heracitus gave a just censure, saying, 'men sought truth in their own little worlds, and not in the great and common world;' for they disdain to spell,

* Tiedemann, in his Work on the *Spirit of Speculative Philosophy*, regards the Plotinian system as gross Spinozism, because Plotinus considers all existing things as parts of the Divinity, and the Divinity itself as the first matter, which, by diverse transformations, reproduces itself under forms infinitely varied; and as subtle Spinozism, because he makes the Divinity the original subject of all the varied appearances which present themselves on the theatre of experience, and wishes to deduce all things from the sole notions of the understanding.

† Degerando, *Hist. Comp. des Syst. Phil.* tom. ii. c. 21.

and so by degrees to read in the volume of God's Works; and contrariwise, by continual meditation and agitation of wit, do urge and, as it were, invoke their own spirits to divine and give oracles unto them, whereby they are deservedly deluded."[‡]

Such is a faint and naturally very imperfect outline of the peculiar Philosophy,[§] which, generally spread, exerted mighty influence from the IIId to the VIth century; which, after having reappeared in the Middle Ages, shone with great lustre in the XVth and XVIth centuries; and which, notwithstanding its wildness and extravagance, still perhaps may be destined to rise into new importance by the united efforts of Learning in Germany and Enthusiasm in France.

* *Of the Advancement of Learning*, lib. i. c. 5.

† Our object having been merely to present a clear outline of the most prominent features of the Eclectic School, together with a succinct view of its most noted propagators, we have been obliged to avoid entering into a detail of its Metaphysical and Theological principles, or into notices of the long train of eminent men, who have successively adopted and extended Platonic notions. These will find a more appropriate place under other heads. Accounts, for instance, of Synesius, &c. more properly belong to the Biographical portion of Ecclesiastical History. Chalcidius, a Platonic Philosopher of the IIId century, has been, perhaps erroneously, considered as a Christian. Boethius, whose elegant *Treatise De Consolatione Philosophiæ* holds a distinguished place among the most happy productions which writers imbued with the Alexandrian Philosophy have left us, may be referred to in other parts of this Work. Among the authors of a marked Platonic cast, who adorn the annals of English Literature, it is sufficient to mention the celebrated names of Theophilus Gale, of Henry More, and, above all, of R. Cudworth.

‡ Degerando, *Hist. Comp. des Syst. Phil.* Besides this able Work, by which, together with the learned Brucker's *Hist. Critic. Phil.* tom. ii. and Enfield's *Hist. of Phil.* we have been chiefly guided, the reader will find additional information in the writings of Mather, Tiedemann, Tenenmann, Buhle, and V. Cousin. See, also, Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, with Moshelm's valuable notes to his Latin translation; Mosheim *de turbat per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesiâ*. Fabric. *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. ix. Ed. Harles. Creuzer's *Letter to Wytenbach*, prefixed to his edition of the Fragment of Plotinus, *De Pulchro*; to which may be added the following Works, noticed by Degerando, (tom. iii. note p. p. 478.) Beausobre, *Hist. de l'Eclectisme*; Obanus, *Dissert. de Eclectici*, prefixed to the German translation of Staupe; Eireich's *Comment. de Doctrinâ Platonis*. &c.; Roth, *Dissert. Transl. Platonis*; Leder Müller, *Dissert. de Theurgis*, &c.; Dieck, *Majer, Seres veterum in Schol. Alexandr. Doctor.*; Rosler, *De Commentis Phil. Ammoniani frowib. et notis*; Fessling, *De tribus Hypothesibus Plotini*; Habentstreet, *Dissert. de Jamblic. Phil. Sgr. Doctrin.*; Hübelier, *De Scholâ Alexandrinâ*. & a Letter by M. de Ste. Croix, in a new edition of the *Eclectes*; a Dissertation by the son of Fichte, *De Philosophia novæ Platonis. origine*; Neander, *Über den Kaiser Julian und sein Zeitalter*, &c.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XLV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JOVIAN TO THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS.

FROM A. D. 363. TO A. D. 395.

History.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.
State of
Roman
Empire
on the death
of Julian.

Upon the death of Julian the Romans found themselves surrounded with the greatest difficulties and dangers. From the varying accounts which have come down to us of the issue of the battle in which the Emperor fell, it is doubtful whether he bequeathed to his successor a defeat or a victory; but the privations to which the soldiers were immediately afterwards exposed, rendered it almost a matter of indifference, whether they could claim a triumph, or were compelled to acknowledge a repulse. Their provisions were already exhausted; and, as the Persians had removed, or destroyed, every thing which could supply the wants of the invaders, the deepest apprehensions were entertained throughout the camp that the Legions would soon be compelled, either to surrender to the enemy, or to fall under the more alarming attacks of famine and disease.*

Early in the morning of the twenty-seventh of June, the principal Officers assembled to elect a Chief, and to deliberate on the means of extricating the army from the perilous situation in which it was placed. As the death of Julian was sudden, neither of the two great factions which at that period divided the Empire, had an opportunity of promoting its particular interests by securing the vacant throne for one of its partisans; and, as the safety of the troops required the aid of a prudent and experienced leader, the voice of the electors was nearly unanimous in offering the Purple to Sallustius, a soldier of high reputation, and who enjoyed the dignity of Prefect in one of the Eastern Provinces. This distinguished veteran justified the opinion which had been formed of his character, by the steadiness with which he refused to accept an office, to the duties of which, he alleged, his age and infirmities had rendered him unequal. His self-denial, however, threw the assembly into some embarrassment; and the Commanders had already begun to listen to the suggestion of an inferior officer, who advised them to confine all their cares, in the mean time, to the removal of the army from a wasted and hostile Country, and to postpone the election of an Emperor until they should reach the borders of Mesopotamia, where they would receive at once a supply of food, and a powerful reinforcement of men, when a few individuals shouted the name of Jovian as the future master of the Roman State. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly

taken up by those who surrounded the tent, and who were waiting with impatience the result of the conference; and, accordingly, before half of the troops could be informed that the nephew of Constantine had expired, the authority of his successor was fully established by the suffrages or acquiescence of their Generals. Ammianus, indeed, relates that they were proceeding from the camp to begin their march, when the new Emperor, decorated with the ensigns of his rank, made his appearance amongst them; and that, as his name, which now resounded from every quarter, bore a great resemblance to that of his predecessor, the soldiers imagined that Julian felt so little inconvenience from his wound as to be able to put himself at their head, and to resume the fatigues of war. But this momentary joy, he adds, was followed by affliction and tears, when they found what had actually come to pass, and that their destiny was now confined to a leader whose military talents had not yet acquired their confidence.

Flavius Claudius Jovianus was the son of Varro-nianus, an officer of talent, who commanded one of the corps to which Diocletian gave the name of Jovians; the origin, perhaps, of the appellation which was introduced into his family. He was a native of Mæsia, and probably a soldier of fortune; but being now advanced in years he lived in retirement, enjoying a degree of reputation which, it has been insinuated, reflected upon the successor of Julian the only distinction which attached to his person. Jovian held an office in the Imperial establishment, which conferred a considerable share of dignity, and was usually bestowed as a mark of favour, or as a proof of confidence, on the part of the reigning Prince. As he lent the weight of his power to the restoration of Christianity, his fame has been cherished by some of the best Writers among the Fathers of the Church; while, on the other hand, his conduct, in this respect, roused the indignation of the Pagan Historians, who have laboured to depreciate his abilities both as a soldier and as a statesman. The shortness of his reign did not supply materials sufficiently ample to establish the conjectures of either party; but it seems to be admitted by the least favourable of his biographers, that his mind was generous and his manners affable; that he was fond of Literature, and much disposed to further its advancement; that he was active, and capable of prolonged application; and, finally, that he was sincere in his religious preferences,

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Empire.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Lineage and
character of
the new
Emperor.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xiv. c. 6. Zosim. lib. iii. c. 30.

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From
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363.
to
A. D.
395.

and liberal towards those who retained a different form of belief. It is not denied, at the same time, by his panegyrist, that he was deficient in experience, and altogether unaccustomed to high command; and, moreover, that in matters of personal indulgence, he did not always exercise such a degree of restraint as would have become his rank in the State and his profession as a Christian. But it is worthy of being recorded, that even Ammianus, who was very little inclined to flatter his memory, acknowledges that the few faults with which he was chargeable, were of such a nature as respect for his Imperial dignity would, probably, have led him to correct.*

Sapor in-
formed of
the death
of Julian.

While Jovian was yet receiving the homage of the army, a standard-bearer, who had reason to dread his resentment, went to the enemy, and, upon being admitted to the audience of Sapor, informed him that Julian was no more, and that the lowest of the military had set up in his place the mere phantom of an Emperor, a simple guardsman, equally destitute of talents and of courage. The King was delighted with this intelligence, which relieved his mind from great apprehension. He immediately issued orders to his cavalry to prepare for an attack, resolving to hang upon the rear of the Romans during their retreat towards the Tigris.

He attacks
the Romans.

Scarcely, then, had the Legions proceeded from their camp when they found themselves assailed by a numerous body of horsemen, supported by a line of elephants. The Roman cavalry were thrown into some disorder at the first onset, and were about to give way, when the foot soldiers advanced to the charge, drove back the huge animals which had trampled down the light squadrons, and, after a sanguinary struggle, compelled the Barbarians to retire. But the Historian remarks, that this advantage was purchased by the Romans at a dear price, for it cost them the lives of three of their bravest officers. At the close of the day Jovian encamped near a small town or fortress called Sumara; and, on the following morning, as the enemy had again begun to act on the offensive, he deemed it necessary to entrench the advanced guard of his army in a narrow plain, encompassed on all sides by elevated ground. Here the Persians discharged upon them showers of arrows, and even made an attempt to reach the Imperial tent, by bursting through the Prætorian gate with a band of determined horsemen. This effort being repelled, the Romans continued their march to Earcha, from whence they pursued their route next day to Dura, a village situated on the banks of the Tigris.†

who con-
tinue to
retreat.

Murmurs of
the soldiers.

Not more than four days had elapsed since the death of Julian, but so great were the sufferings of the troops, aggravated by undefined alarms as to the final result of the campaign, that it had already become extremely difficult to dissuade them from having recourse to the most desperate measures. At the position just named a report spread through the army that the frontiers of the Empire were at hand, separated from them only by the river, along the course of which their march had been for some time directed. Misled by this false statement, the soldiers addressed the Emperor with clamorous importunity, entreating that they

might be permitted to attempt the passage of the Tigris, and thereby put an end to the miseries of their retreat. In vain was it that Jovian, with the principal officers, opposed this rash project; representing to them that a river at all times rapid, and now swollen by the melting snows of Armenia, could not be crossed but by the most dexterous swimmers; that the enemy was in possession of both banks; and that if a few of the strongest of their number should gain the opposite side, it would only be to fall into their hands. These wise remonstrances were entirely disregarded. Threatenings were mingled with the seditious shouts of the Legionaries; and it became necessary to permit a limited number of Gauls and Germans to make the attempt. The Emperor trusted, that if they perished, the rest would become more reasonable, and that, if they succeeded, means might be devised for transporting the whole.*

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Empire.

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Under the favour of night, five hundred practised swimmers threw themselves into the Tigris, and crossed it in less time than the most resolute had dared to hope. The Persians, who guarded the right bank, were buried in deep sleep, and, consequently, fell an easy prey into the hands of their enemies. Upon the return of dawn the Germans made a signal to announce their success, which induced the Emperor to listen to the scheme of his engineers, who undertook to construct a species of bridge formed of inflated bladders and covered with reeds. Two days were spent in a fruitless struggle with the rapid current, which incessantly swept away the frail materials which the architects laid upon it; after which, as the soldiers had in the mean time consumed the remainder of their provisions, the whole army became quite furious, and demanded to be led against their pursuers, that they might die with arms in their hands, rather than sink by slow degrees under the horrors of famine.

Attempted
passage of
the Tigris.

At this important crisis overtures for Peace were made by Sapor, who, it is thought, being unwilling to drive the Romans to despair, or to expose himself further to the vicissitudes of fortune, proposed to sell to the invaders that security which they could no longer hope to procure by force of arms. Ammianus and Eutropius both served in this disastrous campaign, and wrote the History of it; and yet, it is not easy to draw from their pages a satisfactory view of the reasons which induced the Persian Monarch to prefer negotiation with beaten foes, to the honour of expelling them from his territory, or of retaining them in perpetual servitude. The latter of these writers does not conceal that the Romans had been worsted in more than one action, and, hence, that the Peace which Jovian made was as necessary as it was disgraceful; while, on the other hand, the former maintains that his countrymen were uniformly victorious, and that the desire for an armistice was suggested to Sapor, not less by a regard to his own situation, than by any feeling of generosity, which may be supposed to have influenced him towards the remains of Julian's army.†

Sapor offers
Peace.

Having listened to the propositions of Sapor, delivered by the General of cavalry and another indivi-

Negotiation

* Zeyla, lib. iii. c. 30, 31. Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 6. Liban. Orat. Parent.

† Jam turbata rebus, exercitu quoque inopid laborante, uno a Persas alique altero prælo: necius pacem cum Sapore necessarium quidem et signum fecit. Eut. lib. x. Omnibus pene prandis pars Romana superior. Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 6.

* *Edas tamen et vivo vœnerique indulgentia; quæ vitia Imperiali verecundia forsitan coercerent.* Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 6.

† Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. Liban. Orat. Parent.

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Insincere
conduct of
Sapor.

dual of similar rank, Jovian thought proper to send two deputies to the Persian quarters, to ascertain from the mouth of the Sovereign himself the terms on which he would consent to the termination of hostilities. The Officers whom he chose for this purpose were Sallustius, who had declined the Purple, and Arinthus, a person of remarkable strength and valour, and esteemed one of the best captains of his age. The conduct of the aged Monarch did not justify the professions of self-denial and humanity which he had instructed his representatives to make. On the contrary, he gave reason to suspect his real motive was to gain time, and, by detaining the Romans in his Country till their strength should be exhausted, to render retreat and resistance equally impracticable. It was remarked of him that he managed a negotiation on the same principle which he followed in carrying on war. The more the envoys of Jovian conceded, the more he demanded, and in proportion as they removed difficulties he busied himself in creating them. In this way four days were consumed, during which, Ammianus informs us, the Romans endured the severest sufferings. Had the Emperor, says he, penetrated the designs of Sapor, and continued his march while the Treaty was on foot, he would certainly, in the interval which was lost, have reached the strong holds of Corduena, a fruitful and friendly region, from which he was not distant more than a hundred miles.*

Pass con-
tinued—the
Treaty.

As the strength of the Romans was founded on despair, the hope of Peace melted their resolution, and weakened the desire of resistance. Hence Jovian, who had been deceived by the arts of his antagonist, no longer possessed the alternative of continuing the war. The terms dictated by the wily Persian were disadvantageous, and even disgraceful to the Empire; for he insisted, not only on having restored to him the five Provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been wrested from his grandfather by Maximianus Galerius, but also upon receiving the impregnable city of Nisibis, Singara, and a place of arms called the Castle of the Moors, one of the strongest fortresses in Mesopotamia. Perhaps the hardest, or at least the most humiliating, of all the conditions, was that which prohibited the Romans from interposing in the affairs of Armenia, and even from granting assistance to Arsaces, the King of that country, in the event of his being attacked by any of the neighbouring Powers. On this basis, so little creditable to the great Empire of the West, was a truce of thirty years established, duly ratified by oaths and religious ceremonies, and confirmed by the exchange of hostages. All that Jovian could obtain from the generosity of the Persian ruler was permission to the garrisons of the castles, and to the inhabitants of the towns, which were ceded to him, to retire with their families into the nearest lands of the Romans.†

Sufferings
of the Ro-
mans, and
privilege of
Tigris.

It does not appear that the Emperor made any stipulation for obtaining food or a passage across the river for his famished soldiers. It is, indeed, very probable that, as the Barbarians had no magazines, they could not have drawn a supply from the desolated country through which the armies had recently marched; but they had formed a bridge at no great distance from

Dura, the use of which would have saved much time and life to the Romans, now fatigued and dispirited in the highest degree. Relieved from the dread of the Persian cavalry, the troops were indeed permitted to spread into the fields in search of fruits or water, or even of a shorter road to the place at which it was determined that they should pass the Tigris; while some of them, impatient to leave a Country in which they had experienced nothing but various forms of suffering, threw themselves into the stream, with the faint hope of reaching the further bank. The greater part of these perished in the water; the others fell into the hands of the Saracens stationed along the river, who, enraged at the loss of their comrades, recently surprised by the Gauls, put their captives to death without mercy.*

It is remarkable that none of the Historians have mentioned the precise spot where Jovian embarked the relics of his army. The passage appears to have been effected without any annoyance from the enemy; but, owing to the want of boats, and the insufficiency of the other means which were used as a substitute, the sacrifice of life was very great. At the distance of a few leagues from the Tigris, the Romans encamped near the deserted city of Atra, a place rendered famous by the fruitless attempts to reduce it, which were successively made by Trajan, by Severus, and by Artaxerxes, the founder of the second Persian Monarchy. Nearly two hundred miles of wilderness still stretched out before them, in which there was neither grass nor water for their cattle, and the greater part of which presented not the trace of a human foot. They therefore killed a number of their camels and other beasts of burden, and supplied themselves with as much water as they could carry; after which they proceeded upon their dreary march through the Mesopotamian Desert. At the end of six days they met near the castle of Ur a small convoy of provisions, forwarded by the Generals Procopius and Sebastianus, who, immediately after the election of the new Emperor, had received notice of the distressed state of the army, by means of a Tribune whom Jovian had despatched for that purpose. This supply, therefore, was the more gratifying to the Prince, inasmuch as it assured him of the fidelity of two Commanders, whose adhesion to his government, in his present circumstances, was of the very first importance, and, in fact, implied that of all the Oriental Provinces. At length the remains of a powerful army arrived under the walls of Nisibis, leaving the sandy waste strewn with their arms, their baggage, and even the unburied bones of their comrades, and presenting in their haggard countenances a picture of the misery which they had survived, and of the sufferings which they still continued to endure.†

The intelligence, which now rapidly spread throughout the Eastern parts of the Empire, of the death of Julian, and of the unfortunate Treaty by which it was succeeded, created everywhere a deep sensation. Disappointment prevailed among all classes of men, and a sincere grief among those who were attached to ancient maxims in Religion and Philosophy. Zosimus relates that the first person who announced at Carthens the demise of the Emperor, was overwhelmed with a shower of stones. But the inhabitants of Nisibis deprecated with the loudest lamentations the fatal conditions of the Peace. They saw themselves exposed to the resentment of

Roman
Empire.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Pass
through the
Desert and
reach Meso-
potamia.

Sensations
created by
the news of
such dis-
asters.

* *Quo temporis spatio antequam his interirent, in carbassis principes peditum totius hostilium excessum, profecto venisset ad praesidium Corduena, ubi res regionis et montis, ex eo loco in quo haec agebantur centeno lapide distaret.* Amm. Mar. lib. xiv. c. 7.
† Amm. Mar. lib. xiv. c. 7. Zosim. lib. iii. c. 39.

* Liban. Orat. Parent. Amm. Mar. ubi supra.
† Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 9. Liban. Orat. Parent. Zosim. lib. iii. c. 33.

History.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

The fate of
Nisibis, and
distress of
inhabitants.

Sapor, their most inveterate enemy, and their city laid open to the incursions of those barbarous Tribes, which constantly hovered upon the borders of the adjoining Desert. The only hope which they could entertain was founded upon the importance of their station as a frontier town, upon their unshaken fidelity, and upon the services which they had lately rendered to the Commonwealth. They were unwilling to believe that Jovian would persist in delivering them up to the Persians, they flattered themselves that, though he might feel his personal honour so far bound by the oaths which he had pronounced, as not directly to contravene the Treaty, he would nevertheless allow them to take up arms in their own defence, and intrust their safety to the strength of their walls.*

The Emperor, who had resolved to abandon them to their fate, refused an invitation on their part to take up his abode in the city, and to occupy the palace as all his predecessors had done. On the following day, Binesas, a Lord of the Persian Court, who accompanied Jovian, as well in the capacity of a hostage as to press the execution of the Treaty, entered Nisibis attended by the proper authorities, and displayed on the citadel the standard of the great King. The sight of this fatal flag, and the order which the inhabitants received to withdraw from their native dwellings, threw them into the deepest consternation. They once more implored their Sovereign for leave to defend their fortifications, and to drive from their gates an enemy whom they had already so frequently baffled. But he was more deaf than ever to their entreaties; and the only reply which he vouchsafed to make to them was the publication of an Edict, commanding them, under pain of death, to depart from the city within three days.

The scene which followed is described in very moving language by Ammianus, whose duty called upon him to witness it in all its details. Nisibis presented the appearance of a place taken by assault. Persons of all ages were seen collecting what they esteemed most precious in their houses, and in the tombs of their ancestors, while, agitated by the most violent passions, they were heard mingling the accents of fury, despair, and grief with the names of their oppressors. The roads were soon covered with these poor fugitives, groaning under their burdens, and seeking the first asylum which Providence should be pleased to offer them. The most part took refuge under the walls of Amida, where Jovian gave directions that a suburb should be built for their reception, which continued long afterwards to bear the name of the town whence they had been expelled.†

Singara and
the Castle of
the Moors
surrendered

As soon as this melancholy task was performed, Jovian despatched Constantius, a Tribune, with orders for the evacuation of Singara and the Castle of the Moors, as also to deliver up the five Provinces on the West side of the Tigris to the Officers of Sapor. Thus was executed to the fullest extent the famous Treaty of Dura, which is regarded by most authors as making an epoch in the decline of Roman power, and as inflicting a wound upon the vitals of the Empire, from which it never afterwards recovered. It was ever a fundamental principle in the policy of Rome to refuse to yield anything to force; and never were this people more proud and unbending, than when they had suffered a reverse. This valuable maxim had survived the Republic, and

was maintained under the Monarchy to which it gave birth nearly four hundred years; but the successor of Julian departed entirely from its spirit, in his stipulation with the Persians, and rendered himself still more odious by the manner in which he executed the Treaty, than even by the conditions to which he thought it expedient to submit.*

The conduct of Jovian in concluding Peace with an enemy in whose power circumstances had placed him, has been made the subject of much casuistical discussion, both in ancient and in modern times. Ammianus Marcellinus, Eutropius, Festus, Zosimus, Agathius, and Valerius have condemned the measure as being equally pusillanimous and unwise. Some of the early Christian writers, on the other hand, and Tillemont in the last century, have endeavoured to defend the policy of the Emperor; alleging that, although the truce was an unfortunate, and even a disgraceful, occurrence, it was nevertheless absolutely necessary. The Abbé de la Bletterie undertakes to moderate between the contending parties, and to show that while the charge, on the one side, has been pushed beyond the bounds of an impartial judgment, the ground on which the apology is rested, is far from being unobjectionable.† The remark of Eutropius, that Peace was necessary, applies, he thinks, to the state of things after the injudicious delay of four days spent in negotiation with Sapor; and hence the opinion of Ammianus remains unimpeached, that if Jovian had pushed on his army towards Corduena, he might have reached that fertile Province, and have strengthened his ranks by the reserve which had been left there by his predecessor, before the food of his men were altogether exhausted. Tillemont's principal argument is founded on a mistake. He imagined that Corduena was situated at a great distance on the Western side of the river, and consequently, in his defence of Jovian, he ascribes to the line of march which intervened all the difficulties and privations which were encountered in the Syrian desert. But the Tigris did not oppose his progress towards the district in which supplies and a reinforcement awaited him; and it is impossible, therefore, not to agree with Ammianus, that the necessity which drove the Emperor to the ruinous course he adopted, was created by his own weakness, selfishness, and inexperience. We must acknowledge, says an eloquent writer,‡ that the conclusion of so ignominious a Treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obscure domestic, exalted to the throne by fortune rather than by merit, was impatient to escape from the hands of the Persians, that he might prevent the designs of Procopius, who commanded in Mesopotamia, and establish his doubtful reign over the Legions and Provinces which were still ignorant of the hasty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris. In the neighbourhood of the same river, at no very considerable distance from the fatal station of Dura, the Ten Thousand Greeks, without Generals or guides, or provisions, were abandoned, about twelve hundred miles from their native Country, to the resentment of a victorious monarch. But, conscious of their superiority over the Barbarians in arms and discipline, they disdained to yield, they refused to capitulate; every

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Empire
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to
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395.
Opinions
to the co-
duct of
Jovian, &
the charac-
ter of his
Peace.

Tillemont
and the
Abbé de
Bletterie.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 8. Zosim. lib. iii. c. 34.

† Hist. lib. xxv. c. 9. Ibid. lib. iii. c. 33.

* Zosim. lib. iii. c. 34. Sext. Ruf. de Prov. c. 29. Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. iv. c. 29.

† Hist. de L'Empereur Jovien, et Dissertation. Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. iv. p. 551.

‡ Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. vi. c. 24.

History,
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Locations
described by
Julian.

The Empe-
ror proceeds
to Edessa
and As-
sueh.

obstacle was surmounted by their patience, courage, and military skill; and the memorable Retreat of the Ten Thousand exposed the weakness of the Persian Monarchy. Similar resolution on this occasion might have been attended with similar success; and it is certain, at all events, that the loss sustained in crossing the river and the dreary waste which separated the Romans from Mesopotamia, would not have been exceeded by the struggling warfare to which they might have been exposed during the continuance of their march. While, however, we condemn the imbecility which led to the thirty years' truce with Persia, we are compelled to despise the special pleading by which it was meant to protect the reputation of the Emperor, had he resolved to violate its conditions.

It was during the short stay which the army made at the Castle of Ur, that Jovian sent two trusty messengers to give notice to his family, in Illyrium, of his elevation to the throne. The infirmities of age had rendered his father incapable of holding any public office, and the enjoyment of domestic repose had withdrawn his affections from the splendour and dignities which were now within his reach; but Count Lucilian, the parent of the Empress, still retained sufficient activity and zeal to fit him for the most important duties, and was, accordingly, nominated General-in-chief both of foot and horse. Thus invested with paramount authority, he was desired to select some Officers of merit and of known fidelity, and to proceed forthwith to Milan, where he was to act as the Imperial Lieutenant in guarding the peace of the West. The Emperor deprived Jovinus of the command in Gaul, which he conferred upon Malaric, a Frank by birth, but long engaged in the service of the Romans. By this step he freed himself from a man whose talents made him dangerous, and put in his place a stranger who could not aspire to the Empire, and who would naturally regard the fortune of his benefactor as the foundation and support of his own. The Count and his attendants were instructed to announce everywhere the death of Julian and the election of his successor, to grant to the Governors of the Provinces, through which they passed, commissions from the new Sovereign, and to make known, on all hands, that he had concluded the War by an advantageous Peace. In obedience to these directions, they marched night and day without stopping; but rumour, more swift and more sincere than they, anticipated them at every stage, and published the truth.*

Such measures being adopted, Jovian proposed to move slowly through the Eastern Provinces, and to consolidate as much as possible the uncertain structure of his power in that important division of his Empire. Immediately after fulfilling his engagements to the Persians, he confided to Procopius the duty of conveying to Tarsus, in Cilicia, the body of Julian, conformably to the last wishes of that Prince. From Nisibis the Emperor proceeded to Antioch by the way of Edessa, in which latter city he must have been resident on the 27th of September, according to the date of an Edict issued from it, respecting the forage of the cavalry. In the following month he entered Antioch, very little gratified with the expression of feeling which had, hitherto, attended his progress. The people could not conceal the melancholy which recent events had struck deeply into their hearts, and seemed everywhere to look upon

their new Sovereign rather as the ally of Persia, than as the guardian of Roman honours and ascendancy. In spite of his impatience to reach Constantinople, he could not refuse to stop some time in the Capital of Syria, where his reputation would not be exposed to an unfavourable contrast with that of his predecessor. His troops, too, were in extreme want of repose. Antioch, the dwelling of plenty and centre of all the conveniences of life, was of all places the best calculated to relieve their wants and to solace their griefs; and prudence did not permit Jovian to separate himself from an army, upon whose suffrages was suspended the only right which he had to the throne.*

The affairs of Religion, the disputes of the Catholics and Arians, and even the claims of the Pagau Philosophers, engaged the attention of the Prince during his abode at Antioch. Disappointed at not hearing from the Provinces of the West, he put his army in motion during the inclement month of December, and resolved, by forced marches, to arrive at the seat of government before the season should return for active service in the field. At Tarsus he assisted at certain funeral ceremonies which were performed over the tomb of Julian. Ammianus relates that he satisfied himself with giving orders that the sepulchre should be suitably adorned; a compliment which Baronius regards as the cause of the premature death which soon afterwards befell Jovian, who, says he, decorated the grave of a wretch, that deserved not the honours of a turf.† Tillemont, more liberal than this Annalist, apologizes for the pious cares of the Emperor by reminding his reader that it is lawful to honour human nature, the quality of a Prince, and the other gifts which come from God, even in the person of a criminal.‡

When Jovian arrived at Tyana, in Cappadocia, he learned from the Secretary Procopius, and Memorides the Tribune, whom he had sent into the West, that Malaric had refused the command in Gaul, to which he had been appointed by the Emperor, and that Lucilianus, who had crossed the Alps to support the interests of his son-in-law in that Province, had, by his intemperate zeal, excited a mutiny among the soldiers, and lost his life. This accident took place at Rheims, where Valentinianus made a narrow escape from the hands of the insurgents, whom, however, he soon induced to return to their duty, and to acknowledge the authority of Jovian. Deputies immediately followed from the army in Gaul, who assured the Prince of the fidelity of their whole body to his government, as well as of the steady attachment manifested by their leader whom he had displaced. Upon this he reinstated Jovinus in his command of the cavalry; praised the exemplary conduct of the principal Officers; and conferred upon Valentinianus an appointment in the Guards, as a reward for his wise and resolute conduct at Rheims.§

At the end of December Jovian entered Ancyra, where, on the first day of the following month, he celebrated the commencement of his Consulate. It had been his intention to assume his father as his colleague, but, upon receiving notice that he was dead, he substituted his own son, a mere child, who happened, also, to bear the name of Varonianus. It is doubtful whether

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Empire.
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363.
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A. D.
395.

Pays respect
to the me-
mory of
Julian.

Mutiny at
Rheims.

Jovian cele-
brates the
solemnity
of his Con-
sulship

* Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 8. Liban. Orat. Parent. Zosim. lib. iii. c. 34.

• Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 10. Zosim. lib. iii. c. 35.
† *Hominis ubique ne cepisset quidem sepulturæ digni.* Baron.
Annales.
‡ *Hist. des Emper.* tom. iv. p. 590.
§ Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 10. Zosim. lib. iii. c. 35.

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the boy was present at this ceremony, although the Oration pronounced by Themistius proceeds on the idea that both Consuls were actually in the assembly which he addressed. Socrates, however, suggests, with much probability, that the speech was not delivered till the Emperor had reached Dadastana, a small town on the borders of Galatia, where the Rhetorician arrived at the head of a deputation from Constantinople, to congratulate the successor of Julian on his accession to the throne of the Cæsars.

His death.

Such a point does not, indeed, deserve the attention of the Historian, and more especially as the young Prince was not destined to occupy any very conspicuous place in the eye of his Country. Jovian himself, in the midst of apparent prosperity, had, at this period, nearly touched the end of his government and of his life. His two Capitals, the Provinces, and the armies had already recognised him. The Church was about to enjoy a profound peace; the State, united in all its parts, entertained the hope of repairing all its losses; and Jovian might justly promise to himself a long and glorious reign. Constantinople was preparing for him a magnificent reception; Rome, who flattered herself that she would soon see her Emperor within her walls, was already striking medals to celebrate his arrival; and his consort was proceeding to meet him with all the pomp which became her high rank, when, on the morning of the 17th of February, he was found dead in his bed.*

 Conjectures
as to the
death.

The cause of his death was not ascertained. No professional inquiry, it is true, seems to have been employed for that purpose: and, at the present day, we have no authority better than the surmises of his friends and the hints of his enemies, upon which we can form an opinion whether it was natural or violent. It is stated on the one hand, for example, that he was suffocated with the smoke of charcoal which was lighted in his chamber to dry the walls which had been recently plastered; while, on the other, it is insinuated that his demise must have been occasioned by indigestion, or by the bad quality of the food which he had taken at supper. Chrysostom says expressly that he was poisoned by his domestics; and Ammianus, by comparing his fate to that of Scipio Emilianus, appears to have given credit to the rumours that his days were shortened by the hand of an assassin. But amidst the various doubts which prevail on this subject, we may safely concur in the opinion of the Abbé de la Bletterie, that Jovian was not cut off by the ambition of the Commander who was appointed to succeed him on the throne; for it was not until Sallustius had a second time declined the dangerous elevation, and a judgment had been formed respecting the fitness of Januarius, that the army on a sudden declared in favour of Valentinianus, who happened, at that critical moment, to be absent on military duty.†

 Notice of
his wife
and son.

The body of Jovian was conveyed to Constantinople, where it was deposited among those of his predecessors, in the church of the Holy Apostles. At Rome, the Senate placed him in the number of the Gods. But his family bewailed his loss with the sincerest grief. His wife, who had never seen him as an Emperor, was on her way to meet him when she received the news of his death. She survived him several years, a memorable

example of the nothingness of all earthly greatness. In the course of a few months she had been deprived of a father, a father-in-law, and a husband; the elevation of which last she had only learned, to feel more deeply the pain of his loss. What in other circumstances would have been the comfort of a mother, was the principal source of her uneasiness. She had a son, an infant, whom accident had associated with the hope of Empire, but who had now fallen from his high estate, and was likely to become an object of suspicion to the ruling Sovereign. They were both alive in the year 380; but a barbarous policy had already deprived him of one eye, and his unfortunate parent was in continual dread lest a destiny still more severe should overtake her unhappy child, whose only crime consisted in being the son of an Emperor.

We have afforded greater space to Jovian's reign of seven months, than the weight of his character may appear to deserve. But the events which took place under his government were much more important than his personal qualities, or even than the spirit of the administration which he began to exercise. His concessions to Persia, involving the surrender of a strong frontier along the Syrian border, and the relinquishment of all political interest in the affairs of Armenia, weakened the arms of Rome, and paved the way for other sacrifices which affected, still more deeply, her claims to universal empire. On former occasions, territories had been abandoned as unworthy to be retained at the expense of health, and of the other privations which are incident to an unfavourable climate; the Legions had been defeated and their Commanders slain, or thrown into the dungeons of an infuriated enemy: Crassus and Valerianus had endured the severest reverses of fortune, and exposed the Commonwealth to great loss, as well as to a temporary disgrace. But never, says Zosimus, till the reign of Jovian, did the Romans accede to the formal surrender of any Province occupied by their troops, and consent to withdraw from it, in the presence of a superior force, and in virtue of a stipulation ratified by the head of the government. The God Terminus, who, in protecting the boundaries of the Republic, refused to listen to the voice of Jupiter commanding him to retire, at length condescended to give way before the genius of Sapor and the timid policy of Jovian.*

The sudden death of that Prince left the Chiefs of the army quite unprepared to nominate a successor. Upon their arrival at Nice, in Bithynia, their first thoughts, as we have already stated, turned to Sallustius, the Prætorian Prefect, who again urged his age and infirmities, and resolutely refused the honour which they meant to confer upon him. It was next proposed to reward his merits by raising his son to the throne; but his self-denial once more prevailed, and he declared that the inexperience of the youth was no less a disqualification than the wasted faculties of the old man. Several days had now elapsed, and no one was named whose talents and character could unite the suffrages of the military leaders. At length the services of Valentinianus were called to mind. Sallustius recommended him with much earnestness, as an Officer who possessed most of the properties fitted for sovereign power; and the same estimate of his worth had been formed by Arintheus, Master-General of the Horse, by Dagalaiphus, the Com-

 Valenti-
nianus
elected
Emperor.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 10. Eutrop. lib. x. c. 18. Oros. lib. vii. c. 31.

† Amm. Mar. lib. xxv. c. 10. Eutrop. lib. x. c. 13. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Phd. Hist. de l'Emp. Jovian, 131, 152.

* Zosim. lib. iii. c. 32. Sext. Ruf. Fest. Breviar. c. 29.

mander of the Domestic Guards, and by the Patrician Datianus, who wrote warmly in his favour from Ancyra. On the tenth day, accordingly, after the demise of Jovian, the election of Valentinianus was made known to the army, by whom it was confirmed with the usual shouts and acclamations.*

The new Emperor was the son of a Pannonian General, who, by his martial qualities, had raised himself from humble life to the successive command of the Legions in Britain and in Africa. Valentinianus, who inherited the vigorous constitution and undaunted courage of his parent, gained the esteem of his fellow-soldiers by a minute attention to the duties of his profession, by frankness of manners, and an unimpeachable honesty. Zosimus describes him as well exercised in war, but ignorant of letters, and regardless of those accomplishments which were derived from the Schools of Rhetoric and Oratory. Julian, however, appreciated his merit, and gave him an honourable rank in the army; while Jovian, as we have seen, was so much pleased with his conduct in Gaul, that he confided to him the command of the second company of the Domestic Guards. His personal appearance, too, was well fitted to gain respect. His countenance was open and manly, his stature rose above the common height, and his voice was distinct and powerful. In a word, he possessed those qualities which soldiers at once esteem and fear, and which, while they inspire confidence, ensure obedience and submission. He had, moreover, attained the forty-third year of his age.†

Hardly had he ascended the throne when an occasion occurred for the exercise of these endowments. When about to address the army, from the tribunal on which he first presented himself to them as Emperor, he was interrupted by a request, expressed in a loud and rather seditious manner, that he would begin his government by the choice of a colleague to divide with him its labours and responsibility. With the utmost calmness, he remonstrated with them on the folly of raising him to the head of the Empire, if they meant, at the same moment, to deprive him of the power which belonged to his office, and which was necessary for a wise and successful administration of affairs. He told them, that it was now his duty to deliberate, and theirs to obey; upon which, he desired them to return to their quarters, where they should, in due time, receive the donative usually given by Emperors on their accession. The troops, overcome by his firmness, saluted him with shouts of allegiance and fidelity, and afterwards conducted him, with military pomp, to the palace of Nice.‡

Valentinian, aware, perhaps, that the sentiment expressed by the soldiers had its origin in a higher quarter, took an early opportunity of consulting the superior Officers as to the propriety of the measure which had been suggested. Dagalaiphus, in a short reply, satisfied him that his conjecture was well founded, and also pointed out the way in which it might be expedient to proceed in gratifying the public anxiety. "If you prefer to be guided in your selection by family love, you have a brother; but if you consider only the interests of the Commonwealth, you will make choice of the most deserving." Upon his arrival at Constantinople, ac-

cordingly, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens; a man who had not distinguished himself in the arts either of War or of Peace, and who was satisfied to discharge in the government a subordinate part, suited to the moderate talents with which nature had endowed him. He was chosen for his affection and fidelity; qualities in which he was never found deficient.*

About Midsommer, in the year 364, the Roman Empire was divided into two Sovereignities, the Eastern and the Western. The former extended from the Mætan Provinces to the confines of Persia and of Nubia; the latter comprehended the vast range of country which stretches from the Egean Sea to the Grampian Mountains in Scotland. Valens, who was appointed Emperor of the East, fixed the seat of his Government at Constantinople; while his brother, who reserved to himself the more warlike Countries of Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Africa, Spain, Germany, and Britain, planted his Court at Milan, the most convenient position for the ruler of the West. This solemn transaction took place in the palace of Mediana, a short distance from Naissus; where, after appointing Officers and Magistrates for the administration of Civil and military duty in the Provinces, the Imperial brothers took a final leave of each other, and repaired to their several Capitals.†

The renewal of war with Persia during the following year carried Valens into Syria. His absence appears to have supplied an opportunity to his enemies of raising up a competitor for the throne in the person of Procopius, a kinsman of the Emperor Julian, and who commanded, jointly with Sebastianus, the army which that monarch left in Mesopotamia, when he resolved to advance beyond the Tigris. It was even whispered, that he was secretly destined for the Purple, to supply the want of natural heirs in the family to which he was related; and moreover, that Julian, in the Temple of the Moon at Carrhar, had solemnly invested him with the title of Augustus. We learn, however, from the Annalists of this period, that it was fear rather than ambition which impelled Procopius to grasp at the sceptre of the East. His life was menaced by the jealousy of the two Sovereigns, who attempted to remove an imaginary rival, and thereby converted him into a real and formidable enemy. Escaping from his retreat in Cappadocia, he boldly entered the Capital, and, proclaiming his pretensions, he was immediately acknowledged Emperor by two cohorts of Gauls, who were affectionately attached to the memory of Julian. This force was soon increased by large bodies of troops stationed in Thrace, and by levies of peasantry, who viewed with contempt or distrust the government of Valens. Confident in his growing power, he sent a detachment of his army into Asia Minor, where he reduced some of the principal towns to obedience, and where he was gratified by the accession of the Jovians and Heracleians, those celebrated Legions who, since the days of Diocletian, had contributed so much to maintain the glory of the Roman name. The widow of Constantius, who placed herself and her daughter under the protection of the usurper, added no small degree of strength and reputation to his cause; for the House of Constantine was still greatly cherished in the city which

Roman
Empire.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.
Division of
the Empire.
A. D.
364.

Revolt of
Procopius.

* Zonaras, lib. iii. c. 36. Amm. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. 1. Philostorg. lib. viii. c. 8.

† Zosim. lib. iii. c. 38.

‡ Amm. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. 3. Philostorg. lib. viii. c. 8. Oros. lib. vii. c. 32.

* Zosim. lib. iv. c. 1. Amm. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. 4.

† Amm. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. 5. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 3.

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bore his name; and his descendants, although a female and a child, found many who were willing to sacrifice every thing in order to secure tranquillity and safety.*

Valens was at Cæsarea when the news of this insurrection were conveyed to him; and the first impression produced upon his timid mind was the necessity of negotiating with Procopius, and of surrendering to him an undisputed possession of the throne. The intelligence which reached Valentinian was still more gloomy and alarming. He was told that the Emperor of the East had fallen in battle, that his army was vanquished or dispersed, and that the rebels were in possession of the finest Provinces of Asia. Unable, from the exigencies of a war in which he was engaged beyond the Alps, to repair in person to the scene of revolt, he induced the aged Sallust to resume the Præfecture of Syria, and to rally round him the faithful veterans who might still be disposed to defend the privileges of a sovereign, elected by the army, against an usurper, who founded his claims upon a fiction, or upon the shadow of hereditary right. Valens was saved by the vigour and firmness of his counsellors. He intrusted his army to the Præfect, to Lupienus, to Arinthæus, and to Arbeto, an aged warrior, who had served under the great Constantine, and enjoyed the honours of the Consulship. But Procopius was likewise followed by brave troops, experienced officers, and was able to dispute in two desperate engagements the dignity to which he had aspired. The first battle took place at Thyatira, where the balance of military fortune was a long time equally suspended. In the second, however, which was fought at Nacaria, his troops deserted to the enemy, and left him to seek safety in an ignominious flight. He was soon afterwards taken prisoner, owing to the treachery of his adherents, who attempted to purchase impunity at the expense of his life; and having endured many painful privations in the wilds of Phrygia, he expiated his unfortunate rebellion by suffering death at the command of the conqueror.†

His defeat
and death.

Severity of
the Em-
perors.

We learn from Zosimus that Valens, who possessed little vigour in the field, showed much activity in punishing, with the loss of life and of goods, all who were implicated, however remotely, in the attempt of Procopius. His deeds of cruelty were more than equalled by the Emperor of the West, whose ardent temper had been irritated by opposition, and rendered savage by fear. The ignorance of the two brothers, besides, was attended with the most fatal effects on the peace of Society; for, being altogether unacquainted with the boundaries which separate true Science from that supernatural power over Physical causes which has been claimed by fools or by knaves, they extended the control of their police to the imaginary intercourse of men with the Spirits of darkness, and sought to prevent or to counteract that mysterious process by which the secrets of futurity could be revealed, and the malign influence of the planets could be directed against the persons and fortunes of individuals. The prevalence of Magic alarmed both divisions of the Empire; and tribunals were accordingly erected at Antioch and Rome, to punish all who could be accused of committing, or even of conniving at, that atrocious crime. While

Prevalence
of Magic;
fate of Theo-
dorus.

conducting a tedious and uneventful war against the Persians, the Sovereign of the East made his usual abode in the Capital of Syria; at which place he first received information that a young man, attached to his Court as one of the Imperial notaries, was in the practice of consulting certain adepts in divination, as to the name and quality of the next successor to the throne. To satisfy this dangerous curiosity, the soothsayers erected a tripod, which was so contrived as to exhibit at pleasure the several letters of the alphabet; and while the ambitious secretary, whose name was Theodorus, was gazing upon this instrument of deception, he saw successively appear on the magic circle the characters O, E, O, and Δ. Having no longer any doubt that he was destined by fate to wear the Purple after Valens, he communicated his hopes so freely, that the Emperor at length was made acquainted with his dreams of future greatness. He suffered, says Zosimus, the punishment due to his offence.*

Suspicion being thus excited, and in some degree justified, no person, whatever might be his rank or character, was exempted from its malignant energy. Every one, especially, who had paid any attention to Literature or Philosophy, was exposed to the imputation of knowing the secrets of that Magic, which undermined at once the foundation of thrones and the health of Princes. A wretched soldier, when suffering under the lash, screamed out the names of many individuals, whom he described as accomplices in his crime, or at least as being privy to his magical operations. The safety of the State was immediately committed to the Prætorian Præfect, who summoned from the remotest parts of the Empire all those who, from their knowledge or influence, were likely to take an interest in public affairs, and who, for that reason, might be supposed addicted to political divination. The learned and the noble became the first victims. The prisons were soon crowded with the innocent of all ages and of either sex. A universal lamentation filled the Provinces; and an Historian relates, that more men were seen on the roads dragged along by the officers of justice, than were left in the towns from which they had been taken. The military at length complained that their cohorts could not supply guards to watch the different places of confinement; and stated their apprehension, that the prisoners, now far exceeding their own numbers, would have recourse to violence, and force a passage to effect their escape. Zosimus selects from the mass of those who suffered death, Maximus, a distinguished Philosopher; Hilarius, a native of Phrygia, who had interpreted too clearly a certain ambiguous oracle; Simonides, Patricius, a Lydian, and Andronicus, from Caria, all of whom had reached the highest pinnacle of learning, and whose condemnation, he adds, proceeded from envy rather than from any feeling of justice.†

We are willing to believe that the narrative which respects this infatuated period is marked with some degree of exaggeration in the pages of Zosimus, as well as in those of Ammianus. The character of the two Emperors, it is true, however different in their general expression, agreed in the readiness to adopt severe measures, in all cases where their own interests appeared to be at stake. The excessive timidity of

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Severe
punishment
inflicted
on all su-
perstitious
divination

Suppose
be some
what ex-
aggerated

* Zosim. lib. iv. c. 4. Amm. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. 6. Philostorg. lib. iv. c. 5—7.

† Amm. Mar. lib. xxvi. 7, 8. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 5, 6.

* Zosim. lib. iv. c. 13. Amm. Mar. lib. xxviii. c. 1.

† Ibid. lib. iv. c. 13—15. Ibid. lib. xxix. c. 1—3.

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A. D.
395.

We give
renewal of
the Imperial
Institutes.

These
em-
pire.

Enrichment
of the
Roman
colours.

Valens, no less than the boisterous courage of his brother, supplied a specious pretext to that numerous class of persons who, within the precincts of a despotic Court, study to improve their fortunes, or to gratify their revenge, by pointing out victims to the jealousy of the Prince. Still, from the good sense which appeared in the administration of Valentinianus, at home and abroad, during the greater part of his reign, we cannot think it improbable, that the love of rhetorical display has induced both the Greek and the Latin Historians to colour their descriptions a little too highly.

It is admitted, at all events, that the wisdom and humanity of the general Laws of these Emperors formed a striking contrast to the foolish rage with which they punished the professors and the dupes of Magic. The Emperor of the West enacted a severe statute against all who should expose their new-born children, while he established an able Physician, to be paid by the State, in every one of the fourteen quarters into which Rome was divided. Both Princes exerted themselves to reform the abuses which had crept in during the recent commotions, and to realize every useful plan which had been suggested by their predecessors. It was their intention to found, in the chief Town of every Province, a School for the Arts of Rhetoric and Grammar, which were to be taught in the two languages of the Empire, to the youth of the surrounding districts. The Seminary formed at Constantinople employed thirty-one Professors in the different branches of learning, besides a number of Scribes, or Copyists, whose pens were constantly engaged in multiplying manuscripts of those ancient authors whose Works were recommended to the perusal of the students. The literary edicts of Valentinianus bear some resemblance to the statutes of a modern University. All proper motives were used to incite the indolent, to reward the active, and to restrain the vicious or inconsiderate; and while we read the rules enforced by an illiterate soldier, we are struck with astonishment, not less that he should have placed so much value upon Science, than that he should have adopted means so extremely well calculated to accomplish his designs for its promotion.*

In point of economy, too, and a wise regulation of the finances, the Imperial brothers are entitled to a place in the catalogue of patriotic Princes. Valens, whose views of advantage were more restricted than those of Valentinianus, succeeded, during the first years of his reign, in remitting to the people of the East one-fourth part of the taxes which they had been accustomed to pay. The policy of the Roman Emperor led him also to moderate the weight of imposts; but, being more desirous that the Government should be strengthened, than merely that its expense should be diminished, he insisted that every person of wealth should contribute according to his means towards the defence and improvement of the State. His wisdom, in this respect, was perceived by future generations, who extolled the benefit which they derived from the enlarged revenue and powerful establishments, Civil as well as military, which he had thereby accomplished.†

But the most important events in the Government of a soldier, are to be expected in the field of battle, or in the management of a campaign. Nor did the situation of Valentinianus long deprive him of an opportunity to

signalize his courage and his talents as a General. Almost immediately upon his accession, the barbarous Tribes of *Alemanni*, who inhabited the right bank of the Rhine, made an inroad into Gaul, with the view of indemnifying themselves for some neglect shown to them by his Lieutenants in that quarter. Their success in the first attempt encouraged a repetition during the winter; when they defeated with considerable loss two Roman Commanders, and dispersed the united army of the *Heruli* and *Batavi*, two German nations, who fought under the Imperial banners. Valentinianus, in order to punish their dastardly conduct, stripped the *Batavi* of their arms, and condemned them to be sold as slaves; and it was not until after much humble entreaty, that the enraged Emperor allowed them to resume their swords, and to have a chance of recovering, in the presence of an enemy, the reputation which they had lost. In a battle which took place soon afterwards, they fought so gallantly, that, according to Zosimus, few of them returned to the camp.*

In the summer of the year 366, a considerable army of horse and foot, under Jovinus, was sent against the *Alemanni*, who still retained a large portion of Gaul, and were in other respects so formidable, that Dagalaiphus declined the command of the troops which were appointed to attack them. Several actions ensued without producing any decisive result, until at length both armies met near Chalons, where, after a bloody conflict, which lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, the Romans were rewarded with a complete victory, and the capture of the enemy's King. The glory of this exploit was not a little tarnished by the murder of the Prince who had fallen into their hands, as well as by the countenance which was afforded to the perpetrator of a similar deed at the Court of Vadomius, a Sovereign whose power had excited the apprehension of the Provincial Government in Gaul.†

Valentinianus was instructed by the constant renewal of hostilities, that the Northern frontier of the Empire could no longer be protected by the Legions alone; but that the sudden inroads of the various Clans which composed the German nation, required the aid of strong fortresses, entrenchments, and a connected line of military works. With this view, he employed engineers to select the strongest positions along the Rhine, on which he erected castles of different magnitudes, furnished them with suitable garrisons, and placed them under the command of able Officers. The Barbarians, unaccustomed to besiege a fortified town, or even to submit to the delay of reducing a post by the more tedious operation of blockade, relinquished for a time their predatory warfare. They possessed, however, sufficient discernment to perceive that the power of Rome was shaken; that her troops had ceased to enjoy the reputation of being invincible; that walls and ramparts were now substituted for swords and bucklers; and that a little time would turn the tide of conquest in favour of the native courage and great bodily strength of their own Northern warriors. But Valentinianus did not rest satisfied with fortifications, in order to protect his borders from insult and violence. He also employed the arts of diplomacy among the rival hordes which spread from the mouth of the Elbe to the Illyrian Provinces, and endeavoured to turn their

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395.

Campaign
against the
Alemanni.
A. D.
366.

Valentinianus erects
fortifications
on the Rhine.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 14. Zosim. lib. iv. *Codes Theod.* lib. i. tit. 11. Justinian. lib. viii. tit. 3.
† Amm. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 14. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 3, 16.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. 1. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 9.
† *Ibid.* lib. xxvii. c. 2, 10. *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 9, 12.
2 G

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395.

Inroads of
the Saxons.

restless arms against one another. He inflamed the jealousy which subsisted between the *Alemanni* and the *Burgundians*, and encouraged the latter to bring into the field a force exceeding eighty thousand men, to act as a moving guard along the banks of the Rhine. By these means he secured a comparative tranquillity in that part of his dominions during the remainder of his reign.*

The attention of Valentinianus was drawn to a new description of enemy, who before his days had never disturbed the peace of the Roman Provinces. The Saxons, an enterprising people from the shores of the German Ocean, gradually extended their maritime expeditions, till at length they were in the practice of levying contributions on the shores of Britain, of Gaul, and even of Spain. The Emperor accordingly found it necessary to station a considerable military force on the sea-coast, to repel the invasion of those savage mariners, who were wont to land at the mouth of every great river, pillage the adjoining country, and carry away much valuable booty. Several skirmishes took place in Armorican Gaul, in which the Saxons displayed the utmost valour, and sold a dear victory to their conquerors. The Romans, in some instances, were so unwise as to provoke their resentment by acts of cruel treachery, and thereby gave a character of ferocity to the war which the Northmen afterwards waged on the same shores; but these Sea Kings, as they delighted to call themselves, made no permanent settlement in the Empire during the administration of Valentinianus, and added not, till a later period, to the oppressive weight which already bore down the sovereignty of Rome.†

Affairs of
Britain.

A. D.
349.
to
A. D.
366.

The limits of a very important Province had been already contracted by the incursions of an enemy not less barbarous than the *Alemanni* or the Saxons. The inhabitants of the Northern parts of Britain, the Scots and Picts, with a mixture of Scandinavian adventurers, poured down upon the civilized districts of the Island, and drove the subjects of Rome before them, until the fugitives with their savage pursuers reached the shores of the narrow sea which divided Gaul from Albion. Constantius, soon after the death of his father, attempted to retrieve the affairs of the British Province, but his success appears to have been limited to the restoration of some degree of order in the administration of the Civil Government, and to the enforcement of discipline among the military. There is nowhere recorded any exploit against the Barbarians; who, it is probable, may have retired at his approach, and, like the waves of the sea, returned with greater violence to occupy the ground which they had lost. The reign of Constantius again was marked by so much feebleness, particularly in the Provincial Government, that the calamities inflicted upon the Britons were only aggravated by the corrupt influence which directed the measures of the Court. Julian, it is true, infused a greater degree of vigour into all branches of the public service; he selected Governors and Commanders who had the interest of the Commonwealth at heart; he discharged the arrears which were due to the Legions in the remote parts of the Empire, and put an end to those disgraceful exemptions from military duty which his predecessor had allowed to be purchased with money.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xviii. c. 10. lib. xviii. c. 2. 5. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 12.

† Oros. lib. vii. c. 32. Amm. Mar. lib. xviii. c. 5.

But the sudden death of that Prince and the troubles which ensued, withdrew the attention of the Roman people from the miserable condition of their fellow-subjects in Britain; and it was not until Valentinianus was informed of the defeat of two Commanders with the loss of a great body of troops, that he appointed Theodosius to assume the Government of the Province.*

The deliverance of Britain was not accomplished without great labour and peril. Two summers were spent in driving back the invaders into the wilds of Caledonia, and in restoring the fortifications which they had broken down. Recovering once more the level country which occupied the space between the Tweed and the Forth, Theodosius gave to it the name of *Valentia*, and thereby connected the memory of his conquests with the fame of his Imperial master. Without adopting the inflated style of panegyric employed by Claudian, we may yet believe that, since the days of Agricola, no Roman General had impressed a deeper terror upon the rude warriors of the North, than the Lieutenant of Valentinianus. It is, perhaps, still more to his credit that, in those days of rapacity and avarice, he left his command with an unsullied reputation, and sought no other reward than the military promotion to which his services had entitled him, and the approbation of a Prince who was qualified to appreciate his merits.†

The vast extent of the Empire, the various and sometimes incompatible interests which stimulated its numerous Provinces, the short reigns of several successive Emperors, and the venal character which already disgraced too many of its public Officers, produced almost necessarily, from time to time, the horrors of insurrection, and even of positive rebellion. Africa for many years had proved an obedient and valuable accession to the Roman State; it paid a large tribute to the general Government, and required nothing in return, except occasional protection from the savages of the Desert, who sometimes attacked the cities and destroyed the crops. But the military Governor, whose name was Romanus, refused in one instance to march to the relief of the Provincials unless they should advance such a supply of money and camels as they could not raise within the specified period. Their towns were accordingly left to the rage of certain Barbarian Tribes which issued from the wilderness of *Getulia*, and their vines and fruit-trees were destroyed, almost in the presence of the troops which ought to have been employed for their security. The inhabitants of *Ga*, *Laplis*, and *Sabrata*, usually called *Tripolis*, or the Three Cities, suffered the most from the attacks of their predatory neighbours, and had, on the occasion alluded to, endured even the miseries of a protracted siege. Their complaints, so far from procuring redress, only brought down upon them an increase of distress. The President of the United Towns was condemned to be publicly executed; four eminent citizens were put to death as accomplices in a false accusation against the Imperial Commander, and the tongues of two others were cut out. Irritated by this inhuman treatment, the Africans joined the rebellious standard of a native Prince, and endeavoured to dissolve a connection which proved at once burdensome and fatal.‡

Nabal, one of the most distinguished of the Moorish

Roman
Empire.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Success
of Theodo-
sius.

A. D.
367.
to
A. D.
370.

Revolt in
Africa.

A. D.
366.
to
A. D.
373.

* Jol. Firmic. Mat. Lib. *Grat. Parent.* c. 39. Jerom. tom. ii. c. 3.

† Amm. Mar. lib. xviii. c. 8. lib. xviii. c. 3.

‡ Zosim. lib. iv. c. 16. Amm. Mar. lib. xviii. c. 6.

History. Princes, had a numerous family of sons, two of whom, Zamma and Firmus, disputed the succession to their father's wealth. In a quarrel which followed, the latter deprived the former of life; and the survivor finding himself eagerly prosecuted by the Roman Governor, under whose protection the paternal inheritance was placed, resolved to throw off his allegiance and try his fortune in arms. The Provincials, no longer able to bear the tyranny of Romanus, hailed the young Moor as their deliverer, and prepared to take the field. Success attended their first efforts. Firmus was everywhere acknowledged not only as an African Sovereign, but as being worthy to assume the Purple and give a master to the world; and as the vanity of this Chieftain was more than equal to his martial skill, he is said to have hesitated whether he ought not at once to proclaim himself the successor of Valentinianus, as Emperor of the West, and to transport his victorious bands to Italy.*

Not sooner had the insurrection assumed an aspect of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the Imperial Court than Theodosius received a commission to suppress it, and to inflict a condign punishment upon the most guilty of its authors. This able General, sailing from the mouth of the Rhone with a reinforcement of chosen troops, soon turned the tide of victory in favour of his master; and, notwithstanding all the arts of Firmus, who attempted repeatedly to aid his military stratagems by political fraud, he at length reduced him to the necessity of seeking refuge in the territories of Igmazen, a Getulian Prince, whose friendship he had gained. Theodosius, well aware that hostilities could only be terminated by the death of the rebel, resolved to pursue him into the depth of the solitude which he had chosen for his retreat; and when he was challenged by Igmazen as to the object of his expedition into the lands of an independent Monarch, he described himself as the representative of the Roman Emperor, the master of the world, who had sent him to punish a traitor and robber. He demanded that the fugitive should be forthwith delivered up to him; threatening, in case of refusal, that the King himself and his whole nation should soon be made to feel the weight of a resentment which would root out their names from among the Principities of Africa. Igmazen yielded to the measures of the Roman leader, and consented to give up the son of Nahal. As it was the intention of Theodosius to lead his captive in triumph to the shores of the Mediterranean, he set strong guards over his person; but Firmus aware, perhaps, of the fate which awaited him, disappointed his conqueror by strangling himself in prison. The dead body was carried into the Province, to attest the complete success of Theodosius, and to crush the hopes of the disaffected.†

The future history of this great Commander, the founder of an Imperial family, is very obscurely indicated by the annalists of his Age. We are merely informed that he became the victim of Court intrigue, and was executed at Carthage about a year after the death of Valentinianus, as a person too powerful or too severe in his manners to be tolerated under a youthful reign. Romanus, on the other hand, whose crimes and incapacity were fully established, had the good fortune to escape with impunity.‡

The precautions adopted by the Emperor of the West for securing his frontiers, led to a dispute with some of the most warlike of the Sarmatian Tribes. In the distribution of the Provinces on the Danube, Valentinianus retained under his immediate inspection the rich plains of *Illyricum* and *Pannonia*; and finding that the Barbarians who dwelt towards the North and East were constantly increasing their numbers and improving their troops in the military art, he extended a line of fortifications along the most assailable parts of his border, and on the banks of the river. The *Quadi*, suspicious as to the objects of a policy which was not less calculated for attack than defence, opposed the erection of a particular fortress, on the ground that it encroached upon their territories; the reasons for which complaint appeared so just to Equitius, the Roman Governor, that he issued orders to the engineers to desist from the undertaking.*

Valentinianus, who resided in Gaul, upon hearing of this interruption, gave way to an impulse of rage, and instantly sent Marcellinus, the son of the Prefect of that Country, to supersede the Master-General of *Illyricum* as Governor of the Province, and to carry on the works which had been suspended. Gabinius, the King of the *Quadi*, lost no time in renewing his representations to the successor of Equitius, who received him with much attention, and pressed upon him an invitation to partake the hospitality of his table. This patriotic Prince, unsuspecting of fraud, placed himself in the power of the Roman Deputy and was barbarously murdered; a melancholy instance of the little regard which was now paid by the principal Officers of the Empire either to personal honour or to the law of nations. The subjects of Gabinius, justly incensed at this shameful breach of public faith, rushed to arms and vowed an ample revenge. They invaded *Pannonia* in great strength of horse and foot, before the crops were gathered off the ground; and destroying every thing which they could not remove, they spread terror and desolation over the whole Province. They even attacked the walls of *Sirmium*, which, however, were defended with great resolution by Petronius Probus, the Prætorian Præfect, who had adopted the precaution of throwing a body of archers into the town. But their disappointment here was fully compensated by a decisive victory gained over two Legions which Equitius had marched against them; while, deriving courage from the success of their countrymen, large bands of recruits daily flocked to their standards, determined to strip the Romans of all their conquests on both sides of the Danube. This threat would infallibly have been realized, had not Theodosius, the son of the restorer of Britain, displayed in the conduct of the war a consummate degree of military talent, and tired or defeated the successive hordes which inundated the Province of *Mæsia*.†

In the Spring of the year 375, the Emperor left Treves in person, at the head of all the troops which could be spared from Gaul. The Sarmatian States, alarmed at his preparations, sent ambassadors to meet him, who might represent the grievances which they had sustained, and propose terms for a lasting Peace. Valentinianus dismissed them with an evasive answer, and hurried on to the scene of action, cherishing in his heart a firm resolution to vindicate the Majesty of the

Roman Empire.

From A. D. 863. to A. D. 395. Dispute with the Quadi. A. D. 374.

Murder of Gabinius by the Romans.

Good conduct of the younger Theodosius.

Valentinianus repairs to Illyricum.

* Oros. lib. vii. c. 33. Amm. Mar. lib. xxix. c. 5.

† Ibid. lib. xxix. c. 5.

‡ Ibid. lib. xxviii. c. 4. Oros. lib. vii. c. 33.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. 5. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 16.

† Ibid. lib. xxix. c. 6. Ibid. lib. iv. c. 16.

History.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Roman Government, and to punish the temerity of the Barbarians by whom it had been insulted. In pursuance of this impolitic determination he had no sooner arrived at *Sirmium* than, instead of inquiring into the murder of *Gabinus*, and setting an example of impartial justice, he commenced a war of devastation and massacre which he carried into the midst of the enemy's country. Having successfully retaliated the invasion of *Pannonia*, he repassed the *Danube* to spend the winter at a town called *Bregetto*, in the modern Hungary; intending, upon the return of the active season, to complete the destruction of the *Quadi*, and establish on a firm and permanent basis the tranquillity of all the *Illyrian* Provinces. That devoted people, therefore, made another attempt to awaken his clemency and obtain his pardon. Their envoys assured him that the inroad of which he complained was not sanctioned, but rather condemned and lamented, by the public Council of their nation, and that they were ready to forego all the grounds of dispute which had led to the unfortunate contest in which they were engaged. This statement, which they hoped would disarm his anger, only inflamed it to a degree of unutterable fury. His violent temper assumed the mastery at once of his reason and of his constitution; his whole frame was shaken with the storm which raged within him, and before he could find words in which to express his indignation, a blood-vessel burst, and he fell back insensible into his chair. In a few minutes *Valentinianus* was a corpse, after having reigned about twelve years over the most important Provinces of the *Roman* Empire. This event suspended for a time the progress of hostilities on the Upper *Danube*; and it will afford us an opportunity of resuming the thread of History as it respects the dominions of the East and the policy of *Valens*, in his wars and treaties with the *Goths* on the one hand and with the *Persians* on the other.*

Valens succeeded to the troubles which arose from the unfortunate campaign of *Julian*, and from the still more unfortunate negotiations by which that campaign was concluded under the auspices of *Jovianus*. It will be remembered that one of the conditions of the Peace which *Sapor* granted to the necessities of the *Romans* was an entire withdrawal on the part of the latter from all concern in the affairs of the tributary Kingdoms of *Armenia* and *Iberia*. The *Persian* Monarch, who claimed the sovereignty of these two States, immediately marched into the former at the head of such an overwhelming host as rendered resistance equally vain and impracticable; but, being unwilling to have recourse to violence against a people whom he professed to regard as natural subjects, he effected his purpose by inducing *Tiranus*, a weak and unsuspicious Prince, to listen to expressions of friendship and assurances of protection. A sudden death soon removed the descendant of *Arasaces*, and paved the way for the reduction of *Armenia* to the rank of a *Persian* Province. *Iberia* was next invaded; and *Sauromaces*, who reigned in that Country, being expelled by a superior force, the crown was placed on the head of *Aspacuras*, a person of very inferior rank and character, who consented to govern as the Lieutenant of *Sapor*.†

In *Armenia* one city alone refused to acknowledge

the new Government, or to receive a garrison of *Persian* soldiers. *Artogeranus* was strong from its natural position, and well fortified by art, and besides it contained the principal treasury of the Kingdom, and the widow and son of the ill-fated *Tiranus*. Animated by their presence, the inhabitants sustained a vigorous siege, repulsed several attacks made upon their walls by the cuirassiers of the great King, and gained repeated advantages over the main body of the enemy in the open plain. But the troops of *Sapor* were constantly recruited, and at length prevailed. *Artogeranus* was compelled to open its gates to the conqueror, to deliver up into his hands the wife of its late Prince, and to accept such terms as he might be pleased to grant. Para, the son of *Tiranus*, made his escape through the *Persian* lines during the siege, and found his way into the territory of the *Romans*.*

From the scanty notices which remain of this *Persian* war, it would seem that *Valens* was more anxious to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty made by his predecessor on the banks of the *Tigris*, than to recover the ascendancy which the Empire formerly possessed among the nations of the East. He maintained, indeed, powerful armies on the frontier, ready to act, should a proper occasion present itself for asserting the rights of the ancient allies of *Rome*; and it is not improbable that *Sauronaces* owed to the menacing attitude assumed by the Legions on the *Euphrates* and the confines of *Armenia*, the degree of power which he was again permitted to exercise in his native Country.

The *Iberians*, unable to expel the Viceroy of *Sapor*, were in some degree consoled to find their lawful Sovereign restored to the half of his Kingdom; while the people of *Armenia*, equally impatient under the *Persian* domination, cherished the hope of soon seeing the heir of their throne invested with the rank and power to which his birth entitled him. *Valens*, meantime, commanded his Generals to observe the strictest neutrality, and not, by drawing the sword first, to expose his administration to the charge of perfidy. Skirmishes between the outposts, indeed, threatened on several occasions to engage both armies in a general action; but the leaders on both sides, influenced by similar views, referred the decision of every dispute to an accurate interpretation of the Treaty existing between the two Empires, and thus shaped their conduct in the spirit of lawyers, rather than in that of military antagonists. In this manner the reign of *Valens* as well of *Sapor* was brought to an end, without being distinguished by any remarkable occurrence on the theatre of war.†

The fortunes of *Para*, the Prince of *Armenia*, have left a deep stain on the weak and faithless policy which, at that period, swayed the Court of Constantinople. This young man, at the solicitation of his mother, left *Artogeranus* in disguise, a short time before it fell into the hands of the *Persians*. His first reception by the Emperor was extremely gratifying to his hopes, and he was encouraged to rely upon the support of his father's patrons, whose interests, he was assured, were never separated from those of the *Armenians*. *Para* was accordingly permitted to place himself at the head of his friends in his native country, and to rely upon the aid of the Legions, which, under Count *Trajan* and

Roman Empire.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Invasion of
Armenia
and Iberia
by the
Persians.

History of
Para, the
son of Ti-
ranus.

His death,
in Novem-
ber.

A. D.
375.

Persian
war.

A. D.
365.

Fall of
Artogeranus.

* *Amm. Mar. lib. xxx. c. 5. Oros. lib. iii. c. 32. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 17. Victor. in Epit.*

† *Amm. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. 12. Nos. Chor. lib. iii. c. 17.*

* *Amm. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. 12. Mos. Chor. lib. iii. c. 17.*

† *Amm. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. 12. lib. xxx. c. 12. Mos. Chor. lib. iii. c. 28.*

History. **Vadomius**, King of the *Alemanni*, had pitched their camp on the Armenian border. But Valens had not firmness sufficient to resist the reproaches of Sapor, who accused him of violating the principal stipulation of the late Peace; and having, perhaps, some reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Prince himself, he resolved to withdraw him from a scene which could not fail to excite jealousy, and, ultimately, to involve the Country in war. With this view he invited him to Constantinople under pretence of arranging with him certain measures necessary to be pursued for their common interest, but secretly with the intention of depriving him either of life or of liberty. Not imagining that such shameful perfidy could be practised by a Roman Emperor, the youth left the mountains of his native country, where his adherents were the most numerous, and proceeded on his journey towards the Capital of the East. He had no sooner reached *Tarnus in Cilicia*, however, than the real object of Valens began to disclose itself in the pretends under which he was stopped from advancing further, and in the vigilance with which he was watched. He resolved, therefore, to extricate himself from the hands of his treacherous allies; and communicating his intention to a body of faithful horsemen whom he had brought as an escort, he burst from his keepers, and turned his face towards the Euphrates. A Legion was sent in pursuit of him; but his cavalry, lightly armed and well mounted, soon left the heavy troops at a distance, and marching two days and two nights without intermission, they swam across the river, although its banks were crowded with soldiers, and arrived in safety beyond the limits of the Roman power.*

His assassination by Count Trajan. But the perfidy of the Imperial Court could employ other arms besides those of the Legions against an enemy. Count Trajan, who commanded an army on the confines of *Armenia*, received instructions to remove the Emperor's fears in regard to the Royal fugitive; and this Officer, who proved a suitable instrument in the hand of his pusillanimous master, used every art to gain the confidence of Pars, and to increase his reliance upon the good faith of the Romans. The tragedy which was acted at the table of Marcellinus, was repeated at that of Count Trajan. A splendid banquet was prepared, and served up according to the forms of oriental magnificence. The Prince was received with distinguished respect, and entertained with all the deference due to a Sovereign ally of the Roman Empire, but as soon as the company were a little heated with wine, an assassin, who had waited for the appointed signal, rushed from his hiding-place, threw himself on the King of *Armenia*, and after a short struggle stabbed him to the heart.†

The Gothic War. A more active war employed the arms of Valens in the North. The Gothic Tribes, which since the days of Constantine had been increasing in skill and numbers, gradually pressed upon the Roman frontier; and finding themselves no longer inferior to the troops which occupied the Thracian Provinces and the Western shores of the Euxine, they shunned no fair occasion of measuring their strength with the redoubted soldiers of the Empire. Hermanric, Chief of the Ostrogoths, had founded an extensive Kingdom which stretched from the Danube to the Baltic, and from the Lake

Mæotis to the sources of the Elbe and the Weser; and being thereby rendered master of the powerful energies of the greater part of Germany and of Western *Scythia*, he thought himself authorized to interpose in the quarrel between Valens and Procopius for the sceptre of *Byzantium*.*

It was as a kinsman of Julian, and, consequently, as a branch of the house of Constantine, that Procopius solicited the aid of the Goths; and when the latter granted the cooperation of their arms, they imagined that they were only acting in accordance with the faith of Treaties which had already subsisted more than twenty years. They crossed the Danube to the amount of thirty thousand men; resolved to march to Constantinople, and to decide the fate of the Eastern Empire. But Valens, imitating the defensive system pursued by his brother, formed a chain of military posts strongly fortified, by means of which he at once checked their progress and cut off their supplies. Want of food soon rendered the Barbarians an easy conquest to the steady discipline of the Romans. Thousands of them surrendered, and were scattered over the adjoining Provinces as slaves; while their Generals, who denied that war had yet been waged with the Empire, complained bitterly of the perfidious conduct by which they had been ensnared. A fruitless negotiation ensued, which left both parties more irritated than before, and gave occasion to a series of wars, in which the declining condition of the Roman State became more and more apparent.†

In the Spring of the year 367, the Gothic Powers, under the command of Athanaric, Chieftain of the Visigoths, prepared to meet the Legions, led by Victor and Arintheus, on the Northern bank of the Danube. It is probable that Hermanric, no longer able to take the field, had instructed his Lieutenant to act on the defensive, and, if possible, to draw the enemy into the strong grounds which skirt the Dacian Provinces. This policy succeeded; for the Romans, after the fatigues of a lengthened campaign, were compelled to recross the river and seek winter-quarters in a more genial climate. The following year did not produce any events of a more decisive character. The Emperor satisfied himself with watching, in his camp at *Marcianopolis*, the movements of his restless foe, and with imposing a strict interdict on all mercantile transactions with the Provincials. The Goths, who had now acquired a taste for luxuries, felt this prohibition very sensibly, and were induced, in order to remove it, to attempt more active hostilities in the following campaign. Athanaric hazarded a general action on the plain, in which he was defeated with great loss both of men and of reputation. A reward offered for the head of every Goth that should be brought into the Imperial camp, quickened the pursuit, and added greatly to the slaughter of the vanquished. So signal a discomfiture, as well, perhaps, as some motives which were addressed to the private interest of their leader, induced the Barbarians to listen to overtures for peace. Athanaric, who had bound himself by an oath not to set his foot on the territory of the Romans, consented to meet Valens on the Danube, which was then recognised as the boundary of the rival nations; and there, in the middle of the stream, a Treaty was ratified, and hostages were

Roman Empire.
From
A. D.
363,
to
A. D.
395,
Success of
Valens.

Conclusion
of the War,
and Treaty
of Peace.
A. D.
369.

* *Amm. Mar. lib. xxx. c. 1.*

† *Ibid. lib. xxx. c. 1. Mos. Chor. lib. iii. c. 21.*

* *Jornand. c. 28. Amm. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 3.*

† *Eunap. Excerpt. Legat. p. 18.*

History.

From

A. D.

363.

to

A. D.

395.

Accession
of Gratianus
and Valen-
tinianus II.

A. D.

375.

Policy of
Valens.Inroads of
the Huns.
A. D.
376.

exchanged, which secured at least suspension of arms during the space of six years.*

Valentinianus, the Emperor of the West, left two sons, the elder of whom, whose name was Gratianus, had for several years been associated in the Empire, and invested with the title and dignity of Augustus. The younger, the fruit of a second marriage, inherited the name of his father, and afterwards succeeded to the throne under the same appellation. At the death of their parent, Gratianus was at Treves superintending the administration of Gaul; while his brother, only four years old, was in *Illyricum* with the Empress Justina, who had accompanied her husband on his march towards the Danube. This combination of circumstances afforded an opportunity to the ambitious leaders, Mellobaudes and Equitius, who commanded the Illyrian and Italian Legions, to establish their own power in opposition to that of the rightful heir. They prevailed upon the troops to proclaim the young Valentinianus as Emperor of the West, and to decorate him with the ensigns of supreme power. Gratianus, whose claims and power could not be questioned, continued the exercise of his authority in Gaul; determined to seize the first occasion for punishing the authors of a conspiracy by which his dominions were curtailed, and who obviously intended to reign under the name of an infant Monarch. Meantime he cheerfully received his youthful brother as a colleague; and advised the Empress to take up her residence at Milan, where she could attend to the education of her son, reserving to himself the defence of the Rhine, and of the fruitful Provinces to which it proved a natural rampart.

The demise of Valentinianus would have presented to an ambitious mind a temptation to extend the power, exercised at Constantinople, to the Provinces of the West; but Valens, who found his arms and councils sufficiently employed by the numerous enemies who hemmed in his dominions on the East and North, allowed his two nephews to exercise jointly the undisputed government of Rome. At either extremity of the Empire, indeed, there was a heavy pressure of barbarous nations, who, impatient of their ancient boundaries, and now accustomed in part to the more refined enjoyments of a civilized country, threatened, from time to time, to transfer their whole population into the Roman territory, and to take forcible possession of the cities as well as of the richest lands. The Eastern Emperor had recently established Peace with his Gothic neighbours, on the basis of mutual concession, and hoped that the experience of the various miseries which attend the progress of hostile armies, had created in the minds of all the wandering Tribes which hung upon his frontier a salutary dread of war, and a firm resolve to abstain from future aggression. In this feeling he repaired to Antioch, to enjoy the blessings of tranquillity, which he prized more highly than the triumphs of the most successful campaign; to give countenance to the reviving power of *Armenia*; and to observe the motions of the Persian Monarch, the most subtle and inveterate of all the enemies of Rome.†

Little more than a year had elapsed when Valens was informed that the Visigoths, impelled by a victorious enemy more barbarous than themselves, had advanced to the banks of the Danube, and were now

craving the protection of the Empire. The Huns, disturbed in their possession of Northern Asia, had, during a long period, been gradually approaching the shores of the Euxine; and, accordingly, in the year 376, they were found to have extended their migration beyond the *Palus Mæotis*, and even to have touched the borders of *Dacia*. In their progress they had conquered the *Alani*, a powerful people, who occupied the plains which stretch between Mount Caucasus and the rivers Don and Volga, as also the Ostrogoths, who dwell near the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and as they established a permanent residence in every Country which they subdued, the former inhabitants, unless they consented to become their slaves, were reduced to the necessity of seeking new lands, either as warriors or as suppliants.

On the present occasion, the Gothic nations, who had so lately met the Legions of Valens in the field, saw the propriety of using entreaty rather than force. They sent ambassadors, who loudly deplored the misfortunes of their countrymen, implored the Roman Government to grant them an asylum in the nearest Province, and gave assurance in the name of all the Visigoths, that they would obey the laws, and protect the frontier of the Commonwealth. The Emperor was induced to comply with their request. The Governor of Thrace was instructed to receive them, and upon the express condition of delivering up their arms and their children to the care of the Romans, to supply them with a sufficient extent of soil, on which they might raise corn and feed their cattle. Fear of the enemy, or a desire to seize the best land, occasioned a tumultuous embarkation. Many were swept away by the violence of the current, and drowned; and it was not until several days and nights of incessant labour, that the whole colony, including two hundred thousand warriors, under Alavivus and Fritigern, were safely conveyed across the swollen Danube. The Officers of Valens, more influenced by personal considerations than by a sense of duty, accepted the bribes which the Goths presented, in order to be allowed to retain their weapons; and, accordingly, when the latter mustered their strength on the Southern bank of the river, the Romans beheld a formidable army, ready either to cooperate with them in repelling invasion, or to strip them at once of their independence and of their territory. Aware, when it was too late, of the appalling danger to which he had thereby exposed the *Mæssian Provinces*, the Emperor refused a similar petition on the part of the Ostrogoths, who, under Alatheus and Saphirax, the guardians of the son of Hermanric, had likewise retreated before the overwhelming host of Huns, which seemed to cover the face of the earth.*

A wise people would have acted with liberality towards so large a body of foreigners whom they had received into their bosom, and whom, as it was very doubtful whether they could subdue them, it was the worst policy to irritate and treat unjustly. But the Imperial Lieutenants on the Northern borders of his dominions, could listen to no counsel which did not promise to gratify their avarice; and observing that the Barbarian fugitives were possessed of considerable wealth, they resolved to drain it from them by the most iniquitous measures. Licupitius and Maximus exercised at that period the military government of Thrace, of whom, if any credit is to be given to contemporaneous History, it may be confidently asserted that a base regard

* Anon. Mar. lib. xxvii. c. 5. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 20.

† Anon. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 10.

* Anon. Mar. lib. xxvi. c. 3. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 20. Hump. in Excerpt. Leg. Jornand. c. 25, 26.

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Empire
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Valent f
mits the
Visigoth
cross the
Danube.

Their sal
quent di
mage.

to private emolument was the leading motive of their administration. They raised the price of provisions to such a rate that a slave was demanded for a loaf of bread, and ten pounds of silver for a small quantity of meat. The murmurs of the plundered Visigoths at length awakened the apprehensions of their oppressors; but while a plan was forming to scatter the warlike portion of them over the remoter districts of the Province, the Ostrogoths forced a passage across the Danube, and established their camp in the territory of the Empire.*

The studied insults to which the followers of Alavivus and Fritigern were continually exposed, soon led to a revolt. A battle took place in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*, in which Lupicinus sustained a marked defeat. The victors, renouncing the dependent condition of strangers and exiles, assumed possession of their lands in right of conquest; and sending their martial borders into the most fruitful parts of Thrace, they avenged upon the innocent inhabitants the injuries which they had received at the hands of the local Government. They were soon joined by additional bands of their countrymen, whom a feeling of wrong as well as the successes of Fritigern, had alienated from the Roman standard. Their children, too, who had been sold into bondage, recovered their freedom, and returned with delight into the society of their kindred; stimulating, at the same time, by an account of the sufferings which they had endured, the resentment which already glowed in the breast of every Goth.†

The discomfiture of the Legions at *Marcianopolis* roused Valens to some degree of activity. Instead, however, of attempting to soothe the rude soldiers who had been pillaged and insulted by his Generals, he resolved to crush them by superior numbers; for which purpose, he called in his best troops from the East, solicited reinforcements from his nephew Gratianus, and expressed a determination to march from the Capital of *Syria* to Constantinople, that he might direct in person the progress of the war. He confided the immediate command of this powerful army to Count Trajan and Profuturus; who, as soon as they could marshal the cohorts which were stationed in Thrace, issued orders to the inferior Officers to commence a general movement in search of the Barbarians. Fritigern, whose talents had raised him to the highest post in the Gothic camp, had collected his warriors in an extensive plain near the most Southern stream of the Danube; where, perceiving from the dispositions of the Imperial Commanders, that they meditated an attack, he awaited their approach with confidence and resolution. A sanguinary conflict ensued, which continued with various success from the dawn of day till the setting of the sun. Neither side could claim a victory, and both had suffered so much as to be afraid to renew the contest. The Goths remained on the ground which they had previously occupied, surrounded as usual with their fortification of cars and waggons; while the Romans, whose diminished ranks suggested a different mode of warfare, adopted the plan of confining the Barbarians between the river and the adjoining mountains, in the hope of starving them into an unconditional submission. A line of ramparts, and a strong body of horsemen under Saturninus the Master-General of the Cavalry,

were employed to aid the operations of the Legionaries, who were ordered to contract, by a gradual advance, the limits of the Gothic encampment, and thereby to cut off their supplies from the adjacent country.

But hardly was this scheme arranged when intelligence arrived that new swarms had crossed the Danube, prepared to support the brave Fritigern, and to share the lands which he had conquered. Saturninus, apprehensive of being surrounded by these unexpected invaders, judged it expedient to retire; while the chief of the Visigoths, equally anxious to provide against future events, cultivated an alliance with Altheus and Saphras, the Regents of the Ostrogoths, who had now a common interest with their former enemies. He obtained the aid also of some hordes of Huns and of *Alani*, who had found their way into *Mæsia*; to whom were soon united a strong detachment of Sarmatians, animated by revenge and the love of rapine.*

In the manner now described did the year 377 pass away. The firm footing established by the Barbarians in two important Provinces of the Empire, called into exercise the little energy which belonged to the character of Valens. Upon his arrival the following year at Constantinople, he was accused by the multitude as the author of that unwise measure which had filled their country with hungry and merciless savages; and urged, at the same moment, to lead forth the army which garrisoned the Capital, in order to deliver Thrace from the ravages of a cruel and detestable foe. He possessed not sufficient independence of character to despise this popular remonstrance; but assembling such troops as were at hand, he left his Palace, and proceeded to the camp which was pitched under the walls of Adrianople. His Generals, meantime, particularly Sebastianus, the Commander of the Cavalry, were engaged in frequent actions with the enemy; and although, upon the whole, the Roman arms were successful, it had become apparent to all classes of the soldiery, that the Gothic war, whatever might be its issue, could not be terminated without a great effusion of blood. The more considerate among the superior Officers, accordingly, whose opinion the Emperor condescended to ask, dissuaded him from a hasty attack upon the encampment of the Barbarians, and urged him rather to exhaust their strength by keeping them constantly under arms, and by intercepting their supplies, until his nephew Gratianus, who was on his march at the head of the flower of the Western Legions, should have time to join him. Those officers, on the other hand, who wished to flatter the vanity of their master, and to soothe his jealousy, represented to him the advantages of a spirited onset, while the enemy were yet under the impression made upon them by the valour of Sebastianus, and also the injury that might result to his reputation, were the honour of victory to be divided with the youthful Emperor of Rome. The infatuation of Valens was further encouraged by the deep policy of Fritigern, who, feigning a mixed sentiment of penitence and alarm, professed his readiness to return to his duty as a vassal of the Empire, provided certain waste lands in Thrace were granted to his followers, with a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle to support them, till their fields should be brought into cultivation.

The counsel of Sebastianus, whose abilities fitted him for the field rather than for the cabinet, prevailed,

Roman Empire.
From A. D. 369. to A. D. 395. Retirement of the Romans.

A. D. 378. Valens proceeds against them in person.

* *Ann. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 46.* *Oros. lib. vii. c. 33.*
† *Ann. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 5.* *Journ. de répub. Ger. c. 26.* *Ann. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 6, 7.*

* *Ann. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 6—9.*

History.

From

A. D.

363.

to

A. D.

395.

Total defeat
of the Romans
near Adrianople.

and the Emperor issued orders to prepare for battle. It was on the 9th of August, 378, that Valens proceeded from his camp at Adrianople to attack the Goths who lay at the distance of about twelve miles; a day, it has been justly observed, which may be ranked among the most inauspicious that ever influenced the fortunes of Rome. The march, though not long, was performed under a sultry sun; while a mistake on the part of the subordinate Officers occasioned so much delay and confusion before the troops could be arranged on the field, that many of the men were quite exhausted, and the confidence of the greater number of them very much depressed. In this crisis, when an active commander would either have withdrawn his squadrons from the presence of the enemy, or instantly led them on to the attack, Valens had recourse to negotiation, and even condescended to despatch an ambassador to the Gothic camp. But hardly had his commissioner departed, when the battle began by the advance of his own troops. A body of auxiliaries, under the direction of Bucurius, an Iberian Chief, discharged their arrows upon a detachment of light horse which happened to pass their line; but not being supported by the rest of the army, who had received no orders to engage, they fell back with precipitation from the charge of the Gothic spears, and spread confusion and dismay throughout the wing to which they were attached. The action soon became general, and terminated in the entire defeat of the Romans. The Emperor was wounded, and either was crushed under a heap of dead bodies, so as not to be recognised by friend or foe, or, as is more commonly conjectured, he was carried to a cottage in the neighbourhood, in which he and his attendants perished by fire. The loss of the vanquished was very great. A large proportion of their bravest officers fell in the field; and more than two-thirds of the common soldiers shared the same fate, or were reduced to the most wretched servitude. Since the battle of Cannæ, says Ammianus, no such disaster befell the Roman people; and could he have foreseen the fatal effects which resulted from it, his lamentation would have been still deeper, and his regret more poignant.*

Death of
Valens.Ravages of
the Goths.

The victorious Goths, following up their success, laid siege to Adrianople; but they soon found here, as they had experienced on former occasions, that the arms which enabled them to conquer in the field, were of no avail against strong walls and fortifications; and also that troops who turned their backs in the open plain, were formidable antagonists when stationed behind a rampart. After a fruitless attempt, therefore, to possess themselves of that city, they shifted their camp to the suburbs of the Eastern Capital; but perceiving that the obstacles to which they had just yielded at Adrianople, presented themselves in tenfold greater power on the shores of the Bosphorus, they abandoned the hope of the rich plunder which had excited their avidity, and spread themselves over the defenceless Provinces of Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyricum. The ravages which they committed in these Countries, made a deep impression on the minds of those who witnessed them, and are recorded in the pages of several authors, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, as the severest punishment with which Providence had visited the human race for many generations. St. Jerome relates that the fury of the Goths extended to the beasts of the field, the fowls of

the air, and even to the fishes of the sea; all of which diminished in number before the insatiable rapacity and destructive habits of the enraged Barbarians. But making every allowance for the exaggeration of writers, whose natural feelings were as much injured as their property, it cannot be concealed that the Provincials were subjected, during a long course of years, to all the indignities and privations which the arms of a rude people never fail to inflict on civilized Countries.*

To prevent a similar catastrophe in the more Eastern parts of the Empire, a measure was resorted to by the local Governors, which cannot be contemplated without horror and detestation. Upon the stipulation made with the Visigoths, when they were first received into *Mæsia*, their sons were sent into the cities of *Asia Minor*; where they were instructed in the polite Arts, and in those branches of literature which were thought best fitted to refine their manners and to subdue the natural fierceness of their temper. Twelve years had now elapsed since their migration across the Danube; in which period many of them had grown up to manhood, and had become acquainted, at the same time, with the events of the several campaigns which had taken place in the European Provinces. Fears were entertained that the daring youths would embrace the earliest opportunity to assert their rank, and to imitate the example of their fathers, who had just annihilated a Roman army, and slain an Emperor in the field of battle. It was therefore resolved to ward off this contingent evil, by putting them all to death. An order was accordingly set forth by Julius the Master-General, that all the young men of the Gothic nation should assemble in the principal city of their respective Provinces; and as it was insidiously reported that the object of this meeting was to confer upon the most distinguished of their number gifts of land and other marks of public approbation, the summons was universally obeyed with the utmost alacrity. On the day appointed, a body of troops was prepared in the several towns to which the sons of the Goths were invited; who, upon a signal given by the officers in command, fell upon their unarmed victims and left not one of them alive. This bloody deed, so unworthy of a great people, relieved the Provincials, perhaps, from immediate alarm; but, in the end, it was retaliated with the utmost severity, while, in the eyes of impartial posterity, it seems to afford some degree of justification for the atrocities perpetrated by the conquerors of the Empire.†

It has been mentioned that Gratianus was on his march towards the theatre of war when his uncle came to the resolution of attacking the Goths single-handed. At the moment he reached the confines of Macedonia he learned that Valens had fallen, and that the greater part of his army was cut in pieces; upon which he intermitted his progress into a hostile country, in order that he might consult for the preservation of the Empire, and name a successor to the throne of Constantinople equal to the arduous duties which now attached to the sovereignty of the East. He meant that his choice should confer the Purple on a person equally distinguished by talent and by virtue; and although at the age of nineteen he could not derive much assistance from his experience of human character, the selection which he made at once proved his discernment and has

Roman
Empire.

From

A. D.

363.

to

A. D.

395.

Massacre
of the Gothic
youth.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xxxi. 9—12. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 22, 23.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 18, 19. Zosim. lib. iv. c. 24.

† Ruop. in *Excerpt. Legat.* Amm. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 16.

History.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

secured for him the praise of future Ages. About the middle of January, in the year 379, he presented to the army of Illyricum his new colleague, who was forthwith invested with the title and powers of Augustus. As the successor of Valens his jurisdiction extended to Asia, Egypt, and Thrace, to which, as Gratianus found himself closely pressed by the *Alemanni* on either bank of the Rhine, were now added the adjacent Provinces of Dacia and Macedonia. Pacatus assures us that the young Emperor reluctantly accepted the honours to which he was elevated, and that his objections were expressed in such a manner as showed that he sincerely wished to shun the distinction for which so many others longed as the greatest earthly felicity.*

The Alex-
andria
theatre the
Lapide.

Before we proceed to narrate the events which throw a lustre on the reign of Theodosius, we shall resume very briefly the History of the Western Empire, under Gratianus and his brother, the young Valentinianus, in which several occurrences took place, during the years 378 and 379, which had no slight influence on the declining fortunes of Rome. The elder of these Princes, as we have already stated, reserved for his own maturer genius the government of Gaul, of Spain, and of Britain; while he committed to the nominal superintendence of the son of Justin the more tranquil Countries of Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. The victories gained by his father over the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* did not secure for Gratianus the enjoyment of a lasting Peace; for we find that, almost immediately after his accession to the throne, these restless Barbarians poured down upon the Rhine and threatened even the seat of Government at Treves. The *Alemanni*, too, at a somewhat later period, renewed their inroads upon the Empire. Receiving intelligence from one of their countrymen, who had been promoted to the Imperial Guards, that a large body of troops was about to march for *Pannonia* to assist Valens against the Goths, they resolved to seize the favourable moment, to elude the vigilance of the Officers stationed at the forts along the frontier, and to push their hands into the heart of the Province.†

They cross
the Rhine,
and are de-
feated by
Gratianus.

An army, accordingly, numbering from forty to seventy thousand men, crossed the Rhine and began their usual devastations on the property and dwellings of the Provincials; but as the Legions had not yet proceeded to any great distance, they were speedily recalled and were soon in a condition to check the advance of their barbarous enemy. Gratianus was assisted on this occasion by the experience of Nannienus and Mallobandes, the latter of whom was at once King of the Franks and Count of that class of household troops who were called the Domestics. The Sovereign of the *Alemanni* did not shun the engagement which the Roman Emperor sought to bring on. The hostile armies met at *Argentaria*, in the district of *Abatium*, and attacked each other with the utmost impetuosity. Long did the valour of the invaders withstand the more disciplined charge of the Legions, who darted amongst them showers of missile weapons, but, at length, their King being slain and the best of their warriors either killed or wounded, they turned their backs and fled to the nearest woods for safety. Gratianus pursued them

across the Rhine, followed their retreat from hill to hill and from forest to forest, into the very centre of their country, and had, in a short time, the satisfaction to see them lay down their arms and implore his clemency. He yielded to their prayer on condition of their delivering up to him a certain number of their young men, who might serve in his army in *Illyricum*, or be retained in Gaul in the capacity of hostages. Having thus afforded a brilliant proof of his perseverance and determination, not less than of his military skill, the young Emperor at once secured the tranquillity of Gaul, and impressed the German Tribes with a deep respect for his Government.*

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Empire.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

But the leisure of Peace did not produce upon the character of Gratianus the same happy effects which resulted from the vicissitudes and activity of War. Upon his return to Treves, after the settlement of the East, he gave himself up to amusements which, although untintured with vice, did not accord with the martial spirit of the times, while they withdrew his attention from the more mighty concerns of Government. He spent in the most frivolous occupations, and especially in that of the chase, the greater part of every day; leaving the Provinces to the oppressive exactions of his ministers, and the army to the intrigues of certain ambitious spirits, who failed not to exasperate the minds of the soldiers and to inveigh against his general administration. The discontent of the military was not a little increased by the knowledge that the Emperor had received a band of *Alani*, a Scythian clan, to serve about the palace in the honourable situation of Guards, and that his partiality for these Barbarians had been excited not only by their dexterity as archers and agility as huntsmen, but even by their wild habits and savage dress, both of which he condescended to imitate. The purity of his morals, however, and the gentleness of his manners strengthened in the hearts of the great mass of the people an hereditary reverence for the son of Valentinianus; and it was not until the emissaries of rebellion from another Province unfurled the standard of war in Gaul that Gratianus was made aware of the full extent to which he had lost the confidence of the Empire.†

Character of
Gratianus.

The affairs of the East were conducted with great prudence and ability by Theodosius. This celebrated Prince had acquired under the eye of his father, the most distinguished General of the late reign, a full acquaintance with the Art of war, which he afterwards carried to a high degree of practical eminence in his various campaigns in Britain, Africa, and on the shores of the Western Ocean. On the death of Valentinianus he was appointed to command the army of *Mæsia*, where, by his consummate skill, he foiled a large host of the Barbarians and saved the adjoining Provinces. The fate which his parent underwent, in the first year of Gratianus, disgusted him so much with public employment that he retired into his native country, a district of Spain, where he spent his days in the pursuits of agriculture and in the improvement of his flocks. From this solitude he was invited by the Emperor of the West to succeed Valens on the Throne of Constantinople, and to recover from the arms or from the terror of the Goths and Huns, one of the fairest portions of the Roman territory. He was now in the thirty-third

Accession of
Theodosius.
A. D.
374.

* Oros. lib. vii. c. 24. Pacat. Panegy. lib. xii. c. 10—13. Theod. Orat. xiv. Vict. in Epit. Soz. lib. vii. c. 2—4.

† Ann. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 10. Oros. lib. vii. c. 33. Vict. Epit. Jeron in Chron. Auson. Cons. p. 378. Ann. Mar. lib. xlii. Docet accessit Fulvius potius Gratianum Orientem versus mox signum moturum.

* Ann. Mar. lib. xxi. c. 10. Mallobanden—domesticorum comitem, regemque Francorum. Auson. Cons. p. 378. Oros. lib. vii. c. 33. † Ann. Mar. lib. xxxi. c. 10. Vict. in Epit.

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From
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A. D.
393.

His prudent
policy in re-
gard to the
Goths.

year of his age, possessed a manly countenance and fine figure, and was recommended to all classes of his subjects by an untainted character, as well as by the fame of warlike achievements seldom equalled by the oldest Generals.*

When Theodosius first took the field as Emperor, he found the Legions of Thrace so deeply panic-struck by their recent defeat, that it was impossible all at once to inspire them with such confidence in their discipline and superior tactics as was necessary to ensure success in a great battle. He, therefore, deemed it expedient to act for some time on the defensive. Having fixed his head-quarters at *Thessalonica*, the principal city of *Macedonia*, he satisfied himself with watching, in the first instance, the movements of the Barbarians, and with strengthening the fortifications of the garrison towns throughout the Province. When his soldiers had gained repeated advantages over the predatory bands of the enemy, he led them forth to a general action; and although we have no details illustrative of his progress in the reconquest of this Country, there is no room for doubt that his success must have been frequent and decisive. It appears, however, that as long as Fritigern lived, the Goths maintained their ground to a considerable extent on the Southern bank of the Danube, and that, until his death had dissolved the confederacy of those powerful Tribes, Theodosius deemed it expedient to trust more to the cautious policy upon which he began the war, than to the valour of his troops, who were still unable to forget entirely the disaster of *Adrianopolis*. But after the event now alluded to had spread discord and jealousy among the leaders, the Emperor found little difficulty in purchasing the services of some and the neutrality of others. By the aid of a Chief of the *Amali*, who was induced to join his ranks, he obtained an easy victory over a large army of that people, who, with their allies, the Huns, had learned so far to despise the Romans as to indulge in careless dissipation in the neighbourhood of their camp. Athanaric, too, the King of the Visigoths, who had long experienced the caprice of fortune, expressed his readiness to accept the friendship of the Empire. Theodosius met him at the distance of several miles from Constantinople, conducted him with pomp into the Capital of the East, and entertained him there with the utmost kindness and magnificence. The aged Monarch was not destined to leave the Imperial city. A mortal disease terminated his eventful life, while a guest in the palace of him who had succeeded his bitterest enemy, and who was raised to the throne with the express intention of rooting out his nation and family. Policy, not less than a feeling of a more generous nature, induced Theodosius to bestow upon him a splendid funeral and even to erect a monument to his memory; a measure which was so much applauded as the proof of a liberal spirit, that the whole army of Visigoths made an offer of their services to the Imperial Government.†

Death of
Athanaric.

Returns of
the Ostro-
goths, and
their defeat
on the
Danube.

The course of events soon brought another accession of warriors and colonists to the Eastern Empire. The Ostrogoths, under the command of Alatheus and Saphrax, appeared again in *Dacia*, after having swept the greater part of Germany and filled their tents with prisoners and spoil. The Lieutenant of Theodosius,

commanding a strong fleet and numerous army on the Lower Danube, succeeded, by means of some trusty spies, in prevailing upon the Barbarians to attempt a passage in the night, while the Romans, as they were taught to believe, would be entirely off their guard and buried in sleep. The followers of Alatheus, accustomed to conquer and impatient of delay, embraced with avidity a proposal which seemed to gratify all their hopes. They accordingly embarked in three thousand small boats the bravest in the van, and pushed for the opposite shore; nor had they any suspicion of the snare which was laid for them, until they were attacked by the Roman galleys, which dispersed and sunk the greater part of their flotilla. The King with the best of his troops perished either in the water or by the sword. The remainder of the multitude on the Northern bank, being deprived of their leaders, and finding themselves incapable of resistance, resolved to imitate their old rivals the Visigoths, and strove to obtain by negotiation that which they could no longer hope to extort by arms. They offered their allegiance and services to Rome, provided they were to receive, in return, a sufficient extent of vacant land to accommodate the survivors of their nation, and, instead of being scattered over the Provinces and mixed with the inhabitants, that they should be permitted to live together, and occupy exclusively the districts and villages which might be assigned to them.*

The Emperor, aware that his savage enemy had recently improved in arms and discipline, judged it unwise to provoke their desperation, and thereby to hazard the tranquillity of a frontier which had been already so dreadfully ravaged. He acceded to their wishes, and promised to them an asylum in the fertile Countries of *Phrygia* and *Lybia*. Corn was supplied to meet their present necessities, while, to encourage them in the pursuits of agriculture, they were exempted, for several years, from the usual tribute paid by the occupiers of land. The Goths accepted these benefactions as due to their character and prowess, rather than as offerings made to the call of humanity. They refused not, indeed, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Emperor, but they insisted, at the same time, upon the privilege of living according to their own laws, and of restricting their obedience, in War as well as in Peace, to the authority of their native Commanders. Forty thousand of them were at all times prepared to discharge their military obligations to Theodosius; but, as they were soldiers by profession and accustomed to earn an abundant livelihood at the point of the sword, they did not conceal their expectations that the pay, clothing, and other appointments provided by the head of the Government would prove suitable to the rank which they made bold to claim, as the defenders of the Empire.†

In fact, it soon appeared that the armed colonists, whom the successor of Valens had received into the bosom of his dominions, might declare themselves, at no distant day, the masters and conquerors of his people. The unwelcome Provincials were treated by them with the utmost contempt and insolence, as unfit to bear arms,

* Zen. lib. iv. c. 35. 38. Themist. Orat. xvi. Zen. lib. iv. c. 38—40. Spacc. de Reg. p. 25, 26. Tillemont (tom. v. p. 218) expresses his regret that the Goths were not separated. Il n'est dit à tout-haut que l'on n'eût dispersé ces Barbares en divers endroits, pour en faire tout-à-fait maîtres; but he himself assigns a sufficient reason why they did not consent to it.

† Zen. lib. iv. c. 40. Themist. Orat. xvi.

* Amm. Mar. lib. xxix. c. 6. Pacat. lib. xii. c. 9.
† Zen. lib. iv. c. 25, 27, 34. Themist. Orat. xvi. p. 181. Jornand. c. 27, 28.

Roman
Empire.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

They are re-
ceived into
Phrygia and
Lybia.

A. D.
386.

History.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
393.

and incapable of self-defence; and, in such circumstances, the safety of the Romans depended much more upon the divisions of their domestic foes than upon their own vigour or patriotism. The Goths, who were strangers to concord in their own Country, did not learn to cultivate it during the first years of their residence in the Empire. On the contrary, they were divided into two factions; one of which, under Fravitta, professed to love Peace, and to have a common interest with the Romans; while the others, led by Eriulphus, studied only the independence of their Tribe, and the most favourable opportunities for securing the sovereignty of the land which they had been permitted to occupy. A brawl between these Chiefs, which took place at the Imperial table, disclosed to Theodosius the motives by which they were severally actuated. Fravitta, incensed and alarmed at the violence of his rival, followed him on his retreat from the palace, plunged a sword into his breast, and thereby allayed for a time those warm contentions which threatened a Civil war, in the first instance, and finally the dismemberment of the Eastern Provinces.*

Dispute be-
tween two
Goths.

The prudence of Theodosius pointed out to him the path which might most beneficially be pursued in such delicate circumstances, and enabled him to preserve that just balance between the hostile parties, which prevented both from acquiring a dangerous ascendancy. By these means, as well as by an unremitting attention to the fortifications of his principal towns, and to the efficiency of the frontier garrisons, he succeeded in maintaining Peace at home, and in deterring the hordes of *Scythia* from accomplishing any new invasion. We return, therefore, to the affairs of the West, where Gratianus, during the latter years of his reign, forfeited, by his caprice and trivial pursuits, the reputation which he had gained in early youth.

Revolt of
Maximus in
Britain.
A. D.
383.

The dissatisfaction which was very generally felt in Gaul broke out in Britain, where Magnus Clemens Maximus, whose rank in the Province had not been ascertained, was induced to countenance an insurrection, and finally to aspire to the throne. This Commander, who was a native of Spain, had formerly served under the same standard with Theodosius; and it is imagined, that certain feelings of envy or of disapprobation, which respected his ancient fellow-soldier, had no small influence in determining his conduct when about to declare himself a rebel against the Emperor of the West. It appears not, however, that his views were originally directed towards the Purple. On the contrary, if we may believe Orosius and Sulpicius Severus, he was compelled by the soldiers to assume sovereign power, in opposition not only to a sentiment of duty but to his personal inclination.†

Triumph of
Gaul.

Having displayed the flag of rebellion, he resolved forthwith to carry the war into Gaul, and to anticipate any offensive movement on the part of Gratianus. So popular was his cause among the British Provincials of all ages and both sexes, that he was followed across the

channel by an immense colony of the inhabitants, rather than by a select body of warriors. A hundred and thirty thousand males and upwards of seventy thousand females are said to have passed over on that occasion, and hence the origin of Brittany, a Province which owed its name and population to the revolt of Maximus.*

The rapidity of this movement completely disconcerted the Emperor, who was pursuing at Paris the pastimes to which he had too long sacrificed the highest interests of his Government. When roused from his fatal security by the intelligence that a hostile force had established a footing in Gaul, he made an effort to assemble the Legions, and to inspire them with a resolution which he himself did not feel. But the troops, alienated by neglect, and disgusted by his preference of the Barbarian Guards, whom he had introduced into the palace, joined with loud acclamations the standard of Maximus, and avowed their resolution to support the usurper. Even the cohorts which were stationed in the Capital, and appointed to the duty of protecting his person, refused to obey his orders. Deserted by the army, Gratianus fled towards Lyons, attended only by about three hundred horsemen; and he was doubly mortified to find, as he hastened his retreat, that the disaffection which had seized the military, was equally prevalent among the peasants and the inhabitants of the towns. Every gate was shut against, and every voice was lifted up to accuse or to insult him. Had he, however, continued his flight until he reached the confines of Italy, where the power of his brother Valentinian remained unshaken, he might have retrieved at once his fortune and his character; for it is not denied by the worst enemies of the Western Emperor that he possessed an ample share of individual courage, as well as considerable talent and experience in war. But he trusted to the ignorance or perfidious professions of the Governor of Lyons, who induced him to halt, and make a stand for his life and crown. Whether he fell the victim of treason or of inconsiderate zeal must for ever continue doubtful; but it is certain, that he had not long intermitted his retreat when he was overtaken by Audragathius, the Cavalry General of Maximus, and almost instantly put to death. Several of his Officers and attendants shared the same fate; but the only circumstance of any importance connected with this shameful catastrophe, is the refusal of the rebels to deliver the body of his brother to Valentinian, who, after a lapse of three years, employed St. Ambrose to make the request.†

Roman
Empire.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.
Gratianus
expelled,
Pursued,

Maximus fled towards Lyons, attended only by about three hundred horsemen; and he was doubly mortified to find, as he hastened his retreat, that the disaffection which had seized the military, was equally prevalent among the peasants and the inhabitants of the towns. Every gate was shut against, and every voice was lifted up to accuse or to insult him. Had he, however, continued his flight until he reached the confines of Italy, where the power of his brother Valentinian remained unshaken, he might have retrieved at once his fortune and his character; for it is not denied by the worst enemies of the Western Emperor that he possessed an ample share of individual courage, as well as considerable talent and experience in war. But he trusted to the ignorance or perfidious professions of the Governor of Lyons, who induced him to halt, and make a stand for his life and crown. Whether he fell the victim of treason or of inconsiderate zeal must for ever continue doubtful; but it is certain, that he had not long intermitted his retreat when he was overtaken by Audragathius, the Cavalry General of Maximus, and almost instantly put to death. Several of his Officers and attendants shared the same fate; but the only circumstance of any importance connected with this shameful catastrophe, is the refusal of the rebels to deliver the body of his brother to Valentinian, who, after a lapse of three years, employed St. Ambrose to make the request.†

And
assassinated,
August,
A. D.
383.

Maximus was no sooner on the throne of Gaul than he sent an ambassador to Theodosius to acquaint him with his elevation, and to offer him the alternative of friendship or of war. He desired his representative to assure the Emperor of the East that the murder of Gratianus was perpetrated by the soldiers without his knowledge; that he had not thirsted for the distinction which had been conferred upon him by the Legions of Britain; but that, as fortune had placed him at the head of the most warlike Provinces of the Empire, he was determined to maintain his rank by force of arms, should his title be disputed by either of his colleagues. Theodosius, however much disposed to avenge the death of his patron, and the breach of fidelity which had led to it, found it convenient to temporize. He

Maximus
sends an
embassy to
Theodosius.

* Zos. lib. iv. c. 56. Themist. Orat. xvi. Eunap. in Excerpt. Leg. p. 21. Claud. de Bello Get. 169. Jornand. 20. 29. It ought to be observed, that this event is by Zosimus placed in the year 392, instead of 386, and that he names the Gothic Princes FRAUSTUS and PROULUS. The Ostrogoths, who are called *Griethungi* by others, are by him called *Prothungi*.

† Zos. lib. iv. c. 35. Pacat. Panegyrg. lib. xii. c. 23. Sulp. Sever. Hist. ii. c. 7. Orat. lib. vii. c. 34.

* Zos. lib. iv. c. 36.

† Pacat. Panegyrg. lib. xii. c. 28. Sacrat. lib. v. c. 11. Sozom. lib. vii. c. 13. Zos. lib. iv. c. 35.

History.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

could not shut his eyes to the precarious condition of his own dominions, surrounded by enemies to whom the fatigues of war were the most agreeable relaxation, and possessed by allies, whose faith could not be expected to resist an opportunity of procuring plunder, or of extending the limits of their territory. He resolved, therefore, to prefer the alliance of Maximus to the chances of a bloody and protracted quarrel with him, reserving, by a distinct and specific condition, the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the Western Illyricum, for his brother, and confining, by a stipulation equally explicit, the new Monarch to the countries beyond the Alps. The image of Maximus was immediately added to those of Theodosius and Valentinianus, and exhibited in public for the recognition of the people; but, amidst these demonstrations of harmony and confidence, a discerning eye might discover tokens of suspicion on the one side, and of hatred on the other, and, on all hands, the elements of a convulsion which could not long be suppressed.*

Maximus
invades
Italy.
A. D.
387.

Four years passed away without any actual rupture between the Emperors of the East and of the West. This interval, however, had not elapsed in total inactivity on either side; for each, knowing the power and ambition of the other, was exerting all the while his utmost endeavours to augment his military establishment, and to increase his warlike resources. Maximus enlisted a numerous body of Germans, whose licentious habits and fierce tempers rendered them fit instruments for the destructive campaign which he meditated; and as he wished to get possession of the passes of the Alps, without awakening the fears of the young Valentinianus, he pressed him to accept a reinforcement of troops from Gaul, to assist the Pannonian Legions in the defence of their frontier. The ambassador of this Prince, altogether unsuspecting of the design to which he was induced to lend himself a tool, consented to conduct the soldiers of Maximus to the borders of Italy; and the stratagem succeeded so far, that the mountain fortresses were delivered into the hands of the auxiliaries; the passes were secured for the march of a larger force which followed in their footsteps; and the Emperor himself, with the flower of his army, pushed on with so much speed that he was within sight of Milan before any intelligence could be given of his approach.†

Justina and
her son fly
to Thessa-
lonica.

The Empress Justina and her son had no resource but in flight. They directed their course to the strong city of *Aquileia*, which they reached in safety; but womanly apprehensions soon urged a further retreat, upon which the royal fugitives embarked on the Adriatic, and sailed round to *Thessalonica*. Maximus meantime entered Milan in triumph; and the subjects of Valentinianus, finding that no claim was made upon their allegiance, submitted without a struggle to the Government of the conqueror.

Theodosius
resolves on
war.

No sooner did Theodosius learn that the brother of Gratianus had taken refuge in his territory than he repaired, attended by his counsellors, to the port of *Macedonia*, at which the youth and his parent had landed.

* It deserves notice that Orosius and some other writers do not receive Maximus into the number of Emperors, but represent Theodosius as reigning alone after the death of Gratianus. *Anno ab urbe condita* 1138, *Theodosius quadragesimus primus, interfecto per Maximum Gratianum, Imperium Romanum verba solus obtinuit, manente in eo annis undecim, cum jam in Orientis partibus sex annos, Gratianus vivente, regnasset.* Lib. vii. c. 35.

† Sulp. Sever. *Dial.* iii. *Pacat.* lib. xii. c. 25, 26.

In the presence of his illustrious guests the great question of Peace or of War was freely agitated; and it is not concealed by the friends of Theodosius that, though he was alive to every sentiment of gratitude, of patriotism, and of generosity, he hesitated some time whether he should draw the sword or listen to terms of accommodation with the tyrant of Gaul. It is insinuated by Zosimus that the mind of the Emperor, which could not be swayed by considerations of policy or of honour, yielded at last to the softer impulse of love. The sisters of Valentinianus pled the cause of the West and of the Imperial family with so much effect, that he could no longer refuse to take up arms in their defence. He made haste to solemnize his nuptials with the eloquent Princess; after which he issued orders to the Legions on the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Nile, to make preparations for war.*

On no occasion did the military talent of Theodosius appear to greater advantage than in his arrangements for the campaign against Maximus. Expecting, from the experience of the latter in the management of an army, and more especially from the great interest which he had at stake, a formidable resistance, he brought into the field a large body of his finest troops, while he employed several detachments to threaten the Gallic Provinces near the source of the Rhine, and thereby to distract the attention of the invader. The two Emperors at length came in sight of each other near *Siscia*, a town of *Pannonia*, and prepared to decide the fate of the Roman Empire in a general action.

The heavy Legions of Germany and Gaul viewed with contempt the Barbarian array of the Scythian cavalry and mounted archers whom Theodosius had trained to the regular movements of war; but the first charge of these furious horsemen threw them into such disorder, that the plan adopted by Maximus was immediately disconcerted, and his strongest positions transferred to the possession of his enemy. As the battle began late in the day, the conflict was interrupted by the approach of night; but, on the renewal of the fight in the morning, the tide of success ran so decidedly in favour of the Eastern army, that the best of the Gallic and German troops threw down their arms and acknowledged the conqueror. Theodosius, eager to terminate the war by the death of his antagonist, pursued him with so much speed that, on the second day, he reached *Aquileia*, almost at the very moment when the other entered its gates. A vigorous siege soon made him master of the fortifications; and the place was saved from military execution on the promise that Maximus should without delay be delivered up to his clemency. It is said that policy, or the natural tenderness of his heart, withheld, for a brief space, the sentence which Theodosius was expected to pronounce. After this momentary hesitation, however, he resigned him to his fate; when he and his son Victor, whom he had raised to the dignity of Augustus, were put to death by military executioners.†

The conqueror spent the remaining months of the year 387 at Milan, with the view of reforming the abuses of Government, of giving vigour to the administration of law, and, above all, of reviving the sources of

* Zos. lib. iv. c. 46. Oros. lib. vii. c. 35. *Pacat.* *Panegy.* lib. xii. c. 30—47.

† Zos. lib. iv. c. 47, states that Victor was slain in the Alps by Arbogastes; and that Andragathius threw himself into the sea. Socrates, lib. v. c. 14.

Roman
Empire.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Armies
meet at
Siscia.

Maximus
defeated,
and after-
wards put
to death.

History.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Events
described
in the Govern-
ment, and
compen-
sate the
losses of the
Theodosius.

Events
Theodosius
A. D.
391.

Events of
Theodosius
and death of
Valentinianus.
A. D.
392.

prosperity in all the branches of national industry and public wealth. After making a few examples of just severity, in the case of the most atrocious criminals, he directed his whole attention to console and relieve the afflictions of the Province. He not only restored their lands to the husbandmen who had been deprived by the usurper, but also made ample compensation for the losses which they had sustained in the course of the war. His generosity was further manifested in conferring a yearly allowance upon the mother of Maximus, and a good education upon his daughter; both of whom were rendered destitute by the fatal issue of the battle of Siscia, and who, under the reign of a less humane Prince, would have been left to their miserable fate. Theodosius, in short, has deserved the singular commendation, that his virtues always seemed to expand with his fortune; the season of his prosperity was that of his moderation; and his clemency appeared most conspicuous after the danger and commotions of a Civil broil.*

In the Spring of 389, the Emperor made a solemn entry into the ancient city of Rome, where he was received at once as a conqueror and a deliverer. Various abuses which had crept into the Government, during the successive usurpations which had alarmed Italy since the days of Julian, were corrected with a gentle hand; but, such was the delicacy of Theodosius, that, although he was now, in fact, the master of the Roman world, he gave orders that every public measure should be pursued in the name of Valentinianus, and that his authority should be recognised in every legal deed and enactment. As soon, too, as the power of law was again sufficiently established, he invited the young monarch to return to Milan; when, besides restoring to him the dominions which had been wrested from his authority by Maximus, he subjected to his rule all the countries beyond the Alps.†

But the brother of Gratianus appears not to have possessed sufficient activity and resolution to govern a people, who wanted principle to be loyal, and courage to oppose rebellion. His mild, virtuous, and pliant character, which would have adorned the intercourse of private life, served only to excite the contempt of rude warriors, and to afford a pretext for their treachery. Arbogastes, who had performed essential services in the late war, was appointed Master-General of the army of Gaul; and it should seem that he availed himself of the influence afforded by his rank to weaken the interests of his Prince among all classes of his subjects, and to pave the way for his own accession to supreme power. He appointed his partisans to all offices of trust; officered the Legions with men who were devoted to his cause; and, in a word, usurped so completely all the functions of State, that Valentinianus soon found himself stripped of the most important privileges of royalty, as well as of the enjoyment of personal freedom. The distance between Milan and Constantinople increased the danger of his situation; for although he apprized Theodosius of the perils by which he was surrounded, he could not expect the arrival of military aid in time to thwart the designs of his rebellious General. He therefore summoned Arbogastes into his presence at Treves, whither he had

removed his Court, reproached him with his treasonable intentions, and finished by depriving him of all his offices. The Barbarian smiled at the impotent resentment of his Sovereign; and, in a few days, the latter was found strangled in his apartment. As there was no one to bear witness to the manner of his death, the emissaries of the traitor laboured to impress upon the public mind that it was voluntary; an argument which the Master-General of the Gallic armies afterwards employed, through the medium of the Imperial ambassador, when he communicated to Theodosius the demise of Valentinianus.‡

Arbogastes chose to govern the Empire under the name of a dependent whom he had resolved to elevate to the throne. Eugenius, originally a Professor of Rhetoric, was first employed by the Governor of Gaul as his private secretary, and subsequently appointed by him to the duties of Master of the Offices. To the still higher rank which was destined for him by his patron, he is said to have acceded with reluctance; being aware that, although clothed with the Purple, he must still continue the servant of Arbogastes, and be exposed at the same time to all the odium and danger of Government. Theodosius, on the other hand, could not be ignorant of the motives which had guided the conduct of the Barbarian General in his selection of an Emperor; while he had grounds for the justest resentment against him, as the author of his colleague's death, and of all the confusion and distress which were likely to result from it. His indignation was further stimulated by the grief of his wife, who, with tears, deplored the unhappy fate of her brother, and urged him to take up arms to punish the rebellious murderers, and reduce to obedience the monarchy of the West. After due preparation, therefore, he took the field; having under his command the troops of all the allied or tributary nations which had flocked to his standard from the East and the North. Scythians and Arabians, Goths, Huns, and Alani marched under the banners of their native leaders, among whom was the renowned Alaric, whose name is so closely associated with the downfall of Roman independence.†

Theodosius met with no resistance till he had descended from the Julian Alps into the plain which extends from their Southern limits. His opponent, the wily Arbogastes, knew that the heavy troops of Gaul and Germany would prove more efficient on level ground than among the narrow passes of the mountains; and moreover that, if he should gain a victory, the retreat of his enemies would there be more easily prevented, or at least rendered more destructive. The event had nearly established the accuracy of his calculations. The Eastern army was repulsed with great slaughter, and compelled to seek a refuge in the verge of the lofty range over which they had recently passed, while the conqueror, anticipating such a result, threw a body of light-armed men into their rear, to interrupt their flight towards Pannonia. The triumph of rebellion would have been complete, had the soldiers of Eugenius continued faithful to his interests. But the Legions of Gaul, at the very moment when the fortune of the Empire and the fate of Theodosius were placed in

Roman
Empire.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Eugenius
raised to the
Empire of
the West.

Theodosius
prepares for
war.

Victory of
Theodo-
sius.
A. D.
394.

* Pocat. in *Paregrg.* *Tit.* ub. xii. c. 20. Ambros. vol. ii. *Epist.* xl.
† *Zos. lib. ix. c. 47.*

• *Zos. lib. ix. c. 47.* says that he had the benefit of his mother's advice; but she appears to have died immediately after his restoration.
Ones. lib. vii. c. 35. Soc. lib. v. c. 25. *Zos. lib. ix. c. 53.*
† *Zos. lib. ix. c. 54—58.* Claud. III. *Cons. Honor.* 396.

History.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

Death
of Eugenius
and Arbo-
gastes.

Prodigies
attending
the battle.

their hands, remembered the oaths which they had taken to support the house of Valentinianus, and offered their services to the Prince whom they had been employed to cut off. Being thus unexpectedly reinforced, the Eastern Emperor renewed, or rather, perhaps, sustained the attack, on the following morning, when he gained a decided advantage over the diminished ranks of his antagonist, and thereby quashed the insurrection. Eugenius fell into his hands, and was immediately beheaded by the indignant Guards. Arbogastes, who had escaped from the scene of action, and wandered some time in the mountains, put a period to his despair by the use of his own sword.*

We have intentionally passed over all the supernatural circumstances, as they were considered, which have been preserved with so much care by the Ecclesiastical writers of the IVth century, and which are faithfully recorded in the several Works of Tillemont. The storm in the Alps for example, which aided the arms of Theodosius, could not be regarded as an unusual event by the inhabitants of the mountains; while the miraculous intelligence of the victory, which reached Constantinople long before the swiftest courier could have accomplished the journey from Aquilica, must be ranked with those numerous instances in which rumour anticipates the progress of authenticated fact. The authors of the Theodosian Age were credulous and superstitious to a very high degree; and we find, accordingly, that, in selecting materials for History, they exercised very little of that discrimination which separates the fictions of a pious mind from the simple events which are brought to pass by Human agency and the operation of Physical causes. We admit, however, the unimpeachable honesty of the compilers, whose judgment or whose knowledge we find so little reason to extol; and thus, while we dissent from the Philosophy of Ambrose, Augustin, Socrates, and Theodoret, we have the utmost confidence in their narratives, so far as they themselves were witnesses of the facts which they have embodied in their pages.

Accession
of Honorius.

The young Honorius had either accompanied his father in the campaign against Arbogastes, or he joined the army immediately after the throne of the West was rendered vacant by the death of Eugenius. Socrumen and Socrates are of opinion that Theodosius did not send for his son until he felt the ravages of the disease which soon afterwards terminated his life. It was at Milan that the Emperor placed in the hands of Honorius the sceptre of Rome, and with it the Sovereignty of Italy, Spain, the two Gauls, all Africa, and the Western Illyricum. At the same time he nominated Silicho as General-in-Chief of the Legions in those parts, recommending to him the care of the Prince, whose inexperience he knew could not fail to encounter many difficulties in the government of nations so widely scattered, and influenced by views of policy so extremely different.† Having discharged this important duty, he made arrangements for the festivity which usually accompanied the accession of an Emperor; and the last effort of his strength was exhausted in returning acknowledgments to the people for the acclamations with which they had received his son. Zosimus tells

us that he embraced this opportunity to dissuade his Pagan subjects from persevering any longer in their superstitious rites, urging upon them a cordial reception of the Christian Faith, and the more reasonable service which it enjoined; but he adds, with visible satisfaction, that no one paid any respect to the harangue of their Imperial master.‡ He did not live to witness the success of his zeal; for, while preparing to return to Constantinople, he was cut off by dropsy, in the fiftieth year of his age. His body was embalmed, and sent to the Capital of the East.†

Few of the Roman Emperors died more lamented than Theodosius the Great. His sincere attachment to Christianity, and the efforts which he made to further its progress, contributed, it is true, very materially to the advancement of his fame among a large and influential class of his subjects; but his character, on other accounts, exhibited so many points deserving of applause, that even the most determined of his enemies among Pagan writers are compelled to acknowledge his merits, and to praise the mild and impartial spirit in which he conducted his Government. The welfare of his people seems to have supplied the ruling motive of his policy in peace and in war; and, although bred a soldier and desirous of military glory, he, on all occasions, appeared more willing to sacrifice his reputation for courage, than to earn the renown of a hero at the expense of life and property. In drawing the sword he never yielded to the dictates of passion or of personal interests; while, in conducting the details of a campaign, he afforded the most convincing proofs that his talents qualified him to take a place in the list of the greatest Commanders, as well as in that of enlightened and patriotic Statesmen.‡

The times, indeed, in which he lived were prone to corruption, and disfigured with much ignorance, superstition, and crime. The spirit of the ancient Roman Constitution had almost entirely evaporated; the love of Country had been succeeded by avarice, luxury, and venality; the Legions had contracted the habits of mercenaries and the feelings of slaves; while the mass of the people, eager to purchase an exemption from the toils and peril of war, quietly permitted Barbarians to fight their battles and to elect their masters. The Nobles, generally speaking, had ceased to take any concern in the administration of public affairs. The despotism to which, since the days of Tiberius, they had been forced to submit, was wielded by the caprice and supported by the power of the army; and, in fact, for more than three hundred years prior to the accession of Theodosius, the seat of Government was in the camp, and the Imperial Ministers were the Prefects of the Guards, or the Commanders of Cohorts. The power of the Church, in some instances, began to supply the deficiency of Law, and to give vigour to the principles of Morality; but, at the end of the IVth century, the impure tenets of Heathenism still divided the faith of the Empire, both in the East and West, and counterbalanced the loose maxims on which the intercourse of life was generally conducted. Zosimus accuses the sloth and effeminacy of Theodosius as the cause of the corrupt habits which prevailed among his subjects; but it is obvious, that the example of a Monarch, whose

Roman

Emper.

From
A. D.
363.

to
A. D.
395.

Death of
Theodosius
January.

A. D.
395.
Character
of Theodo-
sius.

General
reflections

* Zos. lib. iv. c. 58. Ambros. vol. ii. *Epist.* liii. August. *de Civit. lib. v. c. 26.* Socrumen. lib. vii. c. 24. Claud. in *IP. Cons. Honor.* 70.

† Zos. lib. iv. c. 59.

* Zos. lib. iv. c. 59.

† Ibid.

‡ Ambros. vol. ii. *Epist.* xl. Pacat. *Panegyrr. Vetr.* lib. vii. c. 20.

History. residence varied with the exigencies of the State and the change of the seasons, and who was half his life at the head of an army in the field, could not be chargeable with the demoralization of all the nations from the Euphrates to the Atlantic. The greatest stain, perhaps, which attaches to his character is the severity which he employed in punishing a popular insurrection at Thessalonica. In that city the death of a favourite General was revenged by the massacre of six or seven thousand per-

sons, who were invited to the Theatre for the express purpose of being put to military execution. It ought, however, in justice to be remembered, that his resentment was inflamed by the misrepresentations of his Minister Rufinus; and also that, after the first burst of passion which accompanied the fatal order, he sent a messenger to countermand it, who, unfortunately, did not arrive until the repentance of his master could be of no avail.

Roman
Empire.
From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
395.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XLVI.

FROM THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE TO THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHs.

FROM A. D. 395. TO A. D. 410.

History.

From

A. D.

395.

to

A. D.

410.

Accession
of Arcadius
and Hono-
rius.

THE accession of Honorius in the West, and of his brother Arcadius to the throne of Constantinople, marks an epoch in the History of the Roman Empire. The division which took place when Valentinianus I. intrusted to Valens the Government of the Eastern Provinces, amounted to little more than the appointment of a Lieutenant, who might exercise the Imperial offices, in subordination to a supreme head. But when the two sons of Theodosius assumed the sceptre of their respective dominions, it appears to have been understood that each was to be independent of the other, both as to the ground on which their authority rested, and also as to the objects for which it should be employed. We may therefore regard it as an established fact, that the Roman world, which was formerly divided for the sake of convenience, was henceforth separated into two parts, as distinct kingdoms, subject to different laws, and destined to follow an entirely new line of succession. To Arcadius, who for a considerable time had held the rank of Augustus, there fell, as his inheritance, the valuable Provinces of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Thrace, Dacia, Macedonia, and the Eastern Illyricum; extending from Dalmatia to the borders of Persia, and from the Danube to the cataracts of the Nile. Honorius, on the other hand, was pronounced the master of Italy, of Gaul, of Africa, Spain, Britain, the Western Illyricum, Noricum, and Pannonia: a territory which embraced the most important nations of modern Europe, and comprehended every climate which is to be found between the Grampians and Mount Atlas.*

Division of
the Empire.

Character
of Arcadius.

Our attention is first attracted to Arcadius, who is described by his contemporaries as a weak and pusillanimous Prince. He had nothing in his mind or body resembling the greatness and dignity of his father. His figure was small and badly formed; his countenance was sallow, and expressive of imbecility, hesitation, and languor, marking a total absence of genius, and even of all deep passion or sustained emotion. Equally devoid of talent and of energy he could not fail to become the tool of some one of those ambitious persons who surrounded his throne; and, unfortunately for himself as well as for his country, the power of government was seized by the hand of an individual, whose abilities were never guided by the feeling of patriotism, whose aspiring views were never restrained by the sense of

humanity, and whose heart was dead to the stings of compunction. Rufinus, who imposed upon the late Emperor a high opinion of his prudence and fidelity, was raised by him to the Prefecture of the East, and found himself, upon the death of his patron, still able either to command the confidence of the ruling monarch, or to subdue his reluctance. We pass over the various steps by which this favourite of Theodosius supplanted his rivals and deceived his master, to give an outline of his short administration as the representative of Arcadius, whose name was only used to veil the avarice, and to afford a pretext for the cruel exactions of his Minister.*

As Rufinus was not called to direct the affairs of State in the carrying on of War, or in the establishment of Peace, his policy was limited to the accumulation of wealth, which he regarded as the instrument of power; and in the prosecution of this object, he had recourse to all the means which an insatiable covetousness, set free from every principle of justice and compassion, could suggest to a man clothed with unbounded authority. The remark of Claudian that *one house received the rapine of the whole world*, has not been accused of much exaggeration; for whatever could be extorted by oppressive taxes, by bribery, by fines and confiscations, by forgery, by the sale of justice, of favours, and of public offices, was poured into the coffers of the Prefect. The flame of his avarice, says the poet just named, could not be extinguished with rivers of gold. His parsimony, too, was equal to his avarice; and hence he neglected to gain the support of the soldiers, who, had they shared in his plunder, would not, it is probable, have called in question the expedients by which it was obtained. His vindictive and jealous spirit, moreover, created enemies among a class of men who were less exposed to his extortion than to his personal resentment. He had procured the death of several individuals, whose rank was higher than his own, especially of Tatianus, whom he was immediately appointed to succeed, and of Proculus, the son of this distinguished Officer, who was Prefect of Constantinople. In a manner equally unjust he took away the life of Lucianus, the Count of the East, who had purchased from Rufinus himself the high preferment which now awakened the jealousy of the latter. He resolved to execute in person the vengeance

Roman
Empire.

From

A. D.

395,

to

A. D.

410.

And of E-

saus his

Minister.

Cruelty &

extortion

Rufinus.

* Oros. lib. vii. c. 36. Zos. lib. v. c. 1.

* Zos. lib. iv. c. 51. Claud. in Rufin. lib. i. Zos. lib. v. c. 2—4. 240

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From
A. D.
395,
to
A. D.
410.

His dis-
appointment
at the mar-
riage of Al-
cibiades.

Death of
Zosimus.
A. D.
395.

which he had meditated against this delegate of his power; for which reason he made a rapid journey to Antioch, dragged him before his tribunal, and sentenced him to a cruel and ignominious punishment.*

Such unrelenting ferocity turned against the Imperial Minister the rage of every Order of the people, from the Eunuchs in the Palace to the Generals at the head of the army. The former, who were, perhaps, the most intimately acquainted with his purposes, set the example of opposing his nefarious schemes. He had betrothed his daughter to Arcadius, and by this marriage he hoped to establish his authority on a permanent basis; but the Chamberlain Eutropius, acting in concert with the other Eunuchs, conducted to the pious Emperor a young lady named Eudoxia, whose father commanded a body of Franks in the service of Rome. Disappointed, and even in some degree the object of ridicule, Rufinus did not despair of maintaining his ascendancy over the feeble mind of his Sovereign, and of enjoying an ample revenge upon all by whom his plan of domestic aggrandizement had been thwarted.†

To effect this object he importuned the Government of the Western Empire to send back the troops which Theodosius had led into Italy in his last expedition. Stilicho, who presided at the helm of affairs in the name of Honorius, expressed his readiness to comply with this request, and even to march at the head of the Eastern contingent to Constantinople. As the main reason assigned by Rufinus for demanding the return of the troops was founded on an alarm excited by the appearance of the Huns on the Syrian border, and of Alaric in the Provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, the offer of the Western General to assist with his presence and advice the brother of his Sovereign, ought not to have created the slightest suspicion. But Stilicho claimed the guardianship of both Emperors, as having, he alleged, been intrusted to him by their father in the last moments of his life; and it was therefore suspected that his authority might derange the plan of administration adopted, or rather tolerated, by Arcadius, under the auspices of his ambitious Prefect, and involve the two Empires in war. He was accordingly informed that, although the Legions of the East were still expected to obey the summons forwarded to them from the Capital, his personal attendance would not be accepted; but that, on the contrary, if he passed the line which separated the dominions of his master from those of Arcadius, his conduct would be regarded as an act of avowed hostility. Stilicho abstained from a measure which, he saw, would at once defeat his object, and occasion much national calamity; but he intrusted to Gainas, a Gothic Chief in whom he had the utmost confidence, the command of the Eastern forces and the accomplishment of his revenge. When, therefore, the cohorts had advanced within a mile of the Metropolis, they halted until the Emperor and his Minister should come forth to greet their arrival; and no sooner did they see the enemy of their General and the oppressor of the people surrounded by their ranks, than one of their number stepped forth and plunged a sword into his breast. The fury of the populace, hitherto checked

by fear, now burst out without restraint. The body of Rufinus was literally torn in pieces; and his wife and daughter, had they not taken refuge in a Religious Sanctuary, would have shared the same fate.*

The feeble Arcadius now found himself in the hands of the men who had deceived and murdered his principal servant. The Empress, who owed her elevation to the stratagem of Eutropius, recommended him to the favour of her husband; while Gainas, who could rely upon the support of the army, sought no other patron. Zosimus insinuates that the influence of Stilicho was exerted to secure the promotion of his tools at the Court of Constantinople, and that the General of Honorius still aspired to the government of both Empires, in capacity of guardian to the two young Princes. Whatever truth there may be in the former part of this suggestion, there seems to be no doubt that his interference in the administration of the Eastern State, roused a spirit of opposition to his policy so strong and determined, that the sons of Theodosius, instead of affording mutual support against the powerful nations which were, on all sides, pressing upon the limits of their respective Provinces, viewed each other as enemies to be weakened or subdued. The Roman Empire was thus not less divided in interest and affection than in territorial dominions; and hence its decline and final overthrow were accelerated, from year to year, by the very counsels and arms which ought to have secured its perpetuity.†

An insurrection of the Goths under the celebrated Alaric, revived for a moment the union of the two Empires. After the most patient investigation into the few sources of Historical truth which still remain, we have not been able to discover the cause of the formidable war which, in the year 396, alarmed the interior Provinces both of Italy and of Greece. Zosimus and Orosius agree in ascribing it to the arts of Rufinus and of his rival Stilicho; each of whom is accused of wishing, amid the turmoil which must ensue, to enhance the value of his services, and thereby to raise himself to the supreme power.‡ This charge, as it respects the Minister of Arcadius, is attended with a considerable show of probability; and his memory is still loaded with the atrocious imputation of meditating a change in the Government, to be effected by the success of the Barbarians against his native Prince, the son, too, of his greatest benefactor. His treason is attributed to the disappointment which he sustained in the marriage of the Emperor with Eudoxia instead of his daughter; to avenge which, says Claudian, he invited the Huns into Asia, and laid Europe open to the Goths. He lived not to witness the fatal effects of his wicked policy.

The march of Alaric, who descended from the banks of the Danube, through Thrace, Dacia, Macedonia, and Thessaly into Achaia, and even the Peloponnesus, was marked with blood and desolation, with the sack of towns and the captivity of the inhabitants. Rufinus had everywhere placed such Officers in command as either could not defend their Country, or who were base

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Empire.
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395,
to
A. D.
410.

Eutropius
and Gainas
succeed to
his power.

Gothic war.
Conjectures
as to its
origin.
A. D.
396.

Devastation
committed
by Alaric in
Greece.

* Zos. lib. iv. c. 52. Claud. in *Rufin.* lib. i. *Orbisque rapinas Accipit aus domus.* Philostorg. lib. ii. c. 3. Ambros. *Epi.* i. Symmach. lib. iii. c. 6. Zosimus (lib. v. c. 1.) includes Stilicho in the charges which he brings against Rufinus.

† Zos. lib. v. c. 5. Philostorg. lib. ii. c. 6.

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* Claud. in *Rufin.* lib. ii. Zos. lib. v. c. 7. Soz. lib. vii. c. 1. Soc. lib. vi. c. 1. Philostorg. lib. xi. c. 3.

† Zos. lib. v. c. 8. Claud. *I. Cons. Stilich.* lib. i. Soz. lib. vii. c. 1. Claud. in *Eutrop.* lib. i. Philostorg. lib. xi. c. 4.

‡ Oros. lib. vii. c. 37. *Ut rebus repente turbatis, necessitas Republicæ aculeis ambibus tegeret, barbarus genies ille inuasi, hic foris.* Zosimus (lib. v. c. 5.) says much the same.

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enough to receive instructions not to defend it. The straits of Thermopylae were abandoned without drawing a sword, and the strongest positions in Greece were given up as fast as the enemy could advance to occupy them. Phocis and Boeotia could not resist the torrent of Barbarians which were thus let in upon them. All the men capable of bearing arms were massacred, while the women and children were reserved for the most degrading servitude. Athens saved her walls by a seasonable capitulation; but Argos, Corinth, and Sparta submitted unconditionally to the good pleasure of the conqueror, and resigned their wealth, their ornaments, the triumphs of Art and of War, and, above all, the flower of their inhabitants, as a prey to his savage followers. As, however, the succeeding events of this Gothic insurrection are more closely connected with the history of the West than of the East, we shall not follow them out to any greater length at present, but resume the narrative as it respects the reign of Arcadius and of his unworthy Ministers at Constantinople.*

Character
of Eutropius.

Eutropius was on many accounts the most odious and contemptible of those instruments of tyranny which were employed or permitted by the weak Monarch of the Grecian Empire to oppress his subjects. The origin and occupations of this favourite cast a shade upon his character which no degree of power or of wealth could remove; while the insolence with which he assailed men of the noblest birth, and the rapacity with which he plundered all classes of the people, excited against him an universal feeling of indignation. His avarice was equal to that of Rufinus, without having the accompaniment of that lofty ambition which stimulated the covetousness of the latter. To the disgrace of the Roman name, he appeared in the Senate as a Consul, and at the head of the army as a Commander; imitating the acts which were performed by Cæsar and Camillus, as an ape mimics the doings of a man.

Cruelty and
tyranny of
his Govern-
ment.
A. D.
397.

The contempt with which his person and administration were everywhere regarded soon rendered him impatient of superior merit as well as of illustrious genealogy. Alundantius, who had introduced him to the Palace of Constantinople, was the first victim of his spleen, being deprived of his fortunes, and banished to an inhospitable district on the shores of the Black Sea. Timasius, the Master-General of the armies under Theodosius, was the next whom it was thought expedient to accuse of disaffection towards the Emperor and his Prime Minister. He, in like manner, was stripped of his immense riches, and doomed to pass the remainder of his days in the desert of Lybia. Nor was it held sufficient to protect himself against the just anger of those whose rank in the State was degraded by his presence in the councils of his Sovereign: he procured a law of treason to be passed, which punished with death and confiscation of goods every one who should conspire, either with subjects or with strangers, against any of the persons whom the Emperor considered as the Members of his Government, of his Household, of his Civil establishment, and even the principal Officers of his army. On this broad ground a private quarrel might be identified with a deliberate conspiracy against the State; and as the intention, if it could be

detected, was amenable to the same tribunal with the overt act, a hasty expression, or an ambiguous term, exposed the most illustrious individuals in the Empire to the loss of life and estate. Nay, to complete the reign of terror, it was enacted that the sons of traitors, although not convicted of the crime laid to the charge of their parents, should be rendered incapable of inheriting property, either on the side of the father or on that of the mother, or of receiving any legacy bequeathed to them by kinsmen or by strangers.*

This intolerable oppression found an avenger in a part of the Empire which, perhaps, was the least exposed to its weight. The Chief of one of those Colonies of Ostrogoths which had been planted by Theodosius in Phrygia, influenced either by the desire of plunder or by the secret instigation of Gaïnas, took the field at the head of his clan, and displayed the standard of rebellion. Tribigild, meeting with no formidable resistance, made a great impression on the richest Provinces of Asia Minor; the intelligence of which no sooner reached Constantinople, than an army was sent against him under Leo, a rude and ignorant soldier, while Gaïnas was ordered to proceed into Thrace to defeat any attempt that might be made in that quarter. The incapacity of the former was soon made manifest. The Barbarians attacked his camp in the night, and dispersed his troops; the greater part of whom made haste to join the victorious rebel, and to encourage him in the pursuit of his ulterior object, the acquisition of wealth, and, as they imagined, the punishment of Eutropius. The failure of Leo rendered necessary the presence of Gaïnas with a reinforcement from the Thracian Legions; but this Officer, still more incensed than Tribigild against the Imperial favourite, had no intention to weaken the body of the insurgents or to disappoint their hopes. Instead of opposing the Ostrogoths, he directed their movements and even strengthened their positions; and when he had thus made them formidable, he wrote to Arcadius that the smallness of the army under his command, as it rendered the issue of a battle uncertain, dictated the expediency of terminating the contest by a negotiation for Peace. The Emperor, who could contemplate no alternative, waited with impatience for the conditions which it might please the victor to propose; but when he heard that the head of his Minister was demanded as the basis of the treaty, he was struck with horror and alarm. His wife Eudoxia, who valued the safety of her throne more than the life of an Eunuch, urged his compliance with the claim of Tribigild; insinuating, at the same time, that Eutropius had recently been guilty of some misdemeanours which gave great offence to her feelings of propriety. The miserable being, whose life was thus made the price of Peace, fled to the Metropolitan Church, where, under the protection of St. Chrysostom, he enjoyed the privilege of Sanctuary until the fury of the people had subsided. He was in the first instance banished to the island of Cyprus, whence he was almost instantly recalled, and condemned to death.†

But the ambition or revenge of Gaïnas was not satisfied with the downfall of Eutropius. Displeased at the elevation of Aurelian and Saturninus, two individuals

* Claud. in *Rufin.* lib. ii. Zos. lib. v. c. 16. The latter historian mentions that Athens was saved by the appearance of the spectre of Achilles.

* Claud. in *Eutrop.* lib. i. Zos. lib. v. c. 8.
† Zosimus (lib. v. c. 13.) represents the insurrection as originating with Gaïnas. In lib. v. c. 14—18. he gives a good account of this rebellion. Philostorg. lib. ii. c. 6.

Re-
Empir
From
A. D.
395
to
A. D.
410
Insurre-
ction of Tribi-
gild
A. D.
399.

And del-
of Eutro-
pius.
A. D.
399

of Consular rank, who were invested with the offices to which he aspired, he threw off his allegiance altogether, united his force with that of Tribigild in the Province of Lydia, and forthwith advanced to the shores of the Hellespont. Arcadius found it necessary to enter into a negotiation with the two rebellious Commanders. He condescended to have a personal interview with them at Chalcedon, where he agreed to sacrifice his new Ministers to appease the jealousy of Gainas, to make the latter Master-General of the Roman armies, and to permit the Capital to be garrisoned with Gothic soldiers.*

This success led to the speedy ruin of the fortunate Barbarian. Unable to repress the violence of his followers, who mixed with the insolence of conquest the acrimony of Religious controversy, he had the mortification to learn that a great part of his army was cut off by the citizens of Constantinople, who had risen in defence of their creed. Gainas was declared a public enemy, and compelled to seek safety in flight. The loyal troops in the adjoining Provinces were intrusted to the command of Fravitta, a Gothic Chief, whose fidelity towards the Emperor pointed him out as the fittest person for that important charge; upon which suitable preparations were made by sea and land to subdue the rebellious Generals, and to restore the independence of Government. Of the war which ensued so few details have been preserved that we can only form a conjecture in regard to the scene on which it was prosecuted, and the immediate results which it produced. It would appear that a succession of defeats in Thrace induced Gainas to attempt the passage of the Hellespont in the face of a superior force, by which he was repulsed with great loss and pursued towards the Danube. In these circumstances he relinquished whatever designs he might have entertained on the Sovereignty of the East, placed himself at the head of his light cavalry, and resolved to fight his way into the Countries beyond the river, where he hoped to resume the power which he is supposed to have originally possessed, as the leader of a small Sept, or Tribe. But Uldin, the King of the Huns, occupied all the strong positions on the Southern bank of the stream which the fugitive intended to pass; and being unwilling that an adventurer, at once so bold and faithless, should have the means of forming an army in his rear, and desirous, perhaps, to recommend his services to the Imperial Court, he opposed the further retreat of the vanquished rebel. Gainas, reduced to despair, made several furious charges upon the lines of his antagonist, in one of which he was slain, together with the greater part of his devoted band. His head was sent to Constantinople, and relieved the unwelcome Emperor from the fears which had recently oppressed him, as well for his life as for his crown.†

The Peace procured by this victory appears to have continued unbroken till the death of Arcadius. Seven years elapsed between these two events; during which period the Goths and Huns, satisfied for the moment with the share which they had obtained of the best lands in the Empire, and resolved to check the further inroads of their countrymen, who came to plunder rather than to occupy the cultivated fields, proved the main defence of the Northern frontier. The tranquillity

of the Capital, indeed, was occasionally disturbed by the contests of the two great Religious parties, which at that time divided the Christian World, the Arians and the Catholics. Then, as on other occasions, the interests of the true Faith were made the pretext for indulging personal animosity and for gratifying ambitious views; and we find, accordingly, that thousands of both sexes, who knew not the meaning of the language which they used, nor the import of the question which they discussed, were ready to inflict and to suffer death, rather than yield a single step to their theological opponents. The Empress herself, who had taken offence at the Archbishop, the celebrated Chrysostom, mingled in these disputes; and, on several occasions, carried her enmity so far as to convince every one that her zeal was stimulated by private resentment, and not, as she professed, by a regard for evangelical truth and piety.

Zosimus relates, too, that in the year 404, a part of Syria and of Asia Minor was laid waste by an irruption of the Isaurians, who, bursting from the fastnesses of Mount Taurus, swept away from the husbandmen of Pamphylia and Cilicia the fruits of their land, and robbed the inhabitants of the villages. This temporary invasion was checked by Arbazacius, who soon drove the freebooters back into the hills, and strengthened the military posts along the border; his reputation, however, did not pass unscathed by the suspicion that he had sold to the marauders the facility of escape, and accepted a share of their booty for permission to carry away the remainder. But this occurrence did not materially interrupt the Peace of the Empire, which, as we have already remarked, was not menaced by any powerful enemy until after the demise of Arcadius, which took place in the month of May 408.*

The family of the Emperor, at his death, consisted of three daughters and a son. This last, named Theodosius, was only seven years of age when the throne of the East, now become hereditary, fell into his possession. His mother had recently paid the debt of nature; his uncle Honorius was incapable of rendering any assistance in the government of a State, which was already become more a rival than an ally, and hence the care of his person and authority naturally devolved upon the great Officers of the court and of the army. There is, indeed, to be found in the pages of Procopius a traditional narrative, setting forth that Arcadius had, by a special clause in his will, confided the fortunes of his son to the generosity of the Persian Monarch; whom, it is said, he regarded as less likely to be influenced by ambitious views, than the turbulent Chiefs by whom the throne of Constantinople was at that period surrounded. Agathias relates that the report of such an arrangement had reached his times, and, without positively calling the truth of it in question, directs his criticism rather to the wisdom of the measure than to the evidence upon which it had been believed. Subsequent writers, however, who have bestowed upon the testament of Arcadius fully more attention than it deserves, leave no room for doubt that Procopius must have been misled by a popular story, and that the young Theodosius was in no respect indebted either to the counsels or the arms of Persia.†

Roman
Empire.
From
A. D.
395.
to
A. D.
410.
Religious
contro-
versies.

Death of
Arcadius.

* Zos. lib. v. c. 22. Soz. lib. vi. c. 4.

† Zos. lib. v. c. 23.

* Zos. lib. v. c. 25. Philostorg. lib. ii. c. 8. Soz. lib. viii. c. 25.
† Agath. lib. iv. Soz. lib. ix. c. 1.

History.

From
A. D.
395.
to
A. D.
410.

Marriage of
Honorius.

Advance of
Alaric.

His suc-
cession.

Availing ourselves of the pause created by the death of the Eastern Emperor, we resume the history of the West under the government of Honorius. We intentionally omit the details of a second African war, excited by Gildo, a brother of the tyrant Firmus, and which ended, like the former, in the defeat and death of the principal rebels. The year 398 was signalized at once by this success, and by the marriage of the Emperor with his cousin, the daughter of Stilicho; events which appear to have employed the panegyrics of Poetry, as well as the diligence of those minute Annalists who measure the importance of things by their local interest rather than by their effects on the public welfare. We pass on to a more momentous occurrence in the reign of Honorius, the invasion of Italy by Alaric, the celebrated leader of the Goths.

We have already described the operations which took place in Greece when, in the year 396, a various army, under the Chief just named, carried terror and devastation from the shores of the Danube to the extremity of Peloponnesus. The Ministers of Arcadius, jealous of the power possessed by Stilicho, who had been sent to deliver the Eastern Empire from the horrors of invasion, opposed the measures of their ally to such an extent that the Goths effected an easy escape from his hands. The Roman General was even commanded to retire from the dominions of Arcadius; while Alaric was received into the confidence of the Government whose territories he had ravaged, and whose authority he had laboured to subvert. After having destroyed the fairest parts of Greece and plundered Epirus, the Gothic Prince was raised by the Court of Constantinople to the rank of Master-General of the Eastern Illyricum. Nor did his elevation stop here; for his followers, animated by his numerous victories, and assured of future success, proclaimed him King of the Visigoths, and of all the Tribes who owned their kindred or allegiance.*

Situated between the two Empires, Alaric could not fail to prove formidable to both. Enraged, perhaps, by the hostility of the Romans directed by the splendid talents of Stilicho, and, at all events, regarding them as a much more powerful enemy than the effeminate bands of Constantinople, he resolved, in the first instance, to lead his troops against Honorius, and to effect, if possible, the entire conquest of Italy. After two years' preparation, accordingly, he advanced into the warlike Province of Pannonia, forced the passage of the Alps, and pitched his camp in the plains of Istria and Venetia. But these achievements, it is obvious, could not be accomplished without the expense of much time and bloodshed; and, hence, although he began the war in the year 400, it was not till the third summer, that the terror of his arms disturbed the repose of the Imperial Court at Milan. Many battles and sieges must in the interval have occupied his attention and thinned his ranks, and there is even a great air of probability in the conjecture that the Gothic King was compelled, oftener than once during that period, to retire towards the Danube, and recruit his forces among the native Tribes who lined its banks. In the beginning of the third season, however, he approached so near the residence of the feeble Honorius, that it became necessary for the latter either to

relinquish Italy altogether to the Barbarian conqueror, to make a great effort to drive him once more beyond the mountains. The Prince himself, yielding to his fears, was inclined to follow the advice of those who recommended an immediate retreat into Gaul; but Stilicho, unwilling to abandon the city and country of the Romans into the hands of a savage host, which would plunder and debase the venerable memorials of their ancient fame, entreated his Sovereign to maintain, if possible, his ground at Milan, until a sufficient army could be raised to check the progress of the invader. With this view the gallant General repaired to the Northern frontiers, whither the best disciplined portion of the Legions had been despatched. He crossed the Alps amidst the ice and snow which still lingered in their valleys, and attacked in the hilly parts of Rætia a powerful body of the enemy who threatened a descent into the low country. He induced several Tribes of the *Alamanni* to join the standard of the Emperor, and to take arms against a people who were already become formidable to all the Western nations of Europe. In like manner, he summoned from the borders of the Rhine, and even of Caledonia, every cohort that could be spared from the immediate defence of those Provinces, and ordered them to hasten their march for the protection of Italy. So great, indeed, was the emergency, that he did not refuse to receive into his ranks a numerous body of Alanian horsemen, although former events had taught him to distrust alike their discipline and their fidelity.†

But the activity of Stilicho could not keep pace with the ambition of Alaric, or with the fears of Honorius. The Gothic army having crossed the Addua, the Roman Emperor, at the head of a feeble band of courtiers, fled into Liguria, on his way to the frontier of Gaul; but being pressed by the light troops of the enemy, he sought a temporary refuge within the walls of Asta. The King of the Visigoths, eager to terminate the war by the capture of the Prince, invested the place with his whole force; and as the means of defence were small, and the resolution of the garrison was unsustained either by courage or talent in their leader, the siege would, probably, have ended in a speedy capitulation, had not the father-in-law of Honorius descended from the adjoining heights with a body of soldiers determined to save their Emperor, or to perish in the attempt. The appearance of this able Officer soon changed the aspect of affairs. Alaric, who imagined that all the honour and wealth to be gained by the surrender of Asta were already in his hands, had the mortification to find himself surrounded, and exposed to the instant attack of a numerous and indignant army. The Chiefs of his camp compelled him to adopt the prudent measure of retreating, as long as it was in their power to escape, and to carry with them the load of booty with which their march was encumbered.‡

From Asta we trace the position of the Goths to the neighbourhood of Polentia, where they appear to have pitched their tents. On the morning of Easter Sunday, in the year 403, Stilicho attacked them whilst employed in their devotions, and gained an important victory. The abilities of Alaric were displayed to the greatest advantage, and he more than once turned the tide of

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Empire.
From
A. D.
395.
to
A. D.
410.
Energy of
Stilicho.

He saves
Honorius at
Asta.

Defeat of
Goths at
Polentia.

* Claud. in *Europ.* and de *Bello Getico*, v. 565.

* Claud. de *Bello Getico*, v. 267.

† Claud. *V. I.* Cons. Hon. and de *Bello Getico*, v. 580.

History.
From
A. D.
395,
to
A. D.
410.

Alaric
leaves his
Rome.

Alaric
leaves his
Rome.

A. D.

Alaric
leaves his
Rome.

Alaric
leaves his
Rome.

battle against the assailants; but the steady valour and discipline of the Romans finally prevailed, forced the intrenchments of his camp, and drove him from the field at the head of his remaining cavalry. The spoils of Greece, which the Barbarians still carried about with them, rewarded the success of the conquerors; thousands of prisoners fell into their hands, and, among the rest, the wife of Alaric, still loaded with jewels and precious stones, and recently elated with the hope of occupying the throne of the West.

The Gothic Commander, superior to the caprice of fortune, resolved to occupy the time which was spent by his enemies in congratulation, in the bold enterprise of seizing upon Rome itself, and thereby of indemnifying his soldiers for their loss at Polentia. His cavalry, which had retreated in tolerable order, was still equal to a rapid march across the Apennines; and hoping to take the Capital by surprise, he had no doubt of gratifying the avarice and revenge of his followers, before any considerable body of troops could be sent against him. But the vigilance of Stilicho could not be deceived. Rome was made aware of the danger which menaced it, and supplied with a garrison from the neighbouring territory. Disappointed a second time, the despair of the Barbarians might have impelled them to some rash attempt not less destructive to the country than a more regular triumph in the field; a consideration which induced the Roman General to propose a Truce, and to hold out to the invaders the means of retiring without further loss of honour or of property. The conditions were accepted on the part of Alaric; but as every concession had been wrung from him by the pressure of circumstances, or by the overwhelming influence of the Chieftains, who exercised a separate authority in his camp, he never cordially relinquished the determination which he expressed upon his entrance into Italy, of finding within its limits either a kingdom or a grave. It is upon a reference to such feelings only that we can account for his attempt upon Verona while pursuing his retreat towards the Rhetian Alps. His intention was, by a sudden assault, to take that important city, the key of the fine country by which it is surrounded; but his design being made known by certain traitors who kept up a correspondence with Stilicho, he was attacked in front and flank by a superior force, and punished with a defeat not less severe than he had sustained at Polentia. On this occasion he owed his personal safety to the swiftness of his horse, and to an unskillful manœuvre on the part of the Alani, who, in their eagerness to conquer, broke their ranks, and thereby made an opening for the Gothic cavalry to charge. Alaric, although discomfited, continued to keep the field against Stilicho, until, finding his men sinking under the weight of disease and famine, he thought proper to listen to the advice of his captains, and embrace the opportunity which was held out to him for effecting a retreat.*

Rome, recently delivered from the terror of an assault, expressed an ardent desire to receive within her walls the son of Theodosius. After some delay he was induced to comply with the entreaties of the Senate; and, at length, in the month of December, 403, he entered the city with all the pomp of an ancient Triumph; having by his side in the same chariot the indefatigable

Commander, by whose talents and courage Italy was for a time relieved from the presence of a sanguinary foe. In the Games which followed, Honorius abolished, by a formal decree, the inhuman spectacle of Gladiators; following in this measure not only the counsels of Religion, but also the softer spirit of the Age, which had begun to take offence at the sight of blood so profitably and cruelly shed.*

The Capital of Italy had not for many years been regarded as the residence of her Sovereigns. During the preceding century, indeed, Rome had only three times witnessed the presence of an Emperor; and as the reasons assigned for transferring the Court to a position nearer the important frontier of the Pannonian Provinces, had reconciled the citizens to the change, no attempt seems to have been made to detain Honorius in the Palace of the Cæsars. The people of Milan solicited him to return to their city; but the alarm which he had suffered on the approach of Alaric determined him to make choice of a situation, where he might more easily obtain the means of defence, or of flight. He selected Ravenna, on the shores of the Adriatic, which, for more than three hundred years after, continued to be the seat of Government and the Metropolis of Italy.†

A series of events about this period distracted the Western Empire; but they are so indistinctly arranged by Zosimus, the only regular Historian to whom we can refer, that it is somewhat difficult to ascertain their order. It was, probably, in the second year after the repulse of Alaric, that a German Prince, named Radagaisus, descended from the shores of the Baltic at the head of a powerful host of Vandals, Suevians, and Burgundians, to attack Italy and Gaul. This mighty army, consisting of more than two hundred thousand warriors, was divided into three parts; one section of which, under the personal command of the Sovereign, advanced towards the Upper Danube, with the view of pouring down upon the hereditary dominions of Honorius. The safety of Rome and the defence of the Empire were once more intrusted to the prudent valour of Stilicho; but so unexpected was the inroad upon Pannonia, and so reluctant had the people of Italy become to the exercise of arms, that it was found impossible to attempt the protection of a distant frontier, or even to occupy the passes of the Alps. The Legions were accordingly reinforced with large bodies of Barbarian auxiliaries, Huns, Goths, and Alans, who appear to have engaged on either side indifferently, and to have chosen the standard of Stilicho or of Radagaisus, according to their individual preferences;‡

It was the policy of the Roman General to make no resistance to the progress of the enemy until he could attack him with his whole assembled force, and in an advantageous position. In his camp at Pavia he received intelligence that the Germans had issued from the mountains, crossed the Po, and even advanced to the city of Florence, which they were preparing to besiege. It grieved him to hear that several of the finest towns in the upper Provinces were pillaged and

Roman
Empire.
From
A. D.
395,
to
A. D.
410.

Fires the
seat of his
Government
at Ravenna.

Invasion of
Italy by Ra-
dagaisus.

Destruction
of his army
by Stilicho.

* Prudentius, in his Poem against Symmachus, described the sin and horror of those combats; and Talmachus, a monk, raised his voice against them in the Amphitheatre. See EPICYCLOPÆDIA, MAC. DIV. GLADIATORS. Prud. in Sym. lib. ii. v. 1121. Theod. lib. v. c. 26.
† Claud. VI. Cons. Hon. 494. Procop. de Bella Geisico, lib. i. c. 1.
‡ Zos. lib. v. c. 25.

* Claud. de Bella Geisico, v. 560, and VI. Cons. Hon.

History.

From
A. D.
395.
to
A. D.
410.

destroyed; but as his arrangements were not yet completed, he confined his exertions to the increase and discipline of his army. At length, when the Barbarians had for some time wasted their strength against the walls of Florence, he advanced to complete their destruction. He began by surrounding their camp with a deep ditch and rampart, which at once cut them off from retreat and from a supply of provisions. Several skirmishes, indeed, appear to have taken place during the progress of the work, which were attended with various success; but, in the end, Radagaisus found himself confined to a narrow space of ground between the city and the circumvallation with which he was invested, and rendered alike incapable of commanding a field in which to fight, or an opening by which to retire. He resolved, therefore, to have recourse to a treaty, or rather, perhaps, to listen to a proposal to that effect made by his prudent antagonist; who, as he found it very difficult to recruit his Legions, avoided every occasion of sacrificing the lives of his men. But whatever might be the motives in which it originated, the negotiation was followed by an issue fatal to the life of the German Prince and to the fame of Stilicho. Under some pretence, which has not been explained, Radagaisus was disgracefully beleaguered, and his people were sold for slaves, and scattered over the face of the surrounding country.*

Death of
Radagaisus.

The remain-
der of his
army in-
vades Gaul.

The other divisions of the grand army, which had descended to the borders of the Empire, turned their line of march towards the West, crossed the Rhine, and entered the Northern Provinces of Gaul. This invasion is the more memorable from the fact that the mixed host of Vandals, Burgundians, Alans, and Suevians never afterwards retreated, but made a final settlement in the country which they overran. To save Italy, the father-in-law of Honorius, as has been already mentioned, successively withdrew the regular troops from the more distant parts of the Empire, leaving all the Countries beyond the Alps, from the Danube to the Forth, to the chances of Barbarian warfare. The forts on the Rhine were dismantled, the garrisons were removed, and the interests of Rome, on that important frontier, were confided to the arms of the friendly Tribes who had accepted the alliance of her Generals. Hence the German invaders met with no effectual resistance in their march through the seventeen Provinces of Gaul. Two or three cities might, perhaps, withstand a siege; and, in some places, the raw levies which were raised on the spur of the occasion, might dispute a strong pass with the vanguard of the conquerors; but, in the annals of that period, so few indications remain of a resolute defence or a protracted struggle, that we follow the advance of the Burgundians and their allies from the river to the Pyrenees, as if they were marching through a peaceful territory †

Insurrec-
tion in
Britain.

A similar cause produced a similar effect in Britain. The principal stations in that Island were stripped of the troops which usually kept the surrounding country in awe; upon which the Provincials, who had long been impatient of a foreign yoke, rushed to arms, and asserted for a moment a precarious independence. They raised to the British throne two Emperors, whom they almost immediately afterwards deposed and murdered. Fasci-

nated by the mere sound of a name, they next exalted to the Imperial dignity a private soldier called Constantine, who had neither talents nor experience to qualify him for his high office. But he had, nevertheless, penetration enough to perceive that his safety would be most effectually secured by giving employment to his rude subjects, and by directing their impetuous valour against a people whom they had been taught to regard as their natural enemies. He conducted a large body of them across the Channel into Gaul, where he announced himself as the Sovereign of the West, and invited the allegiance of all the districts which were not under the immediate control of the German conquerors. He then marched against the Vandals and Burgundians, over whom, as he generally surprised them in detached bodies, he gained repeated advantages. He even foiled the Imperial General whom Honorius commanded to send his head to Ravenna; and, finally, pursuing his fortune into Spain, he succeeded in establishing his authority among all the nations of that fine Peninsula. The son of Theodosius, who despaired of subduing him, admitted his claims to the Sovereignty of the West, and even asked his assistance to expel the Goths from Italy, to the fairest parts of which they now began to maintain an hereditary right.*

Roman
Empire.

From
A. D.
395.
to
A. D.
410.

Constantine raises
to the
throne
of Britain
and Gaul.

It would appear that Constantine crossed the Alps to cooperate with his Imperial ally against their common enemy; but the result of the expedition, whatever it may have been, is concealed in the turbulent scenes which followed. Spain was excited to insurrection by the Count Gerontius, one of the bravest Generals of the British monarch; and, hence, Constantine had no sooner returned to Arles, the seat of his Government, than he found his title disputed by Maximus, (whom the rebellious Commander had invested with the Purple,) and his Capital besieged. While Gerontius lay before the walls of Arles, a Roman army, which had passed the mountains, appeared under the banners of Constantius, whose commission instructed him to depose both pretenders, and to restore Spain and Gaul to the sceptre of Honorius. The insurgent Chief escaped across the Pyrenees, where he put himself to death; Maximus soon afterwards fell into the hands of the enemy, and underwent a similar fate; and, consequently, none remained but Constantine, who had to contend with a captain far his superior in courage and military science. Sensible of the dangers which environed him, the King of Britain and Gaul entered into a negotiation with the Franks and *Alemani*, who engaged to assist him with a numerous army; but Constantius anticipated the motions of these allies, met them in their own country, and visited them with a tremendous defeat. The usurper, unable to take the field, threw himself upon the generosity of the conqueror; and, having obtained a promise of personal safety, he set out in company with his son on the way to Ravenna. To excite the veneration or fears of the Emperor, the deposed monarch caused himself to be clothed with the character of a Priest, an expedient, however, which did not avail; for when he and the young Prince had nearly attained the end of their journey, an order from the Palace consigned them both to the hands of an assassin.†

Revolt of
Gerontius
in Spain.

Dowfall
and death
of Constantius.

* Oros. lib. vii. c. 37. Zos. lib. v. c. 26.
† Zos. lib. vi. c. 3. Oros. lib. vii. c. 40. Claud. *I. Cons. Stilich.* lib. i. v. 221.

* Claud. *I. Cons. Stilich.* lib. ii. v. 250. Zos. lib. v. c. 2—6 Oros. lib. vii. c. 40.
† Zos. lib. vii. p. 379. Zos. lib. vi. c. 5, 6, 13.

But the course of events recalls us to the History of Alaric, who was about to occupy a distinguished place among the characters of that interesting drama which preceded the downfall of the Western Empire. On his retreat from Italy after the defeat at Verona, he is described as having suffered many privations, and lost a great part of his army; but the King of the Goths had long been exercised in all the casualties which belong to war, and could bear them with equanimity, while his ranks received an immediate accession from his migrating countrymen who hung on the limits of the Empire, and whom the fame of his exploits and the hope of plunder attracted to his standard. He was, therefore, very soon in a capacity to take the field either as the enemy or as the ally of Honorius. In virtue of the office which he held under the Eastern Empire, as Master-General of the further Illyrium, he was entitled to maintain a considerable military force; and as his secret object was to extend his power on both sides of the Adriatic, it seems to have been to him a matter of the utmost indifference whether he should begin by attacking the Sovereign of Ravenna, or his feeble brother at Constantinople. Stilicho, who joined to the experience of a warrior the penetration and wisdom of a consummate politician, determined to gain the Gothic King, by raising him to an honourable station in Italy, and by pointing out a profitable employment for his arms. Alaric was accordingly nominated to the chief command of the Roman armies in the Illyrian Prefecture, and directed, at the same time, to make an inroad into the territories of Areadius, to which, for certain reasons of state, Stilicho thought it expedient to revive the claims of his master. He accepted the appointment, and pretended to obey the orders communicated to him from the Court of Ravenna; but discovering, perhaps, the true motive which guided the policy of the Prime Minister, he soon relinquished his enterprise against Thessaly and Epirus, and removed his camp to the confines of Italy. Actuated by the most various and inconsistent motives, Alaric now demanded a reward for his services in the East; insinuating, in no ambiguous language, that, if Honorius did not immediately accede to his wishes, he would without delay indemnify himself and his followers by seizing upon the wealth of the adjoining Provinces.*

In this very difficult crisis, Stilicho anticipated some advantage from consulting the Senate. He repaired to Rome, whither, also, he appears to have conducted the Emperor; and there, in the Palace of the Cæsars, he laid before the collected wisdom of the nation the state of public affairs, and solicited the aid of such advice as might enable him to save at once the honour and peace of the Country. The spirit of Brutus seemed to revive, for a moment, within the walls of the Senate-house. The Members, generally, denounced the system of government which had put the weapons of the Romans into the hands of the Goths, and brought on the disgraceful alternative either of purchasing forbearance, or of violating the national faith. Stilicho applauded the patriotism of the Senators, and approved the display of independent sentiments which animated their deliberations; but he reminded them, at the same time, that the Gothic camp overlooked the richest plains of Italy, that it was full of soldiers to whom war had become a pastime

or a trade, and that if they did not gratify the demands of Alaric, they must consent to behold their cities levelled with the ground, their fields laid waste, and their pastures stripped of their flocks. It was, therefore, resolved that four thousand pounds of gold should be presented to the King of the Goths, in name of compensation or of subsidy; an arrangement which was justly described by one of the speakers as a Treaty not of Peace but of servitude.*

The manifest tendency of the principles adopted in the government of Stilicho, was to exalt the power of the Goths by conceding too much to the pusillanimous feelings which prevailed among the Italians. The Barbarian auxiliaries were now, in fact, become the standing army of the Empire; and nothing seemed wanting to complete the extinction of the Roman name, but the elevation of a Gothic Prince to the throne of Augustus. Perhaps it was the fear of this disgraceful result, which excited against the Minister that suspicion or hatred which soon afterwards terminated in the loss of his influence and of his life. His authority was gradually undermined in the Palace by the crafty measures of Olympius, who irritated the pride and alarmed the fears of Honorius, by representing to him that the absolute rule, exercised by his father-in-law, diminished the splendour of the Imperial dignity, and was, probably, meant to pave the way, on the part of the General, for the assumption of a title of which he had long enjoyed all the privileges. Similar intrigues propagated similar apprehensions in the camp at Pavia, where the remains of the Roman army continued to practise the forms of ancient discipline. The friends of Stilicho were the first victims of insurrection; and among them were the most distinguished persons of the State and the principal Officers of Government. At length, the hero himself, who had repaired to Ravenna, was seduced from the altar under an oath of protection, and instantly beheaded by the sword of Count Heraclion.†

The blind rage which thus deprived the Empire of its last defence, could not be satisfied while any one survived who bore the name or blood of Stilicho. His son Eucherius, whom it was said he meant to raise to the Sovereign power, was pursued and put to death. His personal adherents were persecuted under various pretexts, and chiefly on the ground of their being privy to a conspiracy, the object of which was supposed to be the deposition of the weak-minded Honorius. The vindictive temper of Olympius allowed no individual to escape who had contributed to the fame or shared the bounty of the Master General of the West; and we find, accordingly, that Claudian the Poet, whose muse was never silent when the arms of Stilicho were successful, was involved in the calamities which overtook the fortunes of the latter. He employed his wit against a powerful courtier who rose upon the ruins of his patron, and thereby exposed himself to a degree of danger which could only be averted by a humiliating acknowledgment of his offence. A cloud, indeed, hangs over the close of his history, but there is no doubt that his last days were embittered by the enmity of those who hated him for the love which he expressed for the conqueror of the Goths.‡

Roman Empire
From
A. D.
395,
to
A. D.
410.

Dissence and death of Stilicho.
A. D.
405.

The persecution of his friends.

* Zos. lib. vi. c. 22. Soz. lib. viii. c. 25. lib. ix. c. 4. Soc. lib. vii. c. 10.

• Oros. lib. vii. c. 38. Zos. lib. v. c. 29, 30. Soz. lib. ix. c. 4.
† Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 3. Zos. lib. v. c. 31—34. Oros. lib. vii. c. 38.
‡ Zos. lib. v. c. 34, 35. Oros. lib. vii. c. 38.

History.

From

A. D.

395.

to

A. D.

410.

Alaric pre-
pares to
march to
Rome.

While the infatuated Ministers of Honorius were pursuing the objects of their private revenge, or gratifying the cupidity of their partisans, Alaric, who no longer dreaded the Italian Legions, resumed his intention of marching to Rome. The subsidy which had been voted by the Senate was not yet paid; and the wily Barbarian, who still retained his position at Æmona, had penetration enough to perceive that the failure of the Imperial treasurer in regard to the main condition of the Treaty, supplied him with a pretext for invading Italy, which might be turned to much greater advantage than he could gain from the four thousand pounds of gold. He covered his ambitious designs, however, with a fair show of moderation. He listened to the excuses which were urged by the Ministers of Honorius, and expressed his readiness to grant delay, on condition that two young noblemen should be sent to his camp, as pledges for the sincerity of their fathers. The Court of Ravenna, still ignorant of the character from whom they had so much to fear, attributed the negotiations of Alaric to his sense of weakness, and to the remembrance of his late disasters; but while they were cherishing this groundless persuasion, the Gothic King descended from the Alps, passed the Po, and reduced some of the most opulent cities in the North of Italy. Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona opened their gates at his approach; while the numerous bands of his countrymen who had entered the service of the Empire, ashamed of the spathy which had sunk down upon their leaders, and smitten at the same time with the desire of sharing the triumphs of their native Prince, crowded to his standard, to the amount of thirty thousand. Not choosing to incur delay by attacking Ravenna, he pushed on his columns till he had secured the passes of the Apennines; from which, without the slightest interruption, he continued his march to the walls of Rome.*

Crosses the
Po, and
takes several
cities.State and
population
of Rome.

When the Capital of the Western World was first besieged by Alaric, its inhabitants amounted to not less than twelve hundred thousand, including all ages and both sexes; and as the principal supplies of food were conveyed by water, and usually from a great distance, the miseries incident to an interruption of the usual communication by the Tyber, could not fail to prove extremely distressing. The Gothic General, aware of the circumstances in which the citizens were placed, did not attempt to batter down their walls nor storm their ramparts; but, trusting to the surer operation of famine and disease, satisfied himself with watching their gates, and stopping the passage of the river. The Romans, at first indignant that a Barbarian should presume to make himself master of their magnificent city, were soon brought to feel that the pride of name and of ancient race is of no avail if unaccompanied with valour; and they had the mortification to perceive that the skill and prudence which formerly distinguished the Commanders of the Commonwealth, were now inherited by an illiterate Scythian. In their impotent rage they took away the life of Serena, the widow of Stilicho, whom they accused of holding a traitorous correspondence with the enemy; but used no means to drive from before their walls the Barbarian host, whose presence they regarded as at once a disgrace and a terror.†

Death of
Serena.Senate pro-
poses to ca-
pitulate.

The sufferings which they endured before they would consent to propose terms to the invader, atoned in some

degree for the dastardly conduct of the Senators, in their quality of soldiers and as the natural leaders of the people. Famine had rendered all classes of the inhabitants familiar with the greatest evils which can afflict human nature. Thousands had died from want, or from the use of improper food; and a pestilence, created by the stench of putrid bodies, rapidly thinned the remaining population. In this distressing crisis, a resolution was adopted by the Senate to address the clemency or the avarice of Alaric. Two ambassadors proceeded to his camp, and made known to him the willingness of the great Council of the Empire to enter into a Treaty with him, founded on such terms as might be compatible with the honour of Romans, and with the dignity of an Imperial city. They reminded him of the formidable numbers who still peopled the streets of the Capital, and of their determination to die with arms in their hands, rather than submit to a disgraceful capitulation. The Goth listened to their harangue with a smile of contempt, and coolly replied, the "thicker the hay, the more easily is it mowed." This remark he accompanied with a loud laugh; after which he condescended to return to the question of Peace, and informed the envoys that he would remove from their city on condition of receiving all the gold it contained, all the silver, the richest of their furniture, and all the slaves of Barbarian extraction. "If you take these things from us," said one of the ambassadors, "what may it be your pleasure to leave to us?" "Your lives," rejoined the haughty conqueror. This answer shut their mouths, and seemed to banish all hope. They requested permission to return to the city to receive further instructions from their constituents. Alaric consented to this proposal, and even granted a short truce, in order that the Senate might deliberate in perfect security. Despairing of all assistance from without, and unable to resist any longer the progress of disease within the walls, the Magistrates of Rome yielded to the necessity of their situation, and begged to be informed by their enemy on what conditions he would relieve them from his presence. In reply, he insisted upon the immediate payment of five thousand pounds of gold, of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thousand robes of silk, of three thousand pieces of fine scarlet cloth, and of three thousand pounds weight of pepper. Having obtained this costly ransom he withdrew his army into the Tuscan Province, where he intended to pass the winter; having at the same time the satisfaction to find his ranks increased by the accession of forty thousand slaves whom he had liberated from their Roman masters.*

In the following year, when he saw himself surrounded by a hundred thousand devoted warriors, Alaric might at once have resumed the conquest of Italy, and even aspired to the supreme power over the whole of the Western Empire. But, instead of following up his advantages with a strong hand, he showed himself ready to listen to terms for a lasting Peace. In fact, he had all along declared himself the friend of tranquillity and of Rome; and even in the moment of his most splendid successes, he seems to have aimed at nothing more lofty than the appointment of Master-General of the Italian Provinces. The facility, too, with which he had uniformly opened his ears to the offers of Stilicho,

Roman
Empire

From

A. D.

395.

to

A. D.

410.

Reply of
Alaric, as
the condi-
tions agree
upon.Moderation
of the Goth
King.

* Zos. lib. v. c. 37. Soz. lib. ix. c. 6.

† Zos. lib. v. c. 38. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 3.

* Zos. lib. v. c. 40—42. Soz. lib. ix. c. 6.

and had withdrawn from the very heart of the Country, while the tide of fortune was still running high in his favour, presents a remarkable proof in support of his sincerity; while, on the occasion now more immediately before us, instead of pursuing the course of victory which lay open before him, he proffered to Honorius the support of his arms, on the easy conditions of being invested with the military office already mentioned, of being supplied with a small subsidy of corn and money, and of being allowed to exercise a separate command in Dalmatia, Venetia, and Noricum. In point of territory he would even have been satisfied with Noricum alone, rather than involve the Empire again in the perils of war.*

It is not easy to discover a motive for such conduct on the part of the Gothic Prince. That he had his eye fixed on the Sovereignty of some portion of Italy, from the first hour that he entered it, is certain from the resolution, which he repeatedly expressed, of finding in it either a kingdom or a grave; and that he continued to cherish this lofty ambition admits of little doubt, but the perseverance with which he renewed his invasion whenever he could find a pretext for attacking Honorius. But it may be presumed that neither his hopes nor his wishes, in the first instance, extended to the occupation of all the Italian Provinces; and, moreover, that, either from superstition, or an undefined feeling of reverence for the Metropolis of the Roman World, he was desirous to abstain from violating the sanctity of her walls. The city of the Cæsars was already the chief seat of Christianity Westward of the Adriatic; was hallowed by many sacred associations connected with the History of the true faith, as well as with the labours and sufferings of its most distinguished ministers; and contained, besides, many relics of the Apostles, and buildings consecrated to their memories. His respect for the authority of Religion was, indeed, fully manifested, when he finally obtained possession of Rome; and the fear of sacrilege was found to check the avarice of his followers in cases where the most rigid military discipline would have been entirely disregarded.

But the moderation of Alaric, from whatever cause it may have proceeded, produced not the proper effect on the foolish Ministers of Honorius. Viewing the invader's abstinence as a proof of weakness, they received his proposals with contempt, and answered them with insolence; and, in order to bind themselves to an unrelenting system of hostility, they swore by the life of the Emperor, that they would not in any circumstances listen to any terms of peace with the Barbarian who had dared to dishonour them by offering to treat on a footing of equality. The Gothic Ruler had the means of revenge in his own hands. The Emperor and his Court, it is true, were defended by the marshes of Ravenna, and, if hard pressed, could make their escape by sea; but Rome was left exposed to the resentment of Alaric, and the whole country, from the Alps to the Straits of Sicily, had neither garrisons nor armies to withstand the progress of his warlike multitudes. Instead, however, of renewing the siege of the city, he resolved at once to cut off its supplies, by taking possession of Ostia, its principal port, situated at the mouth of the river. The terror of famine, on this occasion, brought the inhabitants to an immediate sub-

mission. At the suggestion of the Goths, they consented to raise Attalus, the Prefect, to the throne of the West, and to throw off their allegiance to the son of Theodosius, who had sacrificed their interests through obstinacy and pride.†

Alaric soon discovered that the tool which he meant to employ in the person of Attalus could not be used either with safety or advantage; and finding, besides, that his elevation to the Purple would prove an insuperable obstacle to the pacific arrangements which he professed to have in view, he reduced him once more to a private station. In a large plain near Rimini, and in the presence of a great multitude of persons, Goths and Romans, the new Emperor was publicly stripped of the diadem and robe of State, which were sent to Honorius as a pledge of friendship and Peace. But no concessions made by the Sovereign of the Visigoths could gain the confidence of the Imperial Ministers. On the contrary, they prevailed upon their master to publish, by the voice of a herald, that the guilt of Alaric could never be effaced, and that it had for ever excluded him from the most distant hope of accomplishing an alliance with the Head of the Roman Empire.‡

The indignant Prince immediately turned the van of his army, for the third time, towards Rome, where he meant to punish the arrogance of Honorius and the insatiation of his counsellors.§ The Senate, aware of the provocation which had been heaped upon the invader, made preparations to defend the walls until relief could be brought to them from the nearest military station; from Ravenna, or even from Africa; but the people at large, remembering the horrors of the former siege, and dissatisfied with the conduct of their Government, could not be induced to cooperate with this sudden patriotism on the part of the Nobles. In the course of the night one of the gates was opened, by which the Goths rushed in and took possession of the city without resistance; and, consequently, in the first instance, without bloodshed. Their Chief had given the most ample permission to seize upon the riches of the vanquished wherever they could find them; but he commanded his soldiers, at the same time, to respect every building and utensil dedicated to the service of Religion; and, above all, to spare the lives of those who appeared in the streets unarmed. There is but too much reason, however, to suspect that the enormities usual upon the sacking of a large town disgraced, in some measure, the triumph of Alaric. Among his followers there were many who looked for authority and example to their immediate leaders, who, again, acknowledged but a very slight dependence upon the Sovereign under whose banners they fought; and hence, whatever might be the humane policy of Alaric, we cannot refuse our belief to the statements of Procopius and St. Jerome, both of whom assure us that the slaughter of the Romans was very great. Thousands, too, were reduced to indigence and servitude; for, in order to prevent murder, liberty was granted to the Goths to expose their prisoners to sale. But, upon the whole, it cannot be denied that the professions of Alaric in favour of Peace and of Rome were justified to a great extent by his conduct on this memorable occasion; and

Roman Empire.

From A. D. 395. to A. D. 410.

Attalus deposed. The Goths still offer peace.

Alaric marches to Rome the third time, takes, and sacks it.

* Zos. lib. v. c. 45. Soz. lib. ix. c. 7. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 3.

† Oros. lib. vii. c. 42. Soc. lib. vii. c. 10.

‡ Oros. lib. vii. c. 39—42. Zos. lib. vi. c. 13. Procop. de Bell. Vand. lib. i. c. 2.

* Zos. lib. v. c. 44.

History.

From
A. D.
395.
to
A. D.
410.

Retrospect
on the
events now
recorded.
Character
of the Ro-
mans.

it is admitted, on all hands, that the Capital of the Western Empire suffered less from the arms of the Goths than from those of the Gauls, at an earlier period, or even from those of the Germans ten centuries later.*

In reviewing the principal events recorded in this section, the reader of History is naturally seized with astonishment at the great change of character in the Roman people, as well as with the power, the military skill, and political prudence of the Northern nations, by whom they were so often defeated, and finally conquered. The spirit which established the Commonwealth, and extended the arms of Rome over the greater part of the Ancient World, had, in the days of Honorius, and even of his renowned father, given place to the love of ease, or to a pusillanimous dread of the fatigues and dangers of war. It was found impracticable to recruit the Legions, raised even for the defence of the Italian frontier, without having recourse to such means as at once disgraced the soldier, and proved that he was unfit for the duties to which he was called. A contemptible superstition, the first fruits of corrupted Christianity, had directed the attention of the thoughtful to mystic dreams and ridiculous rites; while the luxurious mode of living pursued by the great had vitiated the habits of the lower orders, and prepared them to become slaves to their appetites before they were compelled to become servants to the Goths. Rome, in truth, presented within her walls the condensed vice and misery of a large nation. Her Nobles, who could squander individually the wealth of a whole Province, had palaces, gardens, and even parks in the city, as if there had been no cultivated land beyond the fortifications; while the mass of the inhabitants, on the other hand, who could not find ground on which to erect dwelling-houses, were obliged to rear their buildings to an inconvenient height, piling floor over floor, and thereby exposing their families to disease and accident. Still the amusements and dissipation of the Capital presented to the degraded populace so many attractions, that a miserable garret, in a crowded street, brought a higher rent than a villa at a little distance in the country. Such men, it is obvious, were incapable of inheriting the glory, or of imitating the virtue of the ancient Romans: they trembled at the sound of the Gothic horn on the banks of the Tyber; and feeling themselves destitute of courage to fight for independence, they made haste to purchase, with the spoils which their ancestors had won, the clemency of their Barbarian conquerors.†

Character
of the Goths.

The Scythians and Germans, on the contrary, who had profited by the discipline, the Arts, and tactics of Rome, were still comparatively free from the enervating effects of luxury. The scanty food and severe climate of their native deserts prepared them for the camp from their earliest days. The rich fields and mild skies of Italy afforded at all times an abundant meal, and an

agreeable canopy under which to repose after the fatigues of the battle or the march; and hence the Gothic armies uniformly preferred the free exercise which they could enjoy in the teated plain to the soft beds and dainty fare of the polished city. In point of morals, again, the few plain maxims which regulated their conduct had a greater efficacy in recommending Good and deterring from Evil, than the ambiguous system of Ethics, which was reared on the doctrines of Cicero and the precepts of Antoninus. Their Religion, too, although not very complete in point of tenets, was still unsullied by that pernicious enthusiasm which withdraws the duty of Man from the practical affairs of life, and places it on useless penances and mechanical devotion. The rules of the Gospel were made known to them, unconnected with any of those fanciful theories which had misled the judgment of Origen, and sometimes darkened the path of Hieronimus, while engaged in the search of Christian truth. They had learned that Jesus Christ preached humanity, and that His Apostles inculcated forbearance and brotherly love; and these great principles impressed upon their minds, softened the barbarity of their manners, restrained their native ferocity in the field of battle, and opened their hearts to the claims of compassion, even amid the excitement and rage which attend the capture of a city. In fact, the moderation and clemency of the Goths in the Sack of Rome, has been regarded by several of the Fathers as the triumph of Christianity over the worst feelings of our corrupted nature. Tillemont, whose views of History are in general equally just and pious, takes much pleasure in repeating the testimonies of St. Augustin, Orosius, and Jerome on this head; and, in fact, he supplies so many proofs in support of his position, that there is no room left for doubt that the soldiers of Alaric displayed more unquestionable tokens of civilization than the depraved people whom they subdued.

But the sufferings of the Romans, although exempted from the extremes of military execution, were such as to excite universal commiseration. Many fled from the city in the first alarm, and took refuge in some of the small islands contiguous to the Tuscan shore; others allowed their fears to carry them to a greater distance, to the coasts of Egypt, Syria, and Africa, where they were compelled, by their necessities, to stoop to a voluntary servitude. St. Jerome relates that every day witnessed the arrival, at Bethlehem, of men and women of the highest birth, and who had passed their lives in abundance, who were obliged to beg for food. All the people of the East, says Augustin, mourned the fall of Rome, and in the remotest Countries which had acknowledged her sway, the large cities exhibited public tokens of their affliction and pity. The news of this sad event made the tongue of the learned commentator first named cleave to the roof of his mouth, and his pen fall from his hand; while the Bishop of Hippo, equally grieved and provoked by the insulting language of the Pagans, who ascribed the fate of Rome to the introduction of Christianity, could never banish the recollection of it from his mind as long as he lived.*

Roman
Empire.

From
A. D.
395.
to
A. D.
410.

Effects of
Christianity
on their
manners
and prin-
ciples.

Sufferings
of the In-
dians.

* Oros. lib. vii. c. 39. *Perennat latè in exordio urbis saluta tuba, currenque etiam in abditis latentes invocat et pulsat. Quanto copiosius adsparguntur Romani fugientes, tanto avidius circumfunduntur bar- bari defensores.*

† Vitruv. lib. ii. c. 8. *Olympiodor. apud Phot.*

* Hier. Epist. xii. Aug. de Civit. lib. i. c. 32.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XLVII.

FROM THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHS TO ITS SACK BY THE VANDALS.

FROM A. D. 410. TO A. D. 455.

History.
From
A. D.
410.
"
"
455.
See com-
paratively.

HAVING granted to his troops the full license of plunder during the greater part of a week, Alaric withdrew them from a scene wherein their morals and discipline were in equal danger of being impaired. Orosius says, that the Gothic Prince left Rome on the third day, but other authorities are unanimous in extending his residence in the Capital to double that period; various reasons being assigned by the different Historians for a step which, however, presented nothing at variance with the policy he had all along pursued. He directed his march Southwards through the fertile Provinces which extend between the Tyber and the Straits of Rhegium; plundering the country and destroying such of the cities as presumed to oppose his progress. The beauty or riches of Sicily tempted the eyes of his followers; and he resolved to gratify them by the conquest of an island which had contributed so much to the fame and luxury of the Romans. But this enterprise, easy and unimportant when compared with the other exploits of Alaric, baffled the skill of his rude soldiers, and excited among them a degree of apprehension to which they had ever been strangers in the midst of greater perils. At this juncture, too, the death of their renowned Chief increased their fears and perplexity. Despairing of success they relinquished the undertaking, and directed all their cares to the funeral of their King. That his obsequies might be worthy of his character and fortune they turned aside the stream of a small river, dug a spacious cavern under its vacant bed, adorned the sepulchre with the jewels and precious stones of which they had stripped the inhabitants of Rome; and when they had deposited the remains of Alaric, they slew the persons employed to construct his tomb, admitted again the waters of the Barentinus, and thereby effectually concealed the spot wherein the conqueror of Italy reposes.*

Is correct.
as to the
brother-in-law.
Adolphus.
From

The command of the Goths was confided to his brother-in-law, Adolphus, upon whom was also conferred the regal dignity, which appears to have been at that time strictly elective. Inheriting the moderate pacific views of his predecessor, he at once resumed negotiations with the Court of Ravenna to effect a permanent and honourable Peace. We nowhere find the details of this Treaty recorded; but it is probable that his overtures were favourably received, and that he was

even acknowledged as a Roman General, because he immediately afterwards led his army into the Southern Provinces of Gaul, where he took possession of Narbonne, Thoulouse, and Bourdeaux, in the name of Honorius. His alliance with the Imperial interests was soon still further strengthened by his marriage with Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, whom he found as a hostage or a captive in the train of Alaric. The pride which might, perhaps, become the successors of Augustus, opposed for a time a serious obstacle to this union of a Princess with a Chief of Barbarians; but, as the wishes of the maiden herself were not aversive to the match, the wedding was celebrated with a degree of magnificence and expense which exceed even the fictions of a Fairy Tale."

It is pleasing to observe that the Ministers of Honorius, who had neither the courage nor the prudence to avert the calamities of war, had yet enough of feeling and political wisdom to adopt means for compensating those parts of Italy which had suffered the most from the ravages of the Goths. The wasted Provinces were gradually restored to wealth and security; the Capital was adorned with new buildings, and strengthened by the daily arrival of additional inhabitants; and it was remarked that, after the lapse of a few years, the traces of invasion and conquest could no longer be perceived, either in the city or in the fields. The tranquillity of so extensive an Empire, however, could not remain long undisturbed. Count Heraclion, who had so faithfully supported the cause of his master when oppressed by the arms of Alaric, was, in the year 413, induced by some of his ambitious retainers to display the Standard of Rebellion in Africa, and to assume the title of Emperor. Embarking with a considerable army he landed at the mouth of the Tyber, and proceeded towards Rome; but being met by Constantius, one of the Imperial Commanders, a battle ensued, in which the rebel was completely routed, and compelled to seek safety in a disgraceful flight. If we may credit Orosius, the armament with which he left Carthage consisted of more than three thousand ships; but his retreat was so precipitate, that he returned to his Province with only a single vessel and very few attendants. The Africans, who had instantly repented of their treason, despised the pusillanimity of their Governor, and regretted not

Roman Empire.

From
A. D.
410.
to
A. D.
455.

Measures
for the relief
of the con-
quered Pro-
vinces.

Insurrec-
tion of
Heraclion.

* Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 30. Idat. Chron. Oros. lib. vii. c. 43.

* Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 4. Zos. lib. vi. c. 12. Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 185.

History.

From
A. D.
410,
to
A. D.
455.
Revolt and
death of
Jovinus.

to see his crime punished by the sacrifice of his life. He was beheaded in the Temple of Memory, his private fortune was confiscated, and his public deeds cancelled from the national record.*

The feeble administration of Honorius naturally provoked insurrection in the remotest Provinces, where his name was neither feared nor respected. We have already mentioned the revolt of Constantine in Britain and the subsequent commotions in Gaul. No sooner was his rebellion quashed by the valour of Constantius, than Jovinus, another usurper, assumed the Purple in Germany, whence he advanced with a powerful army to the banks of the Rhone, and claimed the allegiance of the contiguous Provinces. The General of Honorius temporized, and the King of the Goths looked on with apparent approbation: meanwhile Jovinus associated his brother Sebastian in the Empire, and prepared to assert his pretensions on both sides of the Alps. At length Adolphus, enraged at the favourable reception of Sarus, the hereditary enemy of his House, in the camp of the usurpers, took the field against them, defeated them in battle, and sent to the Emperor, at Ravenna, the heads of the two brothers. Thus, in the space of five years, seven Pretenders yielded to the fortune of a Prince who was incapable of leading a cohort to action, or even of presiding in the deliberations of his Council.

Fidelity of
Adolphus.

If the fidelity of Adolphus ever wavered, it was completely restored by the issue of the war against Jovinus. The allegiance of Gaul was the first fruit of his victory; immediately after which he prepared an armament for the recovery of Spain from the arms of the Vandals and Suevi, who had been induced to pursue their success beyond the limits of the Pyrenees. He began by reducing Barcelona, where he took up his residence, and where also he had the satisfaction to be informed of the birth of a son, whom he named Theodosius, after the renowned father of Placidia. His rejoicings, however, were not of long duration, for the infant died at the age of a few weeks, and he himself was assassinated in the Palace of the same city, by one of the followers of Sarus, whom he had taken into his service. To complete the misfortunes of his family, Singeric, the brother of Sarus, who was raised to the Gothic throne, signalized the commencement of his reign by murdering the six children of his predecessor, born to him by a former wife. Placidia, likewise, endured much suffering and indignity, being compelled to march on foot among a crowd of captives, and do reverence to the Barbarian who had assassinated her husband; but the Goths soon avenged the cause of humanity, for, being disgusted with the tyranny of their new Sovereign, they put an end to his life on the seventh day after his accession to the kingly power.†

Is succeeded
by Wal-
lia.

The Gothic sceptre was next placed in the hands of Wallia, whose talents and ambition pointed him out as worthy to succeed the great Alaric. As soon, accordingly, as he found himself at the head of a powerful army, he opened his mind to magnificent schemes of universal dominion. He overran Spain, and then cast his eyes upon the wealthy Provinces of Africa, which stretched along the opposite shore; but failing in an attempt to transport part of his troops, he

was the more inclined to listen to the proposals of the Roman Government, which was desirous to secure his services at almost any price. To strengthen their arguments, the ambassadors from Ravenna informed him that Constantius was on his march to attack the Goths with an overwhelming force. The pressure of famine, too, had already begun to afflict the soldiers of Wallia, and prepared them to receive the overtures of Honorius with less reluctance. A Treaty was completed in due form, by which were stipulated, on the one side, the restoration of Placidia to the Court of her brother, and the military allegiance of all the Goths in Gaul and Spain; and, on the other, the immediate delivery of 600,000 measures of wheat, and a regular supply of pay, arms, provisions, and clothing for the future.

No sooner did Wallia pledge his faith to the Empire, than he directed the whole force of his warlike followers to effect the delivery of the Spanish Provinces from the domination of the German invaders. In the course of three years he exterminated several Tribes, and compelled the remainder to acknowledge the sovereignty of Honorius. The Alani, who lost their King in battle, sought protection among the Suevi and Vandals, who, in their turn, were glad to shun the victorious arms of the Goths, and seek for shelter among the fortresses of the highest mountains. The successes of Wallia were daily reported to the Emperor, who was induced to celebrate them by a triumphal entry into his Capital, eight years after it was sacked by the hands of the same people whose victories had just reestablished his authority in the fairest Provinces of his transalpine dominions.*

But whatever might be the effect of the Gothic triumphs on the happiness and stability of the general Government, they produced no advantage to the unfortunate Provincials. A change of masters, and a slight difference in the mode of exacting tribute, were the only circumstances which varied the oppression to which they had been long accustomed. The soldiers of Alaric, who, like himself, preferred the mild climate and rich plains of the South to the severer sky and barren regions whence they emigrated, were disposed to settle in the Countries which they had overrun; and it would appear that, among the other conditions granted to Wallia, when he embraced the Imperial cause in Spain, was permission to choose lands for his veterans in a favourite Province of Gaul. The maritime district which stretches between the Garonne and the Loire was conceded to him; whereupon he issued an order to displace the original occupants, or, at least, to seize the best of their fields for the use of his people. Proceeding under the mask of law and even of friendship, the Gothic colonists denominated themselves the guests of the proprietors whose grounds they took, and whose houses they entered; and, while they pillaged the subjects of Honorius, they failed not to magnify his authority, to boast of their own allegiance, and to place their greatest honour in acting under his commission. Gaul, Spain, and Germany, in short, were oppressed and dismembered by Barbarian Chiefs, who, acting as the Lieutenants of the Emperor, ventured not to assume an independent authority; while he, satisfied with a nominal sovereignty over Provinces which had long been wrested from his actual government, permitted the foundations to be laid of

Roman
Empire
From
A. D.
410,
to
A. D.
455.

Who re-
covers
Spain to
the Emper

The Goths
settle in
Gaul.

* Theod. Cod. lib. xi. tit. 27. Oros. lib. vii. c. 42. Zon. lib. vi. c. 8.—10. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 5, 6. Soz. lib. ix. c. 12, 13.
† Oros. lib. vii. c. 41. Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 33.

* Olympiodor. apud Phot. Oros. lib. vii. c. 43. Jornand. 31, 32. Oros. ubi suprâ. Olympiodor. Chron.

History. several powerful Kingdoms, which have since eclipsed, in wealth, science, learning, and all the higher qualities of social life, even the mighty Republic over which it was his fortune to reign.

The middle of the Vth century presents to the Historian and Lawyer many subjects of the greatest interest; for, at that period, several of those Institutions which distinguish the polity of modern from ancient nations, are known to have assumed a silent origin, and to have arisen, in fact, from the peculiar circumstances into which the decline of the Roman State, and the ascendancy of the Gothic interests had thrown the greater part of the South of Europe. The comparative freedom which prevailed in the camps of the Northern nations, extended gradually to the government of the cities and territory which fell into their hands; and, hence, even in the latter years of Honorius, we perceive the rudiments of the Representative system assuming a somewhat regular form, and applied to the administration of considerable Provinces. In those districts of Gaul, for example, which are bounded by the Western Pyrenees and the Atlantic Ocean, an annual Assembly, under the authority of the Emperor, was held for the framing of laws, for the equal imposition of taxes, for interpreting and executing the Imperial Edicts, and for consulting, generally, on the public affairs of the Country. The constituent Members were the Prætorian Præfect, the Provincial Governors, the magistrates and clergy of about sixty cities, and a certain number of the occupiers of land. Here were the elements of a free Constitution generated by the weakness and tyranny of a despotic Government; and nothing was wanting but zeal and mutual confidence to restore the power of Rome to a higher pitch than it had reached even in the days of Augustus. The Romans, however, were incapable of appreciating the advantages which were thus held out to them. The representatives of the National Council, who could derive from it neither honour nor gain, refused to sacrifice their time to idle deliberations; and, although their attendance was compelled by a heavy fine, they still showed much reluctance in accepting the boon for which, as Honorius reasonably expected, they ought to have expressed the deepest gratitude.*

Similar advances towards political improvement were observable even in Britain. After the usurper Constantine withdrew the Legions to prosecute his ambitious schemes in Gaul, the natives, who had borrowed from their Roman masters the knowledge of letters and of Civil institutions, laboured to perfect the plan of municipal government which they had established in the principal cities. It is not easy to determine the precise period at which the armies of the Empire left this island as conquerors; whether they at any time afterwards visited it merely as allies, and whether, in the final war against the Picts and Caledonians, they attempted to recover the Province for themselves, or only to secure it entire for their late tributaries, the Britons. But it, nevertheless, admits not of any doubt that the inhabitants of the larger towns, in the reign of Honorius, had attained to a considerable degree of political importance, and even attracted the respect of the Imperial Court. During the period between the retirement of the Romans and the invasion of the Saxon pirates, the hereditary chiefs of the ancient British families reassumed some portion of the influence and dignity which

had belonged to their ancestors, repaired their castles, and placed themselves at the head of their followers; while, in the larger cities, the Clerical Order, already risen to authority, with the Council of magistrates and freemen, now annually elected, maintained the weight which was due to the best informed classes of the people. But we must not allow these reflections, on a state of things which so soon passed away, to divert us from the main object of this section, which is to give an outline of the military and political events which preceded the subversion of the Western Empire.*

Honorius, who never waged any foreign war, was exempted from the alarms of domestic insurrection during the latter years of his reign. His sister Placidia, to whom fortune had presented herself under so many various aspects, became, at length, the wife of the brave Constantius, a faithful Counsellor and an able General. His services entitled him to this mark of Imperial favour; and as the widow of Adolphus had been accustomed to the titles and privileges of royalty, she prevailed upon her brother to accept a colleague in the person of her new husband. But the death of Constantius, which took place soon after his accession to power, left the son of Theodosius once more the sole possessor of the Italian throne; upon which, becoming impatient of the ascendancy which Placidia had acquired at Court and among the Gothic soldiers who surrounded the Palace, he compelled her to seek an asylum in the territories of her nephew, the Emperor of the East. She met with a cordial reception at Constantinople from the young Theodosius, who eagerly embraced the opportunity of renewing some connection with the politics of the West; for, as Honorius had no children to succeed him in the government of Rome, and as Valentinianus, the son of Placidia by Constantius, was still a mere infant, he could not fail to anticipate a crisis which might call for the exercise of his authority, and, perhaps, add to the boundaries of his Empire. Accordingly, a few months only elapsed when the throne of the West became vacant by the demise of his uncle. It was seized, indeed, by the principal Secretary, John, (better known in History as *John the Notary*;) and an attempt was made by the usurper to maintain, by arms, the power which he had assumed; but a numerous army commanded by the best Generals of Theodosius, and accompanied by Placidia and her children to the banks of the Po, defeated the tumultuary levies which were brought against them, deprived the traitor of life, and removed all obstacles to the accession of the legitimate heir, Valentinianus III.†

To secure the advantage of connection we will pursue a little longer the History of the West, before we resume the narrative of Eastern affairs, which was interrupted by the death of Arcadius. After the lapse of a few years a common danger, the invasion of the Huns, unites for a time the interests of the two great divisions of the Roman world, and presents a point at which their annals naturally converge. Till we arrive at that epoch, therefore, our attention shall be restricted to the events which occurred under the Regency of Placidia, who, in the name of her son, governed the Provinces Westward of the Adriatic during the space of twenty-five years.

* Procop. de Bell. Vandul. lib. i. c. 2. Zos. lib. vi. c. 11. Kutil. *Itiner.* p. 126.

† Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 192—200. Sot. lib. ix. c. 16. Soc. lib. vii. c. 23. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 10, 11. Procop. de Bell. Vandul. lib. i. c. 3. Theophan. in *Chronograph.* p. 72.

* Sidon. Apollin. p. 147.

Roman Empire.
From
A. D.
410.
to
A. D.
455.

Death of Honorius.
A. D.
423.

History.

From
A. D.
410.
to
A. D.
455.

Accession
of Valenti-
nianus III.
A. D.
425.

Admini-
stration of
Placidia.
The Gener-
als Ætius
and Boni-
face.

Vandals in-
vade Africa.
A. D.
428.

When the rebellion excited by the usurpation of John was completely subdued, the Emperor Theodosius consented to place on the throne of Ravenna his young cousin Valentinianus. The very natural desire of uniting once more under one sceptre the spacious dominions possessed by his ancestors, seems to have distracted for a moment the Councils of the Eastern Monarch; but the prudent motives which were addressed to his consideration by the most experienced of his Ministers, induced him to relinquish the empty title of ruling distant Countries which had long blighted all allegiance to the Government of Constantinople. He satisfied his ambition by detaching from the Italian Crown the Western Illyricum, the maritime districts of Dalmatia, and the Provinces of Pannonia and Noricum. To this arrangement no objection appears to have been urged; and it was at the same time stipulated that all laws which might be thenceforth passed by either Sovereign, should be confined to the limits of their respective dominions.*

Valentinianus was only six years old when he was permitted to assume the title of Augustus, and to succeed his uncle. The administration of affairs was directed by his mother, who confided chiefly in the assistance of Ætius and Boniface, two Generals of established reputation. The latter had approved his fidelity to the House of Theodosius when the attempt was made, on the demise of the late Emperor, to transfer the succession to the person of a traitor; but the other, more versatile in his attachment, had, it is said, promised to support the claims of John by bringing to his aid a numerous army of Huns from the banks of the Danube. Boniface commanded in Africa; Ætius was Master-General of the Legions in the Provinces of Italy; and, as each was jealous of the influence which the other was supposed to exercise over the measures adopted at Court, the Empire was doomed to suffer from their quarrels a serious loss both of troops and territory. The fears of the African Prefect were industriously raised by the intrigues of his rival, who, by means of false letters addressed to him on the one hand, and to Placidia on the other, contrived to destroy their mutual confidence, and, finally, to drive the unsuspecting soldier into actual rebellion.†

The Vandals and Suevi, although greatly reduced in number by the repeated victories of the Goths, still retained a footing in the mountainous parts of Spain. The first-named of these Tribes, which had received the remains of the Alani into their camp, had also added to its strength by compelling the submission of the other, as well as by a decisive triumph over a Roman army sent against them by Honorius. Boniface despatched to the King of this warlike people a trusty messenger, who was desired to make an offer of a strict alliance, as also of an advantageous settlement in the richest parts of Africa. The Vandals listened to the flattering proposal; and no sooner did the course of hostilities bring their wandering bands within sight of the sea, than they seized the ships which they found at Carthage, transported themselves to the island of Majorca, and, finally, displayed their standard, as the allies of Count Boniface, on the Southern shores of the Mediterranean.‡

* See, lib. ix. c. 16. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 10, 11. Procop. de Bell. Fandal. lib. i. c. 3. Olympiad. apud Phot. p. 192.

† Cassiodor. Varior. lib. xi. Epist. 1. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 12. Olympiad. apud Phot. p. 196. ; Chron. Prosp. et Idat.

Genesic was King of the Vandals when they landed on the coast of Mauritania. The character of this Prince, which combined the ambition of Alaric with the austerity of Attila, inspired terror rather than respect; and when he first appeared among the natives of Africa, they viewed him as an enemy who had come to deprive them of their lands, and not as a confederate on whose cooperation they might rely. Jornandes describes him as passionate and revengeful, of a deep and impenetrable mind, capable of lofty designs, and altogether unscrupulous about the means which might be necessary to accomplish them. He could court the alliance of Tribes which he hated, provided their assistance were useful to his immediate purposes, and scatter among his enemies the seeds of contention and war. In the present instance, he clearly foresaw that he would soon have to contend in the field of battle with the very General who had solicited his alliance, and either to retain as a conquest the lands which he had been invited to occupy, or to cultivate them as a slave. Under this impression he laboured to gain the affection of the Moors, the natural enemies of the Roman name, and to increase his ranks by putting arms into the hands of the savage multitude which traversed the desert between the sea and mount Atlas.*

Boniface, who in the mean while had discovered the treachery by which he was seduced, soon repented of the rash step by which Africa had been thrown open to the Vandals. He had no difficulty in recalling to their duty the citizens of Carthage and the Roman soldiers who served in different parts of the Province; but he could not induce the crafty Genesic to reëmbark his Barbarian forces, nor to pledge his faith that they should be employed only in the service of the Empire. Finding argument of no avail he marched against him at the head of his best troops, with the view of compelling him to relinquish his prey; but the Vandals greatly outnumbered the regular soldiers of Boniface, and were, therefore, able at once to repel his attack, and to visit him with a severe defeat. On a sudden, the whole country from Tangier to Tripoli was overrun by the conquerors, who laid waste the face of the soil, rooted up the olives and other fruit-trees, murdered their prisoners, and afflicted the inhabitants with every species of indignity and torture. The fierce spirit of Genesic was so irritated by opposition and inflamed by religious bigotry, that he resolved to avenge his losses by the ruin of every city which refused to open its gates; and so fully in this respect did he realize his savage purpose, that Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo were the only places of strength which could resist his arms.†

Into the last of the cities now named, did Boniface retire, after having been defeated by the Vandalic forces. He was immediately besieged by Genesic, who knew that, as long as the Count lived, his possession of Africa could not be secure. But the ignorance of the Vandals in the art of reducing fortifications, and a free access to the Ocean, whence abundant supplies were obtained, enabled the defenders of Hippo to foil the efforts of their Barbarian foes, during the long period of fourteen months. Famine, at length, compelled the assailants to withdraw from before its walls; and, in the mean time, Placidia importuned her nephew Theodosius to send a reinforce-

* Jornandes, de Reb. Ert. c. 33. Procop. de Bell. Fandal. lib. i. c. 5. lib. ii. c. 6.

† Procop. de Bell. Fandal. lib. i. c. 5. lib. ii. c. 6.

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Empire
From
A. D.
410.
to
A. D.
455.
Genesic
wages war
with the
Romans.
A. D.
429.

Boniface
defeated.

Siege of
Hippo, at
second de-
feat of the
Romans.

History. meet of men and ships to cooperate with her troops in the defence of the African Provinces. A large armament sailed from Constantinople under the command of Aspar, an experienced Officer who had rescued Italy from the usurpation of John, and paved the way for the accession of the young monarch. As soon, then, as the forces of the East and West were united under Boniface, it was resolved to try once more the fortune of war. A great battle ensued, in which the soldiers of Genserik were again victorious, and the conquest of Africa was completed. The Roman General threw himself on board a ship and set sail for Italy; where, soon afterwards meeting with Ætius, his personal enemy, and the author of his unfortunate disaffection, he challenged him to single combat and died on his spear.*

From A. D. 410. to A. D. 455. A miserable scene of proscription, plunder, and death was witnessed in Africa during the succeeding ten years. The arms of Genserik, which were successful against the Legions of Rome, could not protect him from the more dangerous enemies who lurked in his own camp, and who either envied his greatness, or impatiently tolerated his severe command. He had risen to the throne by violating the rights of two nephews, the sons of his brother Gonderic; and to secure the power which he thus unjustly acquired, he afterwards put them and their mother to a violent death. Unable to resist the pressure of invasion which was directed against him from all the ports of Italy and Spain, he consented to negotiate for a treaty of Peace, and even to deliver up his son Hunneric as a pledge for the sincerity of his engagements. Still he felt himself exposed to incessant conspiracies, which his cruel policy could neither prevent nor subdue; and, although more Vandal blood is said to have been shed by the hand of the executioner than by the sword of the enemy, the throne of Genserik did not appear to rest on a stable foundation.†

Scenes of the Fall of the Empire. At length, however, the reduction of Carthage gave him the command of the sea, and supplied him with the means of resisting as well as of retaliating the naval expeditions with which he had been so frequently assailed from the opposite shores. Five hundred and eighty five years had elapsed from the memorable epoch, when the younger Scipio put an end to the ancient Republic of the Carthaginians, and levelled their walls. But a new town had arisen from the ruins of the old, and arrived at such a degree of wealth and splendour, as to be entitled to rank next to Rome among the cities of the West. Carthage received the treasures, the arms, and the industry of six opulent Provinces, and was regarded as the mistress of the fertile territory which stretched along the shores of the Mediterranean, a journey of ninety days. Nor was Genserik ignorant of the great value of the prize which had thus fallen into his hands. He divided the best of the lands among his followers, enriched them with the spoils of the Provincials, and taught them to look towards Italy itself, as the scene where they were finally to obtain the full reward of their labours, and an ample gratification of their revenge. He issued an Edict, enjoining all persons to deliver up to the officers whom he had appointed for that purpose, all the gold, silver, precious stones, and costly furniture in their possession; giving notice, at the same time, that the attempt to keep back any part of the property therein specified, would be punished

with death and torture, as an act of treason against the State. Allowing his avarice to be further stimulated by sectarian bigotry, he prosecuted, by fines and banishment, all who would not embrace the tenets of the Arian Heresy, or, at least, abjure those which were held by his theological opponents. Thousands of both sexes fled from the dominions of the tyrant and threw themselves upon the compassion of their countrymen in Italy, Egypt, Greece, and Syria. The calamities which attended the sack of Rome, were repeated in Africa; and, although the range of suffering might be bounded by narrower limits, the savage character of the conqueror made them more severely felt.*

The determination of Genserik to create a naval power was most steadily pursued. Behind him were the woods of Mount Atlas, which afforded an abundant supply of timber; while he found at Carthage and the neighbouring ports a sufficient number of carpenters to construct ships, and of seamen to equip and navigate them. His Vandals, whose courage was equal to the most daring enterprise, condescended to learn from their slaves the important resources of the nautical art; while the Moors and other native Africans, desirous to revenge the oppression which they had endured under the Romans, eagerly listened to the invitation of the conqueror, and presented themselves in crowds to man his fleet. Once more the squadrons of Carthage were about to claim the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, and to carry conquest to the shores of Europe. The able Prince who directed their movements, first tried their skill and prowess against the Island of Sicily and the adjacent coast; and finding, from the reduction of Palermo, that he could trust to their efficiency in more important undertakings, he already held himself master of Rome.

But as the designs of Genserik on the Western Empire might not have been realized without the cooperation which he received from a strong power that had already shown itself on the frontiers of the Lesser Asia, we must now return to the History of Constantinople under the successors of Arcadius.

It was in the year 408 that the son of the great Theodosius left the throne of the East to a child of the same name, and the actual government of his dominions to a woman. The minority of the Prince was, indeed, faithfully directed by the wisdom of Anthemius, the Prefect, whose excellent abilities were not unequal to the arduous task which was committed to his care. He repelled the first aggressions of the Huns, strengthened the fortifications of the Capital, and established a respectable force along the banks of the Danube. But he found it expedient, either with the view of removing jealousy, or of gratifying the ambition of Pulcheria, the sister of the young Emperor, to associate her in the management of affairs; for although she was only two years older than Theodosius, her mind was much more mature and vigorous, and in all respects better fitted to take a share in the duties of government. At the age of sixteen, accordingly, she was saluted with the title of Augusta. Yielding to the impression of the period in which her lot was cast Pulcheria made choice of a life of celibacy, and even prevailed upon her sisters, Arcadia and Marina, to unite with her in the establishment of a religious society; in which, removed from the vexations and frivolities of the world, they might spend the greater part of their time in study, devotion, and other spiritual

Roman Empire.
From A. D. 410. to A. D. 455.

Ulterior designs of Genserik.

State of the Eastern Empire, Government of Pulcheria.

* Procop. de Bell. Vand. lib. i. c. 2, 3.

† Victor. Vita. de Pers. Vand. lib. ii. c. 5.

* Chron. Idat. sub ann. Chron. Prosp. Isidor. Marcel.

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exercises. The avocations of piety, however, were not allowed to interfere with the more important claims of business. Avoiding the ostentation of sovereign power, she continued to influence all public measures; and it was remarked that, though arrayed in female attire, she was the only individual among the descendants of Theodosius who exhibited any tokens of his manly spirit. She superintended, at the same time, the education of her brother, whose mind she soon discovered to be incapable of rising above the mere forms of polished life; and for this reason alone, it has been candidly supposed, she limited her instructions to those external observances which might qualify him to represent the inajesty of the East, while the real authority and patronage of office might still be retained in her own hands. She even chose a wife for him in the person of Eudocia, an Athenian maid, who first presented herself at Court as a supplicant, and who, as the consort of Theodosius, was destined to experience a great variety of fortune.*

Persian
war.

Fourteen years had passed away under the mild government of Anthemius and Pulcheria when a dispute in the East threatened the tranquillity of the Empire. Some Christians resident within the Persian boundary were accused of destroying a Pagan Temple dedicated to the Sun. The worshippers of Fire resented the injury, and raised a persecution against the adherents of the Gospel; and the altercation, at length, proceeded so far as to excite hostilities between the rival Empires. Armies on both sides took the field; various battles were fought; several cities were taken; and splendid victories were claimed and celebrated at Susa as well as at Constantinople. After a fruitless war of two years' duration, a conference was held on the limits of the two nations by deputies authorized to treat in the name of their respective Sovereigns; on which occasion a truce of a century was stipulated and solemnly ratified by the ambassadors; who thereby bound their absent masters to abstain from all aggression, insult, and violence, during their own lives, and to transmit a pacific disposition to their successors on the throne.

Settlement
of Armenia.

Few treaties have been more faithfully observed than that between Varanes and the younger Theodosius. The interests of Armenia, at one period, threatened to interrupt the good understanding which it had established between the two Governments. The unfortunate capitulation which followed the death of Julian threw the greater part of that country into the hands of the ambitious Sapor; but the friends of the House of Arsaces soon recovered the Western division for their native Prince, and placed themselves and him under the protection of the Roman Emperor. For a time Armenia had two Kings, one the vassal of Persia, and the other of Constantinople. On the death of the latter, the Ministers of Arcadius advised him to suppress the regal government altogether, and to reduce the Armenian Provincials to the condition of Roman subjects; while, at a somewhat later period, a similar policy induced the Persians to dethrone the successor of Chosroes, and to incorporate his dominions with their own. Thus the descendants of Arsaces were deprived of the royal dignity which they had enjoyed nearly six hundred years; and their inheritance was divided between the two great Monarchies which had alternately

oppressed and defended them, rendering their fine Country, on many occasions, the scene of mutual contention and the pretext for bloody wars.*

But an enemy was at hand who soon afterwards fully avenged the cause of Armenia, and of all the other nations which had felt the heavy pressure of Roman or Persian ascendancy. The Huns, deriving their origin from the extreme East, had pushed before them the Goths, Vandals, and other Scythic hordes, to the confines of Europe, and had now themselves advanced to the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Euxine sea. Finding an ample territory in the district which has since borne their name, they confined their depredations for several years to the remotest Provinces of the Empire, and contented themselves with exercising their arms on such of the Barbarian Tribes as might dispute their occupation of the fertile plains of Hungary. Under Rugilas, the uncle of the celebrated Attila, an army of sixty thousand men had approached the frontiers of Italy, in order to support the usurper John, who, as we have already mentioned, seized the vacant throne of Honorius. The death of the Secretary rendered their aid unavailing; but Rugilas insisted that the service of his Huns should be rewarded by the cession of Pannonia, a condition to which Ætius, who had invited them, found it necessary to yield. In this position, and commanding the passage of the Upper Danube, the new settlers soon rendered themselves formidable to both Empires. The Court of Constantinople deemed it wiser to purchase the forbearance of Rugilas than to incur the hazard of war; and, accordingly, conferring upon the King of the Huns the title of General, he consented to pay for the nominal duties which attached to that office an annual salary of three hundred and fifty pounds of gold.†

The only chance of safety that remained for Rome arose from the divisions which prevailed among the Huns themselves. The authority of Rugilas was so far from being universally acknowledged by all who followed his standard, that the Chiefs of four Tribes claimed the privileges of an independent command; showing, on some occasions, a greater desire to intrigue with the Court of Constantinople than to prosecute the plans of conquest in which they professed to engage. In such circumstances the Barbarian monarch could not fail to perceive that his power would derive its firmest support from a lasting Peace with the Romans; provided the Emperor should confine the negotiation to him as the Generalissimo of the Huns, and reject the pretensions of his rivals as sovereign Princes. Ambassadors were, accordingly, named to form and ratify a treaty; but the death of Rugilas, which occurred before the terms of amity could be adjusted, interrupted and, finally, put an end to this friendly intercourse;‡

The throne of the Huns was immediately ascended by Attila and Bleda, the nephews of Rugilas; who, instead of negotiating through the medium of accredited Ministers, proposed, at once, a personal interview with the representatives of Theodosius. Near Margus, a city of the Upper Mæsia, the young Kings, who refused the condescension of dismounting from their horses, dictated to the envoys of Constantinople the conditions on which their master might enjoy Peace, if he shrunk

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Empire.
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410.
to
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455.
History of
the Huns.

Death of
Rugilas.
A. D.
433.

Accession
of Attila and
Bleda.

* Theodoret, lib. v. c. 39. Soc. lib. vii. c. 18—21. Mos. Choroë.
lib. iii. c. 59. 65.

† Soc. lib. vii. c. 43. Theodoret, lib. v. c. 36.

‡ Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. 34. Soc. lib. vii. c. 43.

* Soc. lib. ix. c. 1. Soc. lib. vii. c. 22.

History. from the chances of war. They insisted that the annual salary or tribute paid to the leader of the Huns should be doubled; that a greater facility of trade on the Danube and in the neighbouring Provinces should be secured to them; that the Romans should deliver up all the captives who had escaped from the camp of Rugilas, or submit to a fine for every one who could not be recovered; and, in the last place, that the Emperor should withdraw his faith from every engagement entered into with the enemies of the Huns. It does not appear that the Imperial Ministers acceded to terms so humiliating to their Country, nor is it probable that Attila expected such compliance; but he thereby gained the twofold object of impressing the Eastern Romans with the terror of his name, and of inspiring his followers with contempt for a people to whom he could with impunity address propositions which bore a greater resemblance to the laws of a conqueror than to the conditions of a voluntary and equal alliance.*

The History of Attila, whose short stature, swarthy complexion, flat nose, and large head proclaimed his affinity to the Tartar race, is one of the most remarkable even in the annals of Asia, where, above all other parts of the world, the influence of individual character has been felt, in changing the face of Society and the forms of Government. His ambition, which all along pointed to the highest objects, is supposed to have obtained assistance not only from his invincible courage and warlike talents, but also from the arts of superstition which gained for him, at once, the confidence and the veneration of his countrymen. He had the good fortune to acquire possession of the fabled sword of Mars, which, in the eyes of the rude herdsmen of Scythia, pointed him out as the certain conqueror, and the rightful master of the whole world; and, hence, when he first buckled on his celestial armour to extend the dominions of the Huns, he saw his standard surrounded by thousands of warriors who longed to share in the triumphs and spoils which they firmly believed were destined to fall into his hands.†

Before Attila directed his arms against the Empire, he had subdued the most powerful nations in Scythia and Germany. The Goths and Vandals, to escape from his savage warfare, had, in various places, precipitated themselves across the Danube, the Rhine, and the Alps; and, in order to avoid the calamities of conquest, they had invaded the Provinces of Italy and Gaul, where they either perished, or conquered a settlement among the subjects of Honorius. The Huns successively occupied the lands which the others found it necessary to evacuate; and Attila, either in person or by his Lieutenants, had already left tokens of his victories on the shores of the Baltic and of the Western Ocean, on the borders of France and of Holland, on the Euxine and Caspian Seas, on the limits of Persia, and even in the remote territories of Upper India and China.‡

Having his forces thus spread along the whole breadth of Europe and the Provinces of Western Asia, the King of the Huns could attack, at pleasure, either division of the Roman Empire, or even the dominions of the House of Sussau. The Ministers of Constantinople had hoped that Attila would waste his resources by invading the Persians, and in an attempt to push his conquests into

Arabia and Egypt, the riches of which, on a former occasion, had excited the avarice of his countrymen; but Genserich, the Vandal, who found his position in Africa threatened by the combined armies of Theodosius and Valentinianus, prevailed upon the Huns to break the truce which confined them to the banks of the Danube, and to pour down upon Thrace and Macedonia. A pretence soon occurred for consummating the treachery suggested by the Vandal Prince. A quarrel among the dealers who frequented the markets of the North, supplied to the Huns an occasion for attacking the Provincials with fire and sword; immediately after which, the main body of their forces, in that quarter, was put in motion by the master-genius of Attila himself, who soon carried conquest and desolation to the gates of the Eastern Capital.

The danger of the State, which could not withdraw Theodosius from his usual pursuits of amusement or piety, compelled him at least to recall the troops which had been assembled for the recovery of Africa, to summon the Legions from the Eastern frontier, and even to collect the garrisons from the forts in Illyricum and Dalmatia. But the soldiers of the Empire, now unaccustomed to the discipline which had enabled them to conquer, and no longer guided by able Commanders, could not resist, in the field of battle, the impetuous valour of the Huns. In three successive engagements, fought in different parts of Thrace, the fortune of Attila prevailed; and so great were the losses sustained by the vanquished, that their numbers were altogether insufficient to check the ravages of the Barbarians, who wasted the whole of the surrounding country. The walls of Constantinople protected the Emperor and his Ministers; but the approach of famine and the murmurs of the people imposed on them the necessity of soothing the victor, and of purchasing from him a short interval of Peace. Seventy cities had already sunk before his arms, the buildings of which were levelled with the ground, and the inhabitants either massacred or sold into captivity. The Capital itself might, at no distant period, share the same fate; for, although Attila might retire to the neighbourhood of the Danube to recruit his army and obtain provisions, there was no doubt that he would return, in order to complete the conquest of Greece and even of Asia Minor.¶

When the King of the Huns was solicited to grant a suspension of arms, he assumed the right of dictating the conditions upon which the Treaty was to be founded. He insisted that the Emperor should resign an extensive territory situated on the Southern bank of the Danube, and which stretched from Singidunum as far as Novæ in Thrace. The breadth was defined by the vague measurement of fifteen days' journey, and was determined by limits satisfactory to Attila. He next demanded that the annual subsidy, first paid to his uncle Rugilas, should be augmented from seven hundred pounds of gold to two thousand one hundred, besides an immediate payment of six thousand pounds of gold in name of indemnity for the expenses of the late war. In the last place, he stipulated that all the Huns, taken in war, should be released without ransom; that every Roman captive, who had escaped, should be compelled to purchase his freedom at the price of twelve pounds of gold; and that all the deserters from

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From
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410.
to
A. D.
455.

Devastation of the Empire and defeat of armies.

Theodosius solicits Peace: the conditions on which it was granted.

* Priscus, *Excerpt. de Leg.* Theod. lib. v. c. 36.

† Priscus, p. 39. *Edif.* Paris. Jomard. c. 35.

‡ Jomard. c. 49. Priscus, p. 64.

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¶ Priscus, p. 331. *Procop. de Edif.* lib. iv. c. 5. *Chron. Prosp.* Tyro. and Marcell.

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455.

Embassies
on both
sides.

his standard should be unconditionally delivered up to military justice.*

Attila soon found reason to complain that the Ministers of Theodosius, either from want of honour or want of treasure, did not fulfil the terms on which he had been pleased to withdraw his troops from their territory. He therefore sent repeated embassies to Constantinople, urging an immediate compliance with the stipulations to which they had pledged their faith, and, more especially, that they should deliver up all the fugitives and deserters who had taken refuge within their walls. To mollify his resentment, it was resolved to despatch to his camp a courtier of considerable rank, who might explain to the Hunnic Sovereign the reduced state of the public revenue, and the fidelity with which they had sought out every individual who owed allegiance to his Crown. Maximin was the name of the envoy who was charged with this important commission, and he was accompanied on his journey by Vigilus, by Priscus the Historian, who was attached to him by the bonds of friendship, and by Orestes and Edeon, the ambassadors of Attila. The camp of the Huns was stationed on the Southern bank of the Danube, at the distance of about six hundred miles from Constantinople, whither the representatives of the two nations proceeded, by the way of Sardica and Naissus.†

Conspiracy
to take
away the
life of
Attila.

While Edeon was at the Court of Theodosius, he was introduced to the Chamberlain Chrysaphius, who, by promises of unbounded wealth and favour, seduced him so far from his duty as to listen to a proposal for assassinating Attila. Vigilus, who was appointed to attend Maximin, was privy to this disgraceful plot, and engaged to assist in its execution; but Edeon, either repenting his base design, or, it is more probable, never having had any serious intention to accomplish it, revealed the secret to his master, before the Romans were admitted into his presence. The Hun restrained his indignation, or only gave expression to it in such terms as could affect the conscious feelings of Vigilus, who trembled at the implied menaces which reached his ears. Maximin, who was ignorant of the conspiracy, and, consequently, of the import of the remarks which alluded to it in the speech of Attila, confined his endeavours to the furtherance of the public business on which he had been commissioned; but the Barbarian, either to mortify the pride of the Emperor or to gratify his own vanity, declared that he could come to no determination until he had met the ambassadors of the Western Empire, also, who were on their progress towards his Capital, on the Northern side of the Upper Danube. A journey of several days, through a wasted or barren country, was accordingly undertaken by the Romans, who were entertained at the successive stages with sincere hospitality, and, in one place, by the widow of Bleda, the brother of Attila, whom the latter, in a divine impulse as it was esteemed, had put to death with the sword of Mars.‡

The Court
of Attila.

The royal village of Attila, situated somewhere between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains, presented a singular spectacle to the eyes of the luxurious inhabitants of Constantinople. The Palace of the King himself was constructed of timber, and covered with straw or reeds; and the houses of his principal Officers

did not rise above the rank of huts, such as were used by the shepherds of the great Indian desert, when encamped in their summer pastures. The interior, it is true, was decorated with much rude magnificence, displaying the gold and silver vessels which they had taken from the Romans, as well as the swords and splendid harness on which they lavished the greater portion of their wealth. The wives of Attila were arrayed in the rich garments which had been fabricated for the ladies of the Eastern Court; their robes were embroidered with the most costly materials, and their shoes were studded with gold and precious stones. The monarch alone despised the finery of the nations which he had subdued, and retained in his dress, his arms, and the furniture of his horse, the plain simplicity which had distinguished his ancestors. His table was covered with wooden dishes; his food was simple flesh without bread or seasoning; and he drank out of a vessel which may have been formed in the wilds of Tartary.*

During the audience which he had granted to the ambassadors and Vigilus on the banks of the Danube, he insinuated against the latter the guilt which he had meditated in conjunction with Edeon. The interpreter, who could not be ignorant of the allusion, did not, as might have been expected, seek safety in flight; and even when he was brought before the tribunal of Attila, he persevered in asserting his innocence, till the threat of inflicting instant death upon his son drew from him a full discovery of his criminal intentions. The King of the Huns, on this occasion, put to shame by his magnanimous conduct the low arts adopted by Theodosius and his Ministers. He declared that if his hands were not bound by the respect which he felt for the law of nations, he would nail the deceitful interpreter to a cross, and leave his body to be devoured by the birds of the air. He would not therefore put him to death, but treating him like a captive whom he had taken in battle, he should estimate his life at two hundred pieces of gold. He reserved for the ear of the Emperor himself a message of remonstrance, admonition, and reproof, which his consent to the conspiracy of Chrysaphius very naturally suggested. "Theodosius," said he, "is the son of an illustrious father, and so am I; but, by consenting to pay me tribute, he has fallen from his greatness, and has become my servant. It is not, therefore, right that he should forget his duty, and like a wicked slave enter into treasonable designs against my life.†

The envoy, who pronounced this reproof in the presence of Theodosius, was further instructed to demand the head of Chrysaphius, the author of the plot. The Emperor, whose resentment was overcome by his fears, ward off the impending storm by promising to send to the Court of Attila ambassadors of high rank, and invested with full power to settle all the matters in dispute between the Huns and Romans. With this view he selected Nomius the Great Treasurer, and Anatolius the Master-General of the Army, whom he loaded with gifts to soften the enraged Barbarian, and through whom he conveyed the most positive assurances that all the articles of the late Treaty would be most punctually observed. These concessions on the part of Theodosius, the magnificent presents with which they were accompanied, and, above all, the dignified Order from which the ambassadors were chosen, flattered the vanity

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* Chron. Prosp. Tyro. Priscus, p. 34.

† Priscus, p. 69–72.

‡ Ibid. p. 49–70.

* Priscus, p. 56. *Haec sedes regis barbarum totam tenentia, hac capta civitatis habitacula praeponbat.*

† Ibid. p. 38, 39.

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Policy of
Attila.

of Attila, and disposed him to moderation and clemency. He consented that Chrysaphius should live, and that Vigilius should be restored to favour; binding himself, at the same time, by a solemn stipulation, to preserve inviolate all the conditions of the Peace, to release a certain number of captives, and to restore part of the territory which he had claimed by right of conquest.*

It has been made a question by a distinguished author whether Attila, in acceding to this Treaty, was actuated by moderation or by selfishness. He maintains that in all such resolutions he only followed the maxims of his nation, which led him to subdue the more wealthy States of Europe and of Asia, but not to extirpate them.† The question, perhaps, might be found to resolve itself into a more profound policy than the King of the Huns ever assumed for his guide, either in Peace or in War; and as the balance of power was constantly in his own hands, he had no occasion to adjust the relative preponderance of rival Kingdoms, nor to measure with a watchful eye the precise extent to which it might be convenient to depress his enemies. As long, too, as he possessed the means of extorting from the Emperors of the East and of the West the treasure or lands which were, from time to time, required by his followers, he was a greater, or at least a more independent, monarch in his royal village beyond the Danube, than if he had taken his seat on the throne of Rome or of Constantinople.

Death of
Theodosius
A. D.
450.

While these interesting events engaged the attention of the Roman world, Theodosius met his death by a fall from his horse in hunting. As he left no heirs to the throne, his sister Pulcheria was invested with the supreme power, and proclaimed Empress of the East. To obtain assistance in the duties of Government, she gave her hand to Marcianus, a Senator of high reputation both in Civil and military life; whom, however, she received as a colleague rather than as a husband, having devoted herself to celibacy under the obligation of a religious oath. No sooner was Marcianus raised to the Imperial dignity than he gave proof of the great talents and mild disposition which had recommended him to the daughter of Arcadius. He increased the number and improved the discipline of the soldiers; he reformed the abuses of administration; while his example, which was adorned with piety and virtue, checked the licentious manners of the higher classes in the Capital.

Accession
of Marcian.
448.

To repair, in some degree, the evils produced by the timid counsels of the late reign, he resolved to brave the hazards of war rather than to submit longer to the arrogant claims of Attila, who not only demanded, in a tone of insufferable insolence, the payment of the annual subsidy, but desired that it might be viewed as the tribute of a vanquished people to their conqueror, or as the acknowledgment of vassals to their liege lord. He informed the King of the Huns that he was disposed to reward with becoming liberality the friendship of a faithful ally; but reminded him, at the same time, that the Empire still possessed ample means of defence, and that, if gold must be lavished to procure military service, it were wiser to distribute it among the subjects of Pulcheria than to bestow it upon the troops of Attila. He added, through his ambassador, that if the Barbarians attempted to disturb the public peace, they should

be encountered by an army not less able than desirous to punish their aggression.*

Unaccustomed to such language, Attila gave utterance to his passion in the most haughty terms imaginable. He resolved to subdue both Empires, and to find a Palace in the Capital of each: he instructed his Ministers to make known his determination at Ravenna as well as at Constantinople; and to assure both Valentinianus and the successor of Theodosius, that he would chastise their tardy obedience in the heart of their dominions. His plan of conquest required that he should begin with Italy and Gaul—an arrangement which carries us once more to a brief recapitulation of the affairs of the West.†

The death of Boniface threw the Government of the State of the Valentinianus almost entirely into the hands of Ætius, Western Empire, who soon succeeded in recovering the confidence of Placidia. The deceit practised by this Commander against his rival, had involved Italy in confusion, and deprived the Empire of a valuable Province; but a seasonable Peace, which he contracted with the King of the Vandals, removed for a time the fears of invasion, while his able conduct in Gaul and Spain had extended the Imperial authority over the greater part of those fine Provinces. It was the fortune of Ætius, too, in early life, to spend a long period in the camps of the Goths and Huns, to both of whom, at different times, he had been delivered as a hostage. He had entered into an intimate friendship with Attila, to whose care he subsequently committed the military education of his son; and during a long intercourse in War as well as in Peace, the two Commanders never entirely forgot the kindness which had passed between them in the tents of Rugilas. It is probable that the influence which the General of Valentinianus could thus exercise over the impetuous temper of the Hun, delayed his meditated irruption into Gaul; but the resistance which was now systematically made to the demands of the latter had so far inflamed his resentment, that Ætius was convinced the storm could no longer be averted, either on the Alps or on the Rhine. For this reason he laboured to strengthen the interests of the Empire among the various Tribes of Gothic or German extraction, who already occupied a large portion of Gaul.‡

The Visigoths were now under the Government of Theodoric, the son of the renowned Alaric, and occupied that district in the Southern part of Gaul, of which Thoulouse is the Capital. About fifteen years prior to the period at which our narrative has arrived, the young King made several attempts to extend his dominions, which were all defeated by the vigilance and military skill of Ætius. At length a just appreciation of mutual advantage led Theodoric and the Roman General to establish a lasting Peace; and the arms of the former would have instantly been turned against Genseric, the Chief of the Vandals, had not the menaces of Attila confined the attention of the new allies to the defence of Gaul.

The Franks, after an unavailing contest with the Romans and the experience of several defeats, were content to limit their Kingdom to the Province which

Roman
Empire.
From
A. D.
410.
to
A. D.
455.
Rage of
Attila.

* Jornand, de Reb. Get. c. 36, 37.

† Montesquieu, Considerations, &c. p. 232.

• Procop, de Bello Vandal. lib. i. c. 4. Eragrius, lib. ii. c. 1. Chron. Pasch. sub. ann.

† Priscus, c. 39.

‡ Vict. Viten. De Persev. Vandal. Chron. Marcol. and Idat. sub. ann.

History.

From
A. D.
410.
to
A. D.
455.

extends from the Rhine to the Somme. On the death of Clodion, one of the earliest Sovereigns of the first race, a dissension took place between his two sons; one of whom implored the protection of the Roman Government, while the other solicited the aid of Attila. The Hun, who had resolved to attack the Western Empire, eagerly availed himself of so favourable an opportunity for accomplishing his object, under the specious pretence of vindicating the rights of an injured Prince, who courted his alliance.

Besides the Visigoths and a large body of the Franks, the Lieutenant of Valentinianus had secured the services of a detachment of the Alani, which still possessed a part of Gaul, and of an army of Huns, who had separated themselves from the main camp on the Danube. There was some reason for doubt, indeed, whether, when opposed to Attila in the field of battle, their national predilections would not overcome their more recent attachment to the cause of the Empire; and it required, besides, no small degree of address to prevent their hereditary dislike of the Goths, Franks, and Burgundians, from precipitating all the Provinces South of the Rhine into the desolation of a Civil war. But no extent of preparation could save that fertile country from the projected inroad of the Huns. After a march of seven hundred miles from his head-quarters in the plains of Hungary, Attila mustered his formidable host on the frontiers of Gaul; where, after being joined by those Franks who supported the claims of the elder son of Clodion, he began hostilities by attacking the nearest towns, and by laying waste the fields whence they drew their supplies.*

Attila invades Gaul, and lays siege to Orleans.
A. D.
451.

The History of this invasion of the Huns presents the usual description of havoc, ruin, and individual wretchedness, which marked the path of those savage warriors in all the Countries which they overran. Most of the cities North of the Loire were besieged and stormed, and generally given up to military execution; in which case the massacre of the inhabitants was promiscuous, involving the aged sire and the infant at the breast, the helpless female and the priest before the altar. Orleans, the walls of which had been recently strengthened, had the resolution and skill to make a successful resistance. Ætius, it should seem, had promised to relieve it, and entreated the brave defenders to keep the enemy at bay until he could bring up an army sufficiently strong to combat the Huns. But the time necessary to accomplish this object somewhat exceeded his first calculation. The Bishop, whose name was Anianus, encouraged meanwhile the perseverance of the garrison, and exhorted the people to lend their aid in repelling the furious assault of the Barbarians; assuring them that, before the close of another day, the expected succour would arrive, and their ancient city would be saved. He sent a messenger to the highest tower, to see whether there were any appearance of troops in the distant horizon; but it was not till after he had been twice disappointed, that the welcome intelligence was announced to him of a small cloud of dust rising at the remotest verge to which the eye could reach. "It is the aid of God!" exclaimed the pious Prelate, and his words were instantly repeated in shouts of joy by all the citizens. Every eye was now fixed on the distant object which had revived their hopes; and no long time elapsed before they could clearly distinguish the banners of the Empire

mixed with those of Theodoric, the King of the Visigoths, moving on rapidly for the relief of Orleans.*

Attila, whose ranks had been thinned by the active service in which his army was engaged since he crossed the Rhine, saw the danger of risking a battle in the very heart of a Country where he had neither friends nor allies but such as were within the limits of his camp. He therefore immediately raised the siege, and retreated towards the extensive plains of Châlons; in which, should he find it necessary to come to an action, his cavalry, he imagined, would secure him a great advantage over the foot soldiers of the Roman General. The Visigoths, meanwhile, under Torismond, the eldest son of their King, pressed upon his rear so closely, that he could not prevent several bloody contests, in one of which not fewer than fifteen thousand of his Barbarians fell by the sword; and hardly had he arrived in the open country where he had determined to make a stand, when he found himself opposed by a powerful host, recruited from five or six different nations, but all animated with one spirit, and directed by the prudent valour of Ætius. He could not, had he been inclined, pursue his retreat any further. Resolving, therefore, to fight, he laboured to revive the drooping courage of his Huns, by reminding them of their former exploits, and by holding out the certainty of a decisive triumph in the approaching combat. He had indeed consulted his priests, who found, in the entrails of their victims, indications of disaster to the Scythian warriors, but who, at the same time, could assure the King that the success of his enemies, if it occurred, must be purchased by the death of their principal leader.

Whatever might be his impressions, he began the conflict with his usual intrepidity, and used every argument which could affect the pride or superstition of his men, to induce them to follow his example. A frightful scene of carnage ensued. The fortune of battle seemed to waver between the bravery of the contending armies, and the issue was long doubtful. Theodoric, the Sovereign of the Visigoths, received a mortal wound, and was trampled under the feet of the horsemen; but his son, the gallant Torismond, soon revenged his death, by advancing at the head of his nation, and throwing the whole weight of a united charge upon the exhausted lines of the Huns, who were compelled to turn their backs. The approach of night enabled Attila to withdraw his troops within the entrenchment of waggons, which usually formed his camp; while the victors, unwilling to irritate the despair of so determined a character, did not attempt to expel him from his temporary fortress. In truth, the slaughter, which amounted to a hundred and sixty-two thousand, had weakened both sides so much, that the battle was not renewed; and it was only because Attila dreaded some ulterior movement on the part of his able adversary, by which his communication with the Danube might be intercepted, that he resolved upon returning across the Rhine, and relinquishing all his conquests in Gaul.†

In the following year the inundation, which had rolled back from the Provinces beyond the Alps, desolated the fairest parts of Italy. The King of the Huns, whose prey was snatched from his hands by the military talent of Ætius, augmented his forces during the winter, and was ready, in the early months of Spring, to pass the

/Roman Empire.

From
A. D.
410.
to
A. D.
455.

Orleans relieved by Ætius and Theodoric, King of the Visigoths.

Battle of Châlons, and defeat of Attila.

Attila invades Italy
A. D.
452.

* Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. 36, 37. Chron. Hist.

• Siden. Apoll. lib. viii. Ep. xv.
† Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. 41.

History. mountain barrier which protected the land of the Cæsars, and to resume his course of victory within sight of the walls of Ravenna. The siege of Aquileia first occupied his arms, and, owing to the ignorance of his men in the art of reducing fortresses, delayed his progress more than three months. The resolution and skill displayed by the defenders exhausted the patience of Attila: his provisions were consumed, and his troops were becoming clamorous; the season for active operations was fast passing away, and time was given to the Imperial Generals to reinforce the Italian armies, and to arrange their plans for a vigorous campaign. These considerations had induced him to issue orders for raising the siege, when the simple circumstances of seeing a stork leave its nest, built on one of the walls, and fly away towards the country, revived the confidence of the invader, and inspired new hope into his followers. A furious assault was made on the fortifications; the Huns effected an entry; and Aquileia soon ceased to exist but as a heap of ruins. A similar fate awaited the other cities on the coast of the Adriatic, as far as the river Po, including Altinum, Concordia, Padua, Vicenza, and Verona. Milan and Pavia, which opened their gates on the first approach of the conqueror, and which could sooth his avarice by the surrender of their wealth, were allowed to preserve their public edifices, and even to retain the greater part of their inhabitants. But, in general, the unhappy people were stripped of their property, destroyed of their dwellings, and compelled to seek safety in distant flight. Thousands of them took refuge in those small islands which stud the upper extremity of the Adriatic sea; and there, by exercising the industry which had already begun to adorn and enrich the towns from whence they were expelled, they laid the foundations of the Venetian commonwealth.*

Origin of Venice.

Contract of Attila.

Ætius, meanwhile, exerted all the influence which belonged to his commanding character to raise an army that might enable him to repeat, in the plains of Italy, the noble triumph which he had gained the former year in the neighbourhood of Châlons. He urged Valentinianus to call his people into the field, and solicited the Emperor of the East to send a powerful reinforcement from Pannonia and Illyricum; so that, by cutting off the retreat of the Barbarians through the passes of the Alps, they might complete the destruction of their main body, and terminate for ever the career of Attila. But the son of Placidia was a stranger to the alarms and duties of war; and rather than expose his person to the danger and fatigue of protracted hostility, he would have consented to abandon the finest part of his Empire to the ravages of the Huns. That he might have the means of escaping into Gaul, whenever the advance of Attila should render his position insecure, he left the strong fortress of Ravenna, and removed his Court to Rome. In such circumstances all the efforts of Ætius proved unavailing. At the head of the small body of troops who were attached to his interests, and who preferred death to the dishonour of their Country, he hovered round the camp of the Huns, attacked their outposts, and harassed their march. But as the mass of the Romans were now unacquainted with the exercise of arms, and had long ceased to feel those generous emotions which rendered their ancestors invincible, the liberator of Gaul, so far from being supported in his

patriotic endeavours, was charged with betraying Italy to its ferocious invaders.*

No sooner had the Emperor arrived at the Capital, than it was suggested by his counsellors that an attempt ought to be made to deprecate the wrath of Attila, and to procure Peace. The King of the Huns had for several years claimed Honoria, the sister of Valentinianus, as his wife; and even after that Princess was married to another, he demanded to be put in possession of the dowry or territorial rights which were supposed to belong to her as the granddaughter of Theodosius. The Roman Senators, employed to negotiate the Treaty, informed him that his claims were now fully recognised by the Imperial Government, and that if he would withdraw his army beyond the Alps, the wealth of Honoria should be put into his hands. The Barbarian Chief was gratified with this concession, as well as with the respect shown to his character in the selection of the embassy; for he beheld in his camp, as suppliants from the Emperor, Arvenius and Trigetius, men of Consular dignity, and who had discharged the highest offices in the State, as also Leo, the Bishop of Rome, an Ecclesiastic of great celebrity. He granted the Peace, which was asked in a manner so flattering to his vanity, and accepted the treasure bestowed in the name of Honoria; but so far was he from relinquishing his imaginary right to her person that, if she were not delivered up to his ambassadors within a limited period, he threatened to renew the invasion of the Empire at the head of a more formidable army than had yet appeared under his banners.†

Roman Empire.

From A. D. 410. to A. D. 455.

Peace obtained by the Romans. The Princess Honoria.

But the final term of his conquests and of his life was now nearly expired. Upon his return to the royal village beyond the Danube, he solemnized his marriage with Ildico, a beautiful maiden, whom he chose to add to the number of his wives, and was found dead in bed the morning after the festivity. The bursting of a blood-vessel deprived the Huns of their warlike monarch, and put an end to their power in Europe. The various nations which had assembled under his standard, and acknowledged his supremacy, immediately separated, and turned their arms against one another; while the sons of Attila, instead of striving to perpetuate the unity of their father's Empire, quarrelled about the succession, and partitioned his territories. The Gepidæ, the Ostrogoths, the Alani, the Suevi, and the Heruli, after losing the best of their warriors in a succession of battles, seized the Provinces on either side of the Danube, and spread out their colonies from Pannonia to the shores of the Euxine. The remainder of the Huns retired into Scythia, and laboured to preserve their name among a kindred people; but the fortune of war still proving unfavourable, they were compelled to give way to a more powerful horde from the North, and finally to resign all pretensions to an independent sovereignty.‡

Death of Attila.

A. D. 453.

Three years before the death of Attila, the mother of Valentinianus paid the debt of nature, and left him to the intrigues of the cunning Heraclius. This unworthy Minister succeeded in stirring up in the weak mind of his master a deep feeling of jealousy towards Ætius, the main protector of his Country. The reputation which he had acquired in the war with Attila, his great wealth, and the attachment of the army, did, no doubt,

A. D. 454.

* Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 4. Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. 42.

* Chron. Procop. and Idat.

† Priscus, p. 56. Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. 42.

‡ Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. 49, 50.

History.

From

A. D.

410.

to

A. D.

455.

confer upon the Patrician a degree of power incompatible with the rank of a subject. But the victor of Châlons had on all occasions employed his influence for the welfare of the State and the security of the Throne, and had studiously rendered his ambition subservient to the honour of a Roman and to the duty of a Commander. Animated with the consciousness of innocence, or regardless of the danger with which he was threatened, he went to the Palace to remind the Emperor of a promise in favour of his son; and while he was urging his claim with some degree of vehemence, Valentinian drew his sword and plunged it in the breast of the General, to whom he had been twice indebted for the preservation of his Country.*

Death of
Valentinian
a.u.c.

A. D.

455.

To this horrible crime the son of Placidia soon added another, which brought upon him the punishment of both. Having fraudulently enticed the wife of Petronius Maximus into the Palace, he accomplished by force that which he had not been able to gain by all the arts of seduction, and thereby entirely alienated from him the minds of all the noble families resident in Rome. Maximus did not allow his revenge to slumber; and finding fit agents among the friends of Ætius, he stimulated them to an act which their affection for their late patron invested with the character of justice and gratitude. Seizing an opportunity afforded by the presence of Valentinianus at some Military Games in the *Campus Martius*, they rushed upon him with arms in their hands, and stabbed him to the heart. In this manner fell the last Emperor of the House of Theodosius, despised for his weakness, and abhorred for his crimes; one whose conduct in his latter years, and especially towards Ætius and Maximus, fully justified the comparison made in his hearing by an honest courtier, who likened him to a man who cuts off his right hand with his left.†

Petronius
Maximus
avoids the
Throne.

Petronius Maximus, whose domestic injury had rendered vacant the Throne of the West, was immediately summoned by the shouts of the people to receive the Imperial dignity. His birth was illustrious, his fortune was ample, and he had already filled the highest offices which could be discharged by a subject. To the reputation which he had acquired by his able conduct in public life, he added the wise enjoyments of literature and elegant society at home; and, till the moment that he permitted himself to be arrayed in the Purple, his condition might be regarded as a rare instance of human felicity. To strengthen his Government, indeed, he procured the marriage of his son with the eldest daughter of the late Emperor; and with the same view, perhaps, he insisted on Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinianus, becoming his own wife. But the means which he thus employed to ensure a happy reign, and to transmit to his family a hereditary right to the Empire, proved the occasion of bringing his days to a close, and of involving his Country in misery and disgrace. The Empress, indignant at the violence which had been inflicted upon her feelings, and suspicious that Maximus had planned the murder of her former husband, resolved to be revenged on the usurper, although this solace to her injured affections should be purchased at the expense of the Roman people. She invited Genseric to undertake the invasion of Italy, an object for which he

Eudoxia
invites the
Vandals.

had long been making preparations, and waited only for a plausible pretext to cover the ambition and avarice which mingled with his other motives.*

No sooner had the King of the Vandals landed at the mouth of the Tiber than the fate of Maximus was decided. The soldiers joined with the populace in their detestation of a Prince who was only bold to avenge his private wrongs, and had taken no steps to secure the public safety. He was overwhelmed with a shower of stones in the streets of Rome, and his body thrown into the river; the domestics of Eudoxia, and the adherents of the late Emperor, being among the most active of the assailants.

Roman
Empire

From

A. D.

410.

to

A. D.

455.

Death of
Maximus

Genseric advanced towards Rome, prepared to contend for the prize which it contained with the army, which had been formed during the active administration of the Patrician Ætius. But the Capital of the world no longer trusted for her defence to the arms of her soldiers. The Barbarian auxiliaries, who had taken the place of her Legions, felt no interest in the protection of a city with which they were not connected by any recollections of ancestry or sentiments of honour. The Vandals, accordingly, met with no opposition as they approached the walls; but as they drew nearer, they saw issuing from the gates a procession of priests and anchorites, headed by the Bishop, coming forth to implore the clemency of the invader, to entreat that he would spare the helpless multitude within, and to save the buildings from fire. The voice of Leo again soothed a conqueror; and Genseric, like Attila, consented to reverence the seat of Religion, reserving to himself, however, the infliction of such punishment on the luxurious and the wanton as the justice of Heaven might direct him to administer.‡

The Vand
advance
Rome.

The Vandals and Moors, not feeling themselves bound by the scruples of their leader, pillaged the city, and carried off to their ships whatever wealth had been left by Alaric, or had been accumulated during an interval of nearly fifty years. The precious ornaments of the Capitol were torn down and removed, and the spoils which Titus brought from the Temple of Jerusalem, the golden table, and the candlestick of seven branches composed of the same material, were huried on board and conveyed to Carthage. The rich furniture of the Palace, the massy plate, and the rare jewels which decorated the ensigns of office, were seized by the rude hands of the soldiers, and classed with the common booty. Nor were the persons of the highest rank in the State protected from robbery and violence. Even Eudoxia herself, who had expected to meet a friend in Genseric, was deprived of her most costly ornaments, and, with her two daughters, compelled to join the train of the conqueror, and to accompany him to Africa. Thousands of meaner captives were, in like manner, forced into domestic servitude, or sold for slaves in the streets of Carthage; many of whom, from change of climate and the hardships of the voyage, sank under the pressure of disease, and thus surrendered in a foreign land the life which had been deceitfully spared in their own Country.‡

Sack of
Carthage
by the
Vandals

* Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 4. Chron. Marcel. Idat. and
Procop. Sidon. Panegygr. Avit.
† Procop. ubi supra.

• Sidon. Apoll. lib. i. Ep. xlii. Sidon. in Panegygr. Avit. v. 441.
Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 4.
‡ Livy. lib. ii. c. 7. Chron. Idat. Procop. Marcel. sub. ann. Viet.
Viten. lib. i. c. 8.
‡ Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. 45. Procop. ubi supra.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

FROM THE SACK OF ROME BY THE VANDALS TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

FROM A. D. 455. TO A. D. 476.

History.
From
A. D.
455.
to
A. D.
476.
Inactivity
of the
Empire.

THE inactivity of the Emperor of the East during these misfortunes of Rome, cannot be regarded without surprise. Few of the Sovereigns who filled that throne have left to posterity a more unblemished reputation, or appear to have been more attentive than Marcianus to the happiness of their subjects; and it is difficult to assign a motive for his seeming indifference to the calamities of the Sister Empire. In the deficiency of authentic materials for the History of his reign, we have been presented with a legend, which, nevertheless, when stripped of its marvellous accompaniments, may not be without a foundation in truth. It is said that Marcianus, while acting as Secretary of the Patrician Aspar during the African war, was taken prisoner by Genseric. The captive was brought into the Palace Court preparatory to an inspection by the Barbarian King, and there, while awaiting his arrival, Marcianus, overpowered by fatigue, fell asleep upon the ground. In this position, and exposed to the burning rays of a Tropical sun, the prisoner was not without assistance; an eagle hovered over him while he slept, and expanded his broad wings as a shade. Genseric, who accidentally viewed this occurrence from his apartment, interpreted it as a prodigy; and concluding that his captive was destined to be the future possessor of the Imperial dignity, granted him liberty, upon a stipulation that he would never make war upon the Vandals.* The Emperor remembered, and adhered to his promise.

The decease of the Empress Pulcheria occurred four years before that of her nominal husband. She died in the odour of virginity, and her treasures having been bequeathed to charitable uses, she was a successful claimant of the honour of canonization. The Festival of St. Pulcheria is still observed by the modern Greeks; and similar honours are partaken by her consort. If, during the six years of his reign, he did not affect the glory of a warrior, he successfully established himself in the affections of his subjects, by innocence and simplicity of manners, by extraordinary piety, and by zeal for Religion.

Aspar has not escaped suspicion of compassing the death of his Sovereign; nevertheless, since from Religious scruples he refused to renounce his profession of Arianism, the sole barrier between himself and the

Imperial diadem, it is probable that he has been unjustly accused. But the power which he was too conscientious or too prudent to accept openly, in his own person, he resolved to wield through that of another. Hereditary command during three generations had placed the armies of the East at his disposal, and the wealth which he had long painfully accumulated, and now lavishly distributed, secured to him the willing suffrages of the Capital, which, if it had shown reluctance, he was equally prepared to overawe. His choice fell upon a private individual, of obscure origin, Leo, by birth a Thracian, who hitherto had attained no higher offices than those of Military Tribune and Chief Steward of Aspar's household. The new Emperor was elected by the unanimous voice of the Senate, and his inauguration was attended with an unusual solemnity. Anastasius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, placed the crown upon his brows, and established a precedent which, in after-times, has been for the most part adopted throughout all Christian Monarchies.

The foreign policy of Leo I. is necessarily intermingled with the particulars which are presently to be described of the occurrences in the West. We shall in this place treat only of his more immediate personal History. In his domestic administration he was gentle and munificent, a patron of Learning and the Arts, and studiously pacific. The chief troubles of his reign were occasioned by those hands which had raised him to the throne. Ariadne, the eldest of his two daughters, was bestowed in marriage upon Andaburius, the son of Aspar; but the haughty Patrician, in his engerness to elevate his family, forgot those maxims of prudence which had tempered his own ambition when the sceptre was within his grasp. He demanded the title of Cæsar for his son, and having urged upon his Prince the heavy debt of obligation which was his due, and the powerful means which he possessed of enforcing his demands, he crowned his importunities by an act of gross personal affront. Laying hold of the Imperial robe, he shook it with indignation, and added, "It is not fit that he who wears the Purple should stoop to a falsehood." The Emperor replied with dignity and moderation, "Neither is it fit that he should surrender his judgment, like a slave, to the will of a subject." In spite of this remark-

Roman
Empire.
From
A. D.
455.
to
A. D.
476.

Presump-
tion of
Aspar.

* Eusebius, p. 284.

* Cedrenus, p. 245.

History. able interview, it is asserted that Andaburius was declared Cæsar; but any reconciliation between the offended Prince and his presumptuous General thenceforward must have been confined to outward profession. The populace of Constantinople loudly expressed their discontent at the appointment; and in their hatred of Ariarism, they forgot both the splendour of Aspar's military reputation, and the frequency of his largesses. Leo was not backward in profiting by these demonstrations of popular feeling, and he secretly encouraged the dislike which seemed to promise him a release from the insufferable burden of a master. We are ill acquainted with the precise nature of the occurrences which at length placed Aspar in open rebellion. It seems as if a protracted struggle ensued, and that the streets of Constantinople more than once were stained with the blood of the contending parties. But in the end the fortune of the Emperor prevailed, and Aspar and his son fell by the hands of the Eunuchs of the Palace. The widow of Andaburius became the bride of an Isaurian, the fortunate Transcaspian, who exchanged that barbarous sound for the Grecian appellation of Zeno,* under which he afterwards ascended the Throne of his father-in-law.

His insurrection

And death.

The reign of Leo continued seventeen years, and, though undistinguished by brilliant events, Historians have concurred in bestowing upon him a title which has rarely been earned at so cheap a rate—it may be added, and the recollection is a melancholy one, at so small a sacrifice of human happiness. It is perhaps chiefly to distinguish him from the many other and more weak Sovereigns who have borne the same name, that he is known as *the Great*. Before his death he associated with himself in the Empire, the infant son of Zeno and his daughter Ariadne, a child scarcely six years of age. A single year after the decease of his grandfather terminated the rule of this unhappy boy. The title of Cæsar had already been bestowed upon Zeno, and the premature death of his son opened the way to a succession, contrary to the order of Nature, and creating a very natural suspicion of the means by which it had been secured. The turbulent scenes which followed will find a more convenient place in another part of our narrative. We now return to the transactions of the Western Empire.

Accession of Leo II.
A. D.
474.
And of Zeno.

Avitus is raised to the throne by Theodoric, the Visigoth.
A. D.
455.

The next Emperor owed his elevation to the partiality of the Gauls, and to the power of Theodoric, the King of the Visigoths. Maximus, to relieve his Italian Government from the care of the Provinces beyond the Alps, had nominated Avitus, a native of that Country, to the command of the army, as well as to the administration of Civil affairs, in all the districts South of the Rhone and the Loire. The new Master-General soon discovered that the Visigoths exercised, in the Gallic Assembly, a degree of influence which entirely superseded the authority of the Emperor, and, consequently, that it was more for his interest to stand well with the Court of Thoulouse than with the Senate of Rome. Theodoric was at this time the Sovereign of the Goths, having put to death his elder brother, the brave Torismond, who contributed so much to the success of his countrymen at the battle of Châlons. When the news reached Gaul that Maximus had fallen the victim of popular fury, the Gothic Prince urged Avitus to assume the Purple; promising not only to assist him with his

arms in subduing the reluctance of the Romans, but also to promote his interests in Gaul and Spain, by waging war with the Suevi and the other Barbarous nations within the Pyrenees, who still refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Empire. The General hesitated until the consent of Marcian could be obtained; after which he allowed himself to be announced as the successor of Maximus, and, in due time, crossed the Alps to receive the congratulations of his people.*

The short reign of this monarch derived its sole glory from the triumphs of Theodoric over Rechiarus, the King of the Suevi. Several sanguinary conflicts took place between these rivals, which ended in the entire defeat and death of the latter; but the success which attended the ally of the Romans did not materially strengthen their interests on either side of the Pyrenees, for the Sovereign of the Visigoths looked rather to the extension of his own dominions than to the perpetuity of the Imperial Government. Avitus, on the other hand, possessed neither ambition nor activity sufficient to excite his vigilance or carry him into the field in person. He plunged, with an avidity unbecoming his age, into the luxuries and even the dissipation of the Capital, and thereby soon dissolved the slight bonds which had united him with the affections of his people. The feelings of the Senate, who had not been consulted in the elevation of the Master-General of Gaul, were readily penetrated by Count Ricimer, the grandson of Wallia, King of the Visigoths; who, after having displayed his valour against a fleet of Vandals, which threatened the Court of Italy, had just returned to Rome amidst the shouts of the populace. He was dissatisfied with the feeble administration of a Prince who, on that side of the Alps, could not be viewed but as an usurper; for which reason he intimated to Avitus that it were wise for him to retire from the toils of Government, and enter once more upon the enjoyment of a private life. The Emperor was easily induced to exchange his Throne for the Chair of a Bishop in the Church of Placentia; but soon afterwards, when attempting to escape into Gaul, he was overtaken either by disease or by the hand of an assassin, and died before he could descend from the mountains into his native Province of Auvergne.†

Ricimer, whose Barbarian origin might still have been viewed as an obstacle to the highest preferment, consulted the interests of his adopted Country, by raising to the Throne a true patriot and a distinguished soldier. Majorianus had been bred in the school of Ælius, to whom he was sincerely attached by the deepest sentiments of gratitude and respect, and to whose military reputation he had greatly contributed by his steady valour and professional knowledge. He had been recently appointed to the high office of Master-General of the army, and was so much esteemed by all classes of the Romans, that the grandson of Wallia resolved, since he himself durst not aspire to the sovereign power, to gratify the wishes of the Senate and People by supporting his election.‡

The short reign of Majorianus is a bright spot amid the general gloom which dimmed the evening of the

* Sidon. *Panegyrr. Avit.* v. 550. Sidon. lib. ii. c. 2. Greg. Tour. lib. ii. c. 2.

† Jordan. de *Reb. Get.* c. 44. Sidon. *Apoll.* lib. ix. Ep. xvi. Chron. *Idat.* sub. *ana.* Greg. Tour. lib. ii. c. 2. Sidon. *Panegyrr. Anthem.* v. 302.

‡ Procop. de *Bell. Fundal.* lib. l. c. 7. Sidon. *Panegyrr. Majorian.* v. 107.

* Gibbon, c. 39.

Rom. Empl
Proc
A. C
455
to
A. B
47

Victorie
Theodm
in Spat
A. D
456

Death of
Avitus.
A. D.
456.
Elevation
Majorian
A. D.
457.

History.
From
A. D.
455,
to
A. D.
476,
the Epistle
to the Senate.

Western Empire. His contemporaries are loud and unanimous in his praise, and the panegyrics of the orators of the Court, which might not be admitted without very reasonable suspicion, are corroborated by the less doubtful eulogies of disinterested Historians. The Epistle which the new Emperor addressed to the Senate, on his investiture with the Purple at Ravenna, is still extant, and gives a fair promise of the exercise of those Royal virtues in which Procopius assures us that the Monarch in truth excelled all his predecessors.* In this Letter he entreats assistance from the Gods, to guide him in his administration of that power to which indeed he had not aspired, but which he would have been forgetful of civic duties if he had refused when tendered. He calls upon the Conscript Fathers for support, and urges them to aid the Prince whom they had created, and to join their efforts with his own in promoting the happiness of the Empire. His sole denunciations are addressed to the base rabble of informers, (*delatores*;) who had long fattened on the richest blood of Rome. These he had condemned as a subject, and as a Prince he determined to punish. "You now understand," concludes Majorianus, in this address worthy of the better times of his Country, "the maxims of my Government: you may confide in the faithful love and sincere assurances of a Prince who has formerly been your companion, who still glories in the name of Senator, and who is anxious that you should never repent of the judgment which you have pronounced in his favour."†

His view
upon, and
praises ex-
tremes.

The labours of Majorianus to revive the authority of Law, to rekindle among the youth of Italy a martial spirit, and to arrest the decay of the Imperial city, manifested a disposition which, had he succeeded immediately to the great Theodosius, might have preserved, during another century, the splendour of Rome and the integrity of the Empire. But good laws were of little avail when opposed to universal corruption of manners, and the example of a warlike Prince made no impression upon the minds of a people who were said to tremble at the sound of the trumpet. He was more successful in his endeavours to lessen and equalize the taxes, which in most places had become disproportionate to the ability of the inhabitants, as also in the plans which he adopted for restoring the coin to its proper weight and standard. The severest of his laws were directed against the dilapidation of the public edifices in Rome, which had lately suffered more from the hands of the citizens than from those of the Barbarian conquerors; and he attempted, by similar means, to enforce the duties of marriage and of chastity, in order that the Republic might be supplied with numerous subjects, trained up in virtuous maxims, and with a veneration for the manners of purer times;‡

Disputes
to invade
Africa.

He carried his arms into Gaul, and gained several advantages over Theodoric, whom, however, he treated more like an ally than an enemy. He pursued his course across the Pyrenees, and restored to the obedience of the Empire several nations of Barbarian origin, which affected independence. But his main object was the recovery of Africa, which was still held by Genseric and his Vandals; for he well knew that the Romans continued to regret exceedingly the loss of a Province from which they had derived so much of their wealth

and luxury. To accomplish this important end, Majorianus prepared a large fleet in the harbour of Carthage, and collected a formidable army from among the Ostrogoths, the Rugians, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the Alani, which he intended to embark with the first fair wind. But Genseric, who had tried all the arts of negotiation without success, was delivered from impending destruction by treachery on the part of the Romans themselves. Some disaffected individuals offered their service to the King of the Vandals and enabled him to attack by surprise the immense flotilla which had excited his fears, and to destroy the greater number of the ships. This event contributed to shorten the reign of Majorianus. His various efforts to reform the abuses of the times had created in many quarters a strong feeling of enmity; and Ricimer, who found his own power diminished by the genius of the Emperor, agitated the inconstant passions of the people and urged them to demand an abdication. He had reached the foot of the Alps on his return towards Italy when the sedition which broke out in his camp dictated the step which it behoved him to take. He laid aside the Purple without regret; and his death, said variously to have been the effect of disease, or of poison administered by command of Ricimer, followed at the distance of only five days.*

Roman
Empire.
From
A. D.
455,
to
A. D.
476.

His abdic-
ation and
death, Au-
gust,
A. D.
461.

The Count again exercised his influence in the appointment of a Sovereign; but remembering the error which he had committed on the former occasion, he selected a person who would neither oppose his measures nor eclipse his talents. Libius Severus is hardly mentioned in History except as the tool which Ricimer employed to cover his ambition and to accomplish its objects. It is not stated even how long he lived nor what was the manner of his death; but it is probable that he survived till the year 467, when Anthemius, recommended by the Emperor of the East, was invited to occupy the Italian throne. The veil which Ricimer threw over his plot was so thin and transparent that his selfish motives were fully appreciated by most of the principal Officers at home and in the Provinces. Marcellinus in Dalmatia, for example, and Ægidius in Gaul, refused to acknowledge the authority of a Prince who possessed no freedom either of thought or of action.

Accession
of Libius
Severus.

The former, who had not renounced Paganism, exclusive of the ascendancy which he had established by great military prowess, and by learning extraordinary in a soldier, was regarded with a superstitious reverence by the adherents of the abolished worship, as being gifted with mysterious powers of divination. Prompted more, doubtless, by his natural sagacity than by any supernatural assistance from the Gods whom he supported, Marcellinus had early placed himself beyond the reach of the tyranny of Valentinianus. The mild sway of Majorianus had retained him in nominal obedience to the Empire; but the death of that Prince, and the treacherous artifices by which Ricimer endeavoured to seduce his mercenaries from their fidelity, at length compelled him to assert his independence, and quitting his Government of Sicily, he established himself as Sovereign of Dalmatia. The Adriatic was swept by his fleets, and his power was acknowledged by an embassy from Leo, who prevailed upon him to leave the Romans unmolested. Ægidius, the Master-

Insurrec-
tion of Mar-
cellinus.

And of Ægi-
dus.

* De Bell. Fandal. lib. i. c. 7.

† Noret. lib. iv. p. 34.

‡ Ibid. Majorian. tit. vi. 12.

* Procop. de Bell. Fandal. lib. i. c. 6. Idat. Chron. sub. ann. Sidon. lib. i. Ep. ii.

History.

From
A. D.
455.
to
A. D.
476.

General of Gaul, denounced Ricimer as the murderer of his Sovereign. Beyond the Alps he remained in security, and, during an interval of four years, he presented the singular spectacle of a Roman King on the Throne of the Franks, that people having elected him on the banishment of Childeric. The restoration of the native Prince terminated the Royalty but not the power of Ægidius, and he continued to defy the open violence with which Ricimer was desirous to overwhelm him, till, as was confidently believed by his friends, he fell a victim to the secret and more sure arts of poison.

Piracies of
the Vandals.

But the evil which pressed with the greatest severity on the Government of Severus was the incessant hostility of the Vandals; who, being masters of the sea and accustomed to live on plunder, equipped every year a predatory armament and laid the shores of Italy under contribution. Having no fleet, Ricimer could not meet the pirates before they landed, nor even anticipate the spot against which they might direct their force; and as the Barbarians generally embarked horsemen as well as foot soldiers in their ships, they spread their ravages along the coast with incredible rapidity, and set at defiance the most diligent movements of a regular army. It was a consideration of these circumstances which induced the Count to apply to Leo, then on the Throne of Constantinople, to assume the administration of the West, or to nominate a Prince with whom he might be pleased to cooperate in the defence of the Italian Provinces.* This step appeared the more necessary, as Genseric, whose eldest son had obtained the hand of Eudoxia, the daughter of Valentinianus, perpetrated his attacks on the Roman territory under the specious claim of an hereditary right now vested in his family.

Accession
of Anthemi-
us.
A. D.
467.

Leo, whose importance was not a little increased by this application, made choice of Anthemius, an Officer of great wealth, and who had married one of the daughters of the Emperor Marcianus. The election of the Eastern monarch was approved by the Senate of Rome, and Anthemius, who repaired to his Capital with great pomp, was solemnly inaugurated in the month of April 467. Ricimer, the malign influence of whose ambition had blasted the prosperity of the two former reigns, was gratified by becoming the son-in-law of the new Sovereign; an event which was regarded by all as likely to prove a firm basis of security and happiness to the State.†

Expedition
into Africa.

Preparations were now made in both Empires for the reduction of the Vandalic power in Africa, which the enterprising spirit of Genseric had rendered so formidable. Constantinople sent forth eleven hundred and thirteen ships, on board of which the number of soldiers and mariners amounted to more than a hundred thousand. Marcellinus, too, who made haste to offer his allegiance to Anthemius, appeared in the Adriatic with a considerable fleet, well manned with experienced sailors. But the command of this important expedition was intrusted to Basiliscus, the brother-in-law of Leo, whose want of ability or of heartiness in the cause, rendered the whole abortive. He landed at a convenient fort about forty miles from Carthage, where, being supported by Marcellinus and by the Præfect Heracleius, who had crossed the Desert from the borders

of Egypt, he gained several advantages over the Vandals. Had he pushed on to the Capital and availed himself of the consternation into which the inhabitants were thrown, he might have terminated the campaign by extinguishing the Kingdom of Genseric; but being betrayed by the wily Barbarian into a negotiation, he gradually forfeited all his advantages, saw the natives recover their confidence, while his own soldiers were surrounded with difficulties which increased every day. At length the plan, meditated by Genseric during this hollow truce, was ready to be accomplished. The wind shifted round to a favourable point; when he, having filled some of his largest vessels with combustibles, ran them, under the cloud of night, into the centre of the Imperial fleet and produced a general conflagration. A fearful carnage ensued both on board the galleys and on the adjoining shore, and thousands escaped from the flames only to fall into the hands of an infuriated enemy. Basiliscus himself with part of his ships reached the Straits of the Hellespont, where he was received with the utmost indignation and scorn. More than half of the seamen and troops whom he had under his command, were left on the coast of Africa, either to perish in an unequal war with Barbarians, or to linger out a miserable life in the most revolting servitude. The brother of the Empress took refuge in one of the churches of Constantinople, until her tears had softened the resentment of Leo, who saw, in the triumph of the Vandals, the disgrace of the East and the speedy extinction of the Western Empire. The brave Heraclius fell back into the Desert and effected his retreat to the Province of Cyrene; while Marcellinus, whose fleet appears to have suffered less than that of the Greeks, sailed back to the island of Sicily, where he was soon afterwards assassinated.*

This attempt to subdue the Vandals only added to their strength and increased their enmity. They immediately resumed their piratical war along the coasts of Italy, Greece, and the Lesser Asia, subjected the islands of the Mediterranean to their dominion, and extended their establishments on the African shore towards the mouth of the Nile. But the policy of Genseric did not confine itself to the resources of his own Kingdom. He entered into an alliance with the Visigoths in Spain, whose ambition he frequently directed to the accomplishment of objects closely connected with his peculiar interests. His marriage with a daughter of Theodoric, the successor of Alaric, admitted him to the councils of the Court of Thoulouse; while his power at sea recommended him as a useful ally in every attempt made by his brothers-in-law on the Spanish Provinces, which they eagerly desired to incorporate with their territory at the foot of the Pyrenees.†

After the death of Majorianus the power of the Visigoths extended rapidly both in Gaul and in Spain. The unpopularity of the government exercised by Ricimer, during the reign of Severus, had alienated from the Empire the important district which was placed under the inspection of Ægidius; and the accession of Anthemius, so far from reviving the authority of Rome beyond the Alps, rather gave spirit to the Goths and increased the despair of the Provincials.

Roman
Empire.

From
A. D.
455.
to
A. D.
476.

Defeat of
the Roman

Policy of
Genseric.

Progress
the Goths
in Gaul &
Spain.

* Siden, *Panegy. Anthem.* v. 317. Procopius de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 6.

† Siden, *Panegy. Anthem.* v. 67.

* Procop. lib. i. c. 6. Theophaues, p. 99. Zonares, lib. xiv.
† Procop. de Bell. Vandal. lib. i. c. 6.

History. Euric, the third son of the first Theodoric, had ascended the throne of Thoulouse by the murder of his brother, and already made great progress in the reduction of Spain. Having crossed the Pyrenees with a large army, he defeated the Chiefs of the various nations into which that Country was then divided; and carrying his conquests to the shores of the Western Ocean, he laid the foundations of the Gothic monarchy, the fortunes of which form so interesting an episode in the History of Europe. His success in Gaul was hardly less brilliant; and had he not been opposed by the fortifications of some of the stronger cities in the South, he would have rendered himself master of all the frontier Provinces, and thereby cut off the connection between Rome and the best of her Transalpine dependencies.*

The weakness of the Imperial Government was still further increased by the dissensions which prevailed between Anthemius and his son-in-law Ricimer. The latter, who seemed determined to rule whoever should be on the Throne, finding himself thwarted by the obstinacy of the Emperor, withdrew from Rome and fixed his head-quarters at Milan; where he might be ready to intrigue with his warlike countrymen who occupied the extensive region between the Alps and the Danube. To avert the evils which could not fail to attack a divided Country, the Bishop of Pavia interposed his good office with the view of effecting a reconciliation; but although both parties professed a readiness to sacrifice personal feeling to the public good, it was obvious that neither was sincere, and that each would embrace the earliest opportunity for crushing the other. Ricimer, accordingly, as soon as his plans were matured, advanced towards the Capital with an army of Barbarians, prepared to depose Anthemius, and to establish a successor.†

The candidate selected on this occasion by the factious Count possessed some claims to the dignity to which he was taught to aspire. Olybrius, for this was his name, had married Placidia, the youngest daughter of Valentinianus, who was carried away captive from Rome by Genseric in the year 455, and afterwards restored with her mother Eudoxia to the Court of Constantinople. His pretensions were supported by the Vandals, who had suddenly become the advocates of hereditary right, and by Leo, who, for some reason which is not recorded, had withdrawn his favour from Anthemius. But the Senate and People, jealous of the restless spirit of Ricimer, and unwilling that their ancient sceptre should be transferred from hand to hand at his pleasure, shut their gates against him, and expressed their resolution to submit to the horrors of a Civil war rather than to his haughty dictation.‡

The siege of Rome, which continued three months, terminated once more in the sack of the city and in the death of the Emperor. Cruelty and intemperance disgraced the triumph of Ricimer; and the successor of Anthemius ascended the Throne amidst the tears and execrations of the whole people. Nor did Olybrius long possess the dignity which was purchased by him at the expense of so much blood and desolation; for about three months after his entry into the Capital over the bodies of the citizens, he

was carried out a corpse, leaving only one child, a daughter, the offspring of his marriage with Placidia. The turbulent Ricimer had paid the debt of nature a short time previously; but, as if with the view of perpetuating the power of his family and the means of disturbing the Government, he left the command of the army to his nephew Gundobald, a Burgundian Prince, who had assisted him in the reduction of Rome.

In virtue of the right which thus appeared to descend to him, the young soldier elevated to the supreme authority an obscure person whose name was Glycerius, and who possessed none of the qualities which could recommend him to the nation over which he was appointed to rule. But, in the mean time, the Court of the East had chosen for the successor of Olybrius, a relative of the Empress and a nephew of Marcellianus, and sent him at the head of a respectable force to demand the allegiance of his Italian subjects. Julius Nepos, upon his arrival at Ravenna, found that the active policy of Gundobald had anticipated the more leisurely decisions of Leo, and that it might be necessary to fight for the occupation of a throne which he had been invited to accept. It soon appeared, however, that, as Glycerius had not acquired any hold upon the affections of the Romans, and as the Burgundian Prince was called away by the duties of his station beyond the Alps, the dangers of the field might be averted by a private negotiation. The Emperor of the West accepted the Bishopric of Salona, and willingly resigned to Nepos the cares and perils of royalty.*

The new reign promised happiness and security to the Empire, and began to remove those painful apprehensions which clouded the views of every patriot, relative to its independence and perpetuity. The Visigoths, it is true, pursued their course of victory in Gaul, and had already seized upon the finest Provinces of that Country; but as their ambition was soothed in the mean time by the cession of Auvergne, a sacrifice which could no longer be withheld, it was hoped that they would, in return, prove a barrier against the inroad of more hostile Barbarians who continued to advance from the North. These visions of tranquillity were not realized. The mixed army, raised for the defence of Italy and recruited chiefly in the Countries between the Alps and the Danube, was always more ready to obey the command of one of their own blood than that of any puppet which might be set up to occupy the Imperial Throne. Orestes had served under Attila, and even represented his person in repeated embassies to the Court of Constantinople. Upon the death of that renowned Autocrat, the Pannonian Chief transferred his allegiance to the Sovereign of Rome, to whose fortunes he adhered with inviolable constancy, and even received from the hands of Nepos himself the dignity of Patrician and the office of Master-General of the troops, cavalry and infantry. It is extremely doubtful whether the seditious impulse began with the commander or with the soldiers; but, before any assistance could be procured from the East, Orestes was on his march towards Ravenna, to terminate the reign of the effeminate Greek. Julius fled to Dalmatia, where he appears to have resumed, during two or three years, the government of his Principality, and afterwards to have fallen Nepos, by the hand of an assassin.†

Roman Empire.
From
A. D.
455.
to
A. D.
476.
Death of Olybrius.
Accession of Glycerius.
A. D.
473.

And of Julius Nepos.
A. D.
474.

Insurrection of Orestes.

Death of Julius Nepos.

* Jornand. de Reb. Get. c. 44, &c. † Zonar. lib. xiv.
† Priscus, Excerpt. Legat. p. 74. Procop. de Bell. Vandal.
lib. i. c. 6.

* Sidon. lib. v. Ep. xvi.
† Ennod. in Sirmon. tom. i. p. 1665. Malch. apud Phot.
2 M 2

History.

From

A. D.

455.

to

A. D.

476.

Accession
of Augustus.

Orestes, now the master of Italy, refused the Purple, which, however, he allowed to be conferred upon his son Augustulus, the last Emperor of the West. But, although the General might be satisfied with his distribution of honour and power, the troops who accomplished the revolution complained that their interests had not been consulted in the settlement of affairs. They, therefore, insisted that one-third part of Italy should be assigned to them as a permanent residence; a grant which they maintained to be necessary to place them on an equal footing with their countrymen in Gaul, Africa, and Spain. Orestes, who figured to himself the misery which must result from the expatriation of so large a number of the inhabitants, refused to comply with the demand of his Barbarian mercenaries; upon which they turned their eyes to Odoacer, an ambitious partisan, who encouraged their importunity and promised them success.*

Conduct of
Odoacer.

The individual now named was the son of Edecon, the ambassador of Attila, who, at the Court of Theodosius, listened to the proposal of Chrysaphius to take away the life of his master. It must for ever remain doubtful whether the colleague of Orestes, on that remarkable occasion, was seduced, even for a moment, from his duty to the King of the Huns, or whether he did not, from the very first, intend to expose the duplicity of the Imperial Ministers. At all events, the subsequent conduct of Edecon justifies the more favourable alternative, as he adhered to the cause of Attila when it was most depressed, and fell in battle with the flower of his Tribe, in a last effort to support the family of his Sovereign against the overwhelming power of the Ostrogoths. His two sons Onulf and Odoacer became soldiers of fortune, and obtained an honourable service in the armies of the Empire. The latter, in particular, rose to a high rank in the Guards, and was at length appointed General of those united bands the Heruli, the Alani, the Scyri, and the Rugians, which, at the period in question, constituted the military force of Italy. When opposed by Orestes in their demand for a grant of territory, they assembled round the standard of Odoacer, and marched to attack the Patrician in the Palace of his son. Orestes fled to Pavia, whither he was pursued and finally put to death. A battle was fought near the walls of Ravenna, in which the loyal troops were beaten or dispersed, and Augustulus was obliged to throw himself on the clemency of the conqueror.†

His success.

We are unacquainted with the reasons which induced

Odoacer to decline the gift of Sovereign power, which his triumphant followers urged him to accept. The melancholy fate of all the successors of Valentinianus might indeed have taught him that the Throne of the West could no longer be held with safety, except by a Prince who should lead his life in a camp, and convert his subjects once more into Roman soldiers. The jealousy, too, of Imperial authority, which had sunk deeply into the minds of the Barbarian Chiefs, and which was certainly the reason why Ricimer and Orestes chose to rule through the medium of a second person, might have no small influence in deterring the son of Edecon from an experiment which had proved so fatal to others. But he had resolved that no one else should enjoy the preferment which he deemed it expedient to refuse. He provided liberally for the youth whom he had stripped of the Purple, and bestowed upon him one of the villas of Lucullus, in the beautiful coast of Campania; after which, he made known his determination that Augustulus should have no successor, but that the Imperial dignity in the West should be brought to a close. The Eastern Emperor, after some hesitation, acceded to this proposal; allowed himself to be addressed as sole monarch of the Roman world; and finally received from the hands of the ambassadors, sent by the Senate, the Imperial insignia and the ornaments of the Palace, which were no longer required for the more humble office of a deputy or vicergerent. These envoys were instructed to inform Zeno, now on the Throne of Constantinople, that the Senators of Rome were decidedly of opinion that one Emperor was sufficient for the Government both of the East and of the West; that they had the utmost confidence in the talents of Odoacer, as a Commander and as a Statesman; and that, as they now relinquished the privilege of choosing their own ruler, they petitioned that he would be pleased to invest him with the title of Patrician, and to intrust to his administration the Provinces of Italy.*

Were it not that the Romans, towards the end of the Vth century, had ceased to appreciate or to be worthy of the blessings of liberty, no reader could peruse the narrative which we have just concluded without the deepest emotion. But the spirit of patriotism and the love of independence had been long unknown on the banks of the Tiber, or on the shores of the Adriatic; and the extinction of the Western Empire resembled the death of a man whose vital powers had been gradually oppressed by an irresistible disease, and who at length shut his eyes upon the sun, the light of which he could not any longer endure.

Roman

Empire

From

A. D.

455.

to

A. D.

476.

Extinction
of the
Western
Empire.Odoacer
established
himself in
Italy.

A. D.

476.

* Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. 1.

† Euseb. in 'Ed. Epiphani. tom. i. p. 1669.

* Cassiod. Chron. a. d. 476. Malch. in Excerpt. Legat. p. 93.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER XLIX.

OUTLINE OF THE STATE OF EUROPE AT THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE WEST.

A. D. 476.

History.
I. D.
476.
Fall of the
Western
Empire.

HAVING, in our preceding pages, contemplated the long agony and inglorious dissolution of the Roman Empire of the West, we pause on the boundary which is usually defined to separate the History of the ancient and the modern World. The line thus drawn by the common agreement of Historians is merely conventional: but the division is not altogether imaginary. The fall of the gigantic fabric of Roman Sovereignty presents the most stupendous vicissitude in the political fortunes of the universe. It put a final period to that mighty power, which had for seven hundred years overshadowed the Earth with its universal dominion; and, at the distance of fourteen centuries more, the growth, the rise, and the origin of all the existing institutions of civilized Government and Society remain to be traced up to the same determinate and memorable epoch. The extinction or suppression of the polity, the jurisprudence, and the manners of classical antiquity; the sudden substitution of new laws and customs, new Orders of men, and even new principles and feelings, throughout the mass of the European communities; the last rude shock which overthrew the crumbling edifice of the old world's grandeur and glory; and the settlement on its ruins of the Barbarian nations, which the lapse of succeeding Ages was to expand and consolidate into the enduring monarchies of these latter times; all identify the appropriate commencement of Modern History, with the Fall of the Western Empire of the Romans.

Origins and
new settle-
ments of
the Barba-
rian nations.

Before the consummation of that event, we have seen that the hardy Barbarians of the North had already spread their victorious swarms over the greatest portion of the Roman world. Every movement of these hordes was the migration of an entire people with their families, their most valuable effects, and all the appendages of their rude association. Wherever they penetrated, they successively overthrew and subjected either the Imperial forces, or the less powerful Tribes who had preceded them in the march of conquest; and, fixing themselves in their new possessions, they converted them into the permanent settlements of their nations, and rivetted their strong yoke upon the servile necks of the old population.

To many of the most famous races of these Northern Barbarians, the faint light of tradition, and the more authentic probabilities of Geographical position unite in

assigning a common source. Whether we believe the obscure legends of romance, that the infancy of these mighty nations was cradled in the dark forests of Scandinavia,* or admit only the certain evidence of their contiguous expansion in the Age of Tacitus over the Northern shores of Germany,† there is every reason to conclude that the numerous Tribes of the Goths and Vandals all sprang from one great stock;‡ The principal division of the former name into Ostrogoths and Visigoths—Eastern and Western Goths—equally marks their original relative position, and describes the track of their subsequent conquests: but the main host of the Vandals was a part only of a numerous race, of whose collateral branches two chiefly became afterwards known, by the monarchies which they founded, under their appellations of Burgundians and Lombards.

Of all those fierce Tribes which seized on the various fragments of the Western Empire, the Vandals were dale in foremost in the rapid flight of migration and conquest. Africa. After forcing their way in a few years from the coasts of the Northern Ocean to those of the Atlantic and Mediterranean, and overrunning the extent of the Spanish Peninsula, they had been impelled by the onward pressure of the Visigothic power from the Pyrenees, and invited by the treason of a Roman Governor, to cross over into Africa. There, subjugating the Imperial Provinces, they erected a new Kingdom, and, before the middle of the Vth century, made Carthage a second time the Capital of an independent State.§ About twenty years later, the Visigoths, already seated in the beautiful Provinces of South-Western France, had Spain and filled the vacant traces of the Vandals without deserting their former possessions; and they thus established the power and extent of their monarchy on both sides of the Pyrenees, from the banks of the Rhone and the Loire, to the maritime limits of the Spanish Peninsula.¶ III. The Ostrogoths, on the other hand, gathering from the Danube, overhanging the Alps like a thunder-cloud, which

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II. The Vi-
sigoths in
Spain and
Aquitaine.

III. The
Ostrogoths
in Italy.

* Jornandes, *De Rebus Geticis*, c. 4. Paulus Warræfridus, (Diaconus,) *De Gestis Langobardis*, lib. i. c. 2.

† Tacitus, *Annals*, lib. ii. c. 62. So also the later authority of Ptolemy, *In Europa* Tab. 4.

‡ Procopius, *De Bello Vandal*, lib. i. c. 1.

§ Ibid. lib. i. ii.

¶ Jornandes, *De Reb. Get.* c. 45—47.

History.

A. D.
476.IV. The
Burgundians and
Franks in
France.V. Native
Tribes in
Germany.VI. The
Saxons in
England.Aspect of
Society after
the establish-
ment of the
Barbarians.

was shortly to burst upon the plains of Italy;* while that Country was for the present occupied by the bands of Barbarian mercenaries of various Tribes and promiscuous composition which, under Odoacer, had precipitated and completed the ruin of the Empire. Of France, besides the Southern division possessed by the Visigoths, the Burgundians had seized a second portion, and settled themselves on the Saône and Rhone in that fine tract of country which, after them, was thenceforth to acquire its distinctive title of Burgundy.† Another, and destined to be a yet more celebrated people,—the Franks, a German Tribe, or confederacy of Tribes, long seated on the Rhine, had now crossed that river, established themselves on its left bank, and torn a third fragment from the dismembered Roman Province of Gaul;‡ of which the remainder for a season longer yet acknowledged the phantom of the Imperial Sovereignty. Meanwhile, the great expanse of Germany itself, from which so many streams of population had poured Westward and Southward, was still possessed by the numerous remains of its native Tribes. The Alemanni, the Thuringi, the Bavarians, and other people, occupied its Southern moiety; and the Saxons, once an obscure Gothic race from the mouth and the banks of the Elbe,§ had overspread the whole Northern portion, or at least extended their name to their association with other Tribes, from the Baltic to the Rhine.¶ The situation of the Saxons had originally invited them to habits of maritime enterprise and piracy; and the ferocity and success of their expeditions on the Ocean had long rendered them the terror and scourge of the maritime Roman Provinces of Gaul and Britain. During the last years of the Empire, while their continental confederacy was still spreading itself through the interior of Northern Germany, invitation or accident prompted some of the associated Saxons from the sea-coasts to make that first settlement in Britain, which successive fleets and swarms of their countrymen improved into the gradual conquest and permanent possession of our island.

The signal and universal change which was wrought throughout Europe in the organization of Society by the settlement of the Barbarous nations, is a more important subject of Historical contemplation, than the mere extent and division of their territorial establishments. The Philosophical business and the utility of History consist far less in the dry narration of wars and conquests, than in the illustration of those features of social policy, which have in different ages affected the moral and intellectual condition of mankind. In surveying the novel aspect of the Monarchies founded by the Barbarous nations, we are equally struck with their total unlikeness to all the societies of civilized antiquity, and with their generic and intimate resemblance to each other. This remarkable coincidence in their manners, their sentiments, and their laws, might be sufficient, if other evidence were wanting, to establish the presumption of their common origin:¶ it also facilitates the

attempt to embrace the Political state of Europe, immediately after the subversion of the Roman Empire, under one brief and general view. And the concentration of the picture becomes the more interesting, when we are enabled to trace in its obscure lineaments, even through the remote darkness and anarchy of Barbarism, that agreement of principles and institutions, which suggested a common law for the international relations of later times, and has produced the present harmonious system of European Government and Policy.

The primitive character and condition of the Barbarian conquerors of Europe must be studied in the living pages of Tacitus;§ and the wonderful fidelity of the delineation is clearly attested, and may be closely identified, in its perfect agreement with the manners and customs which, at the distance of three centuries, still prevailed among these nations when they emerged from the obscurity of their native forests. The same characteristics seem to have pervaded all the Tribes of Gothic or Scythian origin, who were spread over that vast region extending from the Danube and the Rhine, as far as the frozen shores of Scandinavia, and beyond the uttermost limits of Eastern Europe. They were animated by a common impatience of control and restraint, a fierce love of war and rapine, a restless necessity of excitement and change, and an equal repugnance, from indolence and contempt, for the peaceful occupations of laborious industry. These, perhaps, are no more than the ordinary features of savage life, as it has existed in all Ages and climes of the world. But the untutored mind of the great Gothic race was further distinguished by two qualities, which have not equally been found to attend the same stage of uncivilized Society. These were a noble spirit of independence in each man, and an universal respect and consideration for the weaker sex.† It might be either the cause or the effect of the veneration in which they were

affinities of language, religion, manners, and physical constitution, as well as the agreement of tradition, are all opposed to his arbitrary conclusion. Mr. Turner (*Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i.) has in his Introductory chapters, and especially at p. 106—110, traced the common and Scythian origin of the German or Gothic nations with equal ingenuity and caution, erudition and judgment.

* *De Moribus Germanorum*, c. 1.—xvii.

† An elegant and Philosophical writer has contented himself with observing of the institutions of the Barbarians in their native forests, that they were “such as travellers have found among nations in the same stage of manners throughout the world.” (Hallam, *View of the Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 433.) But his acute spirit of research would entitle him to decide, and must oblige him to admit, that, in no other portion or Age of the world, has any trait of manners been discovered among savage nations at all analogous to the respect and manly consideration in which the Gothic nations held their women. Robertson, (*ubi supra*), to maintain his denial of a common origin to those nations, has laboured to prove that similarity of political condition sufficiently accounts for identity of social characteristics; and he has accordingly instituted a parallel between the Gothic Tribes and North American Indians. But, with respect to the greatest distinction, of the state of Woman, which he prudently passes over in silence, this comparison is peculiarly infelicitous for the support of his theory. The North American squaw is the slave of a brutal tyrant; and here is no more than the ordinary lot of Woman in savage life, from which, indeed, she has not always been emancipated in more advanced stages of Society. We justly hold the respectful treatment of Woman to be in itself the test of civilization; but the homage of our Gothic ancestors to the weaker sex had no precedent among the most polished people of antiquity; and the devoted sentiment of these rude Barbarians might here put to shame the boasted refinement of Greece and Rome. From the Gothic spirit alone, and not the classical, do we derive that deference for the softer sex—the source of all social elegance—which so remarkably distinguishes modern from ancient manners.

* Jornandes, *De Reb. Get.* c. 55, 56.

† Gregory of Tours, (*Hist. Francorum*) lib. ii. c. 32.

‡ *Id.* lib. ii. ante.

§ Ptolemy, *ubi supra*.

¶ See this extension ably traced by Mr. Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. book ii. c. 5.

§ Robertson, (*Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. note 6.) in hastiness of judgment or indolence, seems disposed to reject with some ridicule the idea of the common origin of the Gothic nations. But the

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character
of the
Gothic na-
tions.

History. held, that the Gothic women were chaste and high-minded : but, to the blended influence of these unusual traits of savage life in both sexes, may at least with safety be ascribed much of the peculiar character, which the Northern nations exhibited in their new settlements. Conscious superiority of valour and a thirst for warlike glory had made them an Order of irresistible conquerors : the pride of individual independence rendered them nations of freemen. A sentiment of personal dignity begot the principle of personal honour and faithfulness ; and the estimation which Woman preserved in their societies gradually, as the Arts of luxury and elegance began to be cultivated, moulded their fierce manners into the softer forms of assiduous gallantry. Such were the germs of those later institutions, which we shall hereafter observe, producing the vigorous and graceful shoots of modern civilization and freedom : of the Feudal compact which, though in the midst of disorder and rapine, inculcated, as far as it extended, the reciprocal claims of protection and fidelity, of prescriptive right and honourable obligation : of the loftier spirit of chivalry, with its beautiful code of social duties and courtesies, which, when refined by the generous pursuits of Literature, and chastened by the higher morality of the Gospel, has engendered all that is humane and delightful in the polished intercourse of modern life.

But we should greatly err in our estimate of the state of Europe during many centuries after the settlement of the Barbarian nations, if we imagined that they were times either of virtue or happiness. It is necessary to guard against the mistake of confounding the attendant and the ultimate consequences of that great moral convulsion, which swept away the landmarks of ancient civilization, and inundated the Earth with a new deluge of Barbarism. The immediate circumstances of military conquest are little favourable to the course of human improvement. In the insolence of success, the fierce impulses of a rude and warlike race were indulged without restraint, and generated with appalling intensity. Violence and spoliation, oppression and injustice, were the natural passions of Barbarians, who recognised, in practice at least, no other law than force, and no rights except those of the bravest and strongest. But these savage vices were frightfully multiplied and deepened in atrocity by the new incentives to Evil which property engendered, and the rapacious cravings which grew with increasing wants. The ignorant Barbarian of the Northern forests was single-minded in his ferocity : his descendant, the Prince or the Noble of the Dark Ages, with scarcely more mental illumination, was often perfidious and cruel, as well as bold and tyrannical, in the perpetration of wrong : insatiable, revengeful, and remorseless, in the struggle of avarice, of hate, or of ambition. In pursuing the annals of the first six centuries which followed the settlement of the Northern nations, we are presented only with an unrelieved and revolting picture of public wickedness, and shocked by the union of savage and licentious manners. In the long and gloomy waste of these six hundred years, there is scarcely a single spot on which the mind can repose with interest or satisfaction ; and to every part we may almost equally extend the reprobatum which a great authority has applied to a single Age of it : that it would be difficult within the same Historical space to find more vice and less virtue.*

If we were not to direct our views beyond the condition of Europe during this dismal epoch of violence and wretchedness, humanity might, perhaps, seem to have gained little by the destruction of the Roman despotism. But the seeds of improvement in the Barbarian communities were abundant, though long smothered and latent : the turpitude of the system which they overthrew had become incurable. The Northern nations, amidst their disorders, were at least free, hardy, and brave ; in the race of degenerate and pusillanimous slaves who still presumed to arrogate the Roman name in the Capitals and the Provinces of the Empire, every spark of manly courage and intellectual force had long been totally extinguished. The pillaged wealth and the contagious luxury of the East had originally debauched the simplicity of Roman manners, and sapped the vitals of the mighty Republic ; and after the last image of liberty and political virtue had perished, the Empire had gradually swollen into one huge confluent mass of voluptuousness and depravity. An abject and lethargic submission to an universal tyranny everywhere extended the influence of the same effeminate vices. Under the degrading despotism of the Cæsars, the Roman World had sunk into such a state of utter and hopeless sloth and corruption, that nothing less than the total dissolution of the existing elements of society could have rekindled the moral vitality, and reanimated the mental powers of mankind.

The vigour of the Barbarian character and institutions infused this fresh and more healthful spirit into a diseased and sluggish body. With their new feelings and habits, the Northern conquerors doubtless introduced their own strong passions and violent crimes ; but the impetuous tendency to vicious excesses was mingled with better capacities for generous sentiment and virtuous action ; and the furious collision of savage energies evolved the highest faculties of our nature. The long and painful transition from Barbarism to refinement convulsed the aspect of Europe for many Ages ; but when the struggling rays of knowledge began at length to pierce through the thick clouds and darkness which had shrouded the Earth, and the pure light of Religious reformation afterwards broke over the troubled scene, its tempestuous agitations readily subsided into the fair forms of civilization and order.

The rude Political institutions which the Northern conquerors introduced in their new seats were, like their generic manners and qualities, the natural products of their primitive condition. The Kings whom, by a mixture of hereditary and elective preference, it had been the custom of the German or Gothic Tribes to take out of particular families, were the leaders of their armies, and became the Sovereigns of their new monarchies. But the authority of the Kings was so extremely limited that they were no more than the Chieftains of voluntary associations of freemen. Every army or nation (and the term was here synonymous) was a military democracy, whose choice placed the General or Prince at its head, and whose assembled and deliberate voice, whether in the camp or the settlement, was equally required for the sanction of all measures of importance. Other Chiefs there were of subordinate rank to the King, both for the guidance of the Tribe in war, and for the exercise of the judicial functions, if such they might be called, among the turbulent and uncontrollable community.*

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of the
Barbarian
Nations.

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Previous
corruption
of the
Roman
world.

Slow im-
provement
of Society
from the
Barbarian
conquests.

Political in-
stitutions of
the Barba-
rians.

Limited au-
thority of
their Sovere-
igns,

and
Chieftains.

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c. vol. vi. p. 340.

* Tacitus, *ubi supra*.

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A. D.
476.
Equally
and inde-
pendence
of freemen.

But these individuals owed their preference entirely to their reputation for superior worth in valour and activity, wisdom and skill. As it rested with every freeman to choose whether he would dwell or march with his Tribe at all, so every freeman who engaged himself of his own good accord in a warlike enterprise, was equally at liberty to attach himself to whichever Chieftain he would. The rank of each leader was therefore determined only by the estimation which he had won in his Tribe, and the number of his brother freemen who were converted by their respect for him into his followers. He was less their Chief than their chosen of companions: they were not so much his mere soldiers, or dependents, as his self-appointed associates in the forest and the field, his emulous comrades in the battle and the chase, and his devoted guard and protection in every peril. It was their pride to share the renown of a distinguished warrior: his to be surrounded by a band of the most gallant and fiery youth of the Tribe. The hope of conquest and plunder made the relation one of ambition and cupidity: but it was equally on both sides the result of free choice; and the interchange of faithful services and lavish generosity converted it into a mutual obligation of attachment and gratitude.*

Division of
the con-
quered
lands.

When the Barbarians settled themselves in the conquered Provinces of the Empire, the polity of their new Kingdoms reflected the image of their Camps. The lands of which they dispossessed the ancient population were everywhere parcelled out among the King, the Chiefs, and the warriors of each army. The degree of this spoliation varied in the practice of the different nations; but the same principle of forcible acquisition was adopted by all. In Italy, the followers of Odoacer, and after them the Ostrogoths, were contented with a third part of all the lands, and left the remainder to the Roman population: at a later period the Lombards, when they overthrew the Ostrogothic Monarchy, abstained from seizing the soil, but equally extorted a third part of its produce from the servile cultivators.† In Spain and France, the Visigoths and Burgundians took two thirds of the subject lands;§ and the Franks made an uncertain, and, perhaps, a more arbitrary division, by general agreement, or individual violence.¶ In Britain, the Saxons, a yet more savage and ruthless nation of the race, seized the whole country; and, in the progress of their conquests, either extirpated the Celtic population, or, more probably, fixed them in permanent bondage to the soil.¶

Inequality
of the dis-
tribution.

The scale by which the distribution of the conquered lands was regulated among the Barbarians, has escaped every effort of modern research: but there can be no doubt that it was unequal. The Sovereign had naturally by far the largest share in the division; and his demesnes were the source from which, in later Ages, the Royal bounty flowed to Provincial Governors, and

to various favoured subjects, in the shape of *benefices* or gifts of lands,—the origin of the Feudal fief.* The Chieftains also, according to the rank and estimation which they had obtained among their Tribes, acquired a commensurate proportion of the territorial spoil; but every freeman and warrior received at least some share. All these lands were originally held without any other condition than the tacit obligation of the owner to appear in arms for the public defence; and the nature of their acquisition and tenure became afterwards contradistinguished from the benefices of feudal creation by the term of *allodial*, or obtained by lot.† With the duty of military service to the community, the independent allodialist retained his place in its Constitution and his voice in the General Assembly of the nation; and thus the rugged features of a free and warlike Democracy were still preserved under the settled form of Monarchical Government.

This bold aspect of Barbarian liberty, however, was gradually modified in character, and affected in duration, by the particular fortunes of each State. In the Royal line, the Crown became more decidedly hereditary, and its powers were extended and habitually recognised. The Provincial Governors of Royal appointment,—the Dukes and their subordinates, the Counts, whose original duties were only to administer justice in their districts, and to lead the free proprietors on occasion into the field, began to acquire the personal and even the hereditary influence of a noble aristocracy. To a people, no longer collected in migratory camps, but dispersed in their fixed settlements over the surface of a subject Country, it was found an impracticable effort, or intolerable burthen, to attend the national assemblies; and with the disuse of the duty, was naturally lost the enjoyment of its privileges. The assemblies were frequented by, and in time composed only of, the chief proprietors, the Provincial Governors, and the great functionaries of the nation. The mass of freemen, or lesser allodialists, by degrees lost their estimation, their importance, and some of their rights in the community. But the spirit of liberty, nevertheless, was not extinguished in the State. It only passed away for a time, among the Dukes, the Counts, and the possessors of great estates, to reappear in a more general form. From them it slowly returned its diffusion throughout that great landed aristocracy, which, with its chain of descending ranks and reciprocal obligations, at length completed the bonds of the Feudal relation. But it was not until the distance of four or five centuries from the settlement of the Barbarian Kingdoms, that this revolution was principally accomplished. It had its remote causes in the original inequality of the division of lands at the subversion of the Roman Empire, but not its immediate birth in that event; and the rise and growth of the FEUDAL SYSTEM will, more properly, demand our attention at a later stage in the great epoch before us.

The similar forms of manners and policy which are observable in the Gothic nations, were naturally repeated in their jurisprudence; and the same features, for the most part, pervade all the Barbarian codes. These, which were reduced to writing, on the introduction of Letters among the conquerors, at various periods after the settlement of the new Kingdoms, did little

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of the
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Nations.
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Political
changes to
which it
gradually
led.
Increased
power of
the Crown
and Aristo-
cracy.

Depression
of the mass
of freemen.

Transition
of liberty
to the aris-
tocratical
form.

Laws of
Barbarians

* Tacitus, *ubi supra*. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Hist. lib. xxxi.*

† Procopius, *De Bellis Gothicis*, lib. i. c. 1.

‡ Paulus Warnefridus, *De Gestis Langob.* lib. ii. c. 31.

§ The industry of Gibbon (vol. vi. p. 354) has collected the scattered proofs of this division from the Burgundian and Visigothic codes.

¶ The degree and mode of the spoliation are here unknown and disputed: the general fact certain. Gibbon, *ubi supra*.

¶ See the conclusions of Mr. Turner against the extirpation of the British race, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 311 — which, however, only echo those of Gibbon, (vol. vi. p. 395—8.) without the production of the same evidence.

* Du Cange, *Glossarium*, ad *ve. Beneficium* and *Feudum*. See also latter word in *Sipman's Glossary*.

† Du Cange, *v. Allodial*.

more, it may be concluded, than embody the oral traditions and practice of their customary Law. The Ripuarian and Salic codes, by which the Franks were governed, seem to have been the earliest that were either distinctly originated or formally promulgated. The completion of the Visigothic and Burgundian laws was the work, and bears the impress, of a rather later period;* and it was not until the middle of the VIIIth century that those of the Lombards in their Italian Kingdom, which have been esteemed the least imperfect of all the Barbarian codes, were solemnly ratified by the consent of the Sovereign and the People, and recorded in Teutonic Latin.† The Ostrogoths in Italy had previously shown more desire to embrace the rules of the Roman legislation, than to consolidate their own institutions: but the German codes of the Alemanni, the Bavarians, the Thuringians, and the Saxons, breathe the native spirit of the Barbarian communities; and the jurisprudence which the latter people established at a subsequent period, and in a great degree perpetuated in our island, is clearly deducible from the same source.‡

An analysis of these various but similar Barbarian codes is denied by our limits, and would be foreign to our purpose; but a brief notice of their leading and common characteristics may sufficiently illustrate the condition of Society under their influence. Their most remarkable feature is the principle of pecuniary compensation for crimes, which extends almost universally throughout them. In Ages when violence and injustice were regarded less as offences against the peace of the community than as individual wrongs, and when revenge for injuries was exercised as a personal and exclusive right, this principle of compensation marks the first persuasive effort of the legislator to mitigate the ferocity of passions, which he wanted the power to control. In the cupidity which was nourished by the new distinctions of wealth, the Barbarian was induced to estimate even the price of blood; and when this commutation for sanguinary vengeance was once recognised, the graduated fine of atonement for the life of a relative, for a wound, a blow, or even an opprobrious word, was readily established: measured with the same scrupulous diligence, and accepted with the same facility. By the Salic, the Lombard, the Saxon, and other Teutonic Law, the *weregild* was in general regulated by the rank of the murdered person, and always payable to his family.‡ Among the Franks, the life of an Antrustion, or nobleman, was valued at 600 pieces of gold, and that of a Barbarian freeman at 200; while the ignominious existence of an ordinary Roman or Gaul was rated in the descending scale at the lowest worth of 50 pieces. The life of every Lombard freeman seems to have been protected by the general fine of 900

pieces of gold; but the *weregild* of the classes of our free Saxon population varied from 12 to 200 solidi. The life of the King rose in value to six times the higher sum; but that of a native Briton or Welchman, even if free, was prized but at twenty shillings.* The Burgundians and Visigoths, indeed, who by the priority of their settlements in the Empire, had somewhat the advance of the other Northern nations in civilization, visited the crime of murder with death; and their example was successively imitated by the other continental people, until, before the end of the VIIIth century, the capital punishment of homicide had been universally introduced among them.

But the compensation by fine for all lesser crimes had been equally preserved in the Burgundian and Visigothic, as in the other Barbaric codes; and, in all, the nice regulation of the scale is worthy of remark, as proving how universally the right of private satisfaction for injuries was recognised, and how carefully the persons and property of individuals were protected. In any of these Constitutions we must not, indeed, look for express acknowledgments of the rights of the people, of the prerogatives of the aristocracy, or of the limits imposed on the regal and executive authority. All these existed independently of the laws: but the circumstance which characterized nations of uncivilized freemen was the regulation of punishments for each offence with a precision that might appear ludicrous in our eyes, if we could forget that, in a rude and turbulent Age, it formed the only security of individuals against arbitrary inflictions.

The modes of judicial trial—if it deserves the name—which were sanctioned by all the Gothic codes, afford a more strange and unfavourable picture of manners; and exhibit the union of Barbarian simplicity, superstition, and ferocity. These were the various expedients of purgation by oath, and of the “Judgments of God,” or ordeal by fire and water and by single combat. In the first instance, the accused party was allowed to justify his innocence by the oaths of a certain number of friendly witnesses, or compurgators, who solemnly declared their belief that he was not guilty. It was probably the gross and manifest perjury incited and produced by this custom, which prompted the legislator to supply the defects of human testimony by the ordeal of fire and water.‡ This was founded on the belief that the justice of Heaven would interpose to protect the innocent or discover the guilty: upon the fanciful absurdity that fire would not burn the one, nor the pure element of water suffer the other to sink into its bosom.¶ In the latter case, the accused was thrown into the water, and was innocent if he sank, guilty if he floated. The modes of the fiery ordeal which were most in use consisted in handling a hot mass of iron, or plunging the arm into boiling water. If the limb healed without surgical assistance in three days, the accused was acquitted: if not, he suffered the penalty of his offence. That the test was faithful, credulity itself may now refuse to believe: that many persons established the opinion of their innocence by its means, numerous records of the times will not permit us to doubt; but in any case it is impossible to determine the measure of

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A. D. 476.

And for lesser offences.

Modes of judicial trial.
By comparison.

Judgments of God.—Ordeal of fire and water.

* See these several codes in the fourth volume of the Benedictine Collection, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*.

† This code is printed in the first volume of Muratori's great collection, *Scriptores Rerum Italianarum*.

‡ For these German codes the reader is referred to the collection of Ludewig, *Codes Legum Antiq.* fol.

§ A learned writer concludes that, of the earliest legislation of the Saxons on the Continent and in England, very little can be ascertained on authority sufficiently ancient. Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 528.

¶ See the first volume of the collection of Leubnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, which Mr. Turner has not noticed.

|| *Leges Salaricæ*, c. 43—58. (in vol. iv. of the Benedictine *Recueil des Historiens*, &c.) *Leges (Langob.) Rotharis*, (apud Muratori,) p. 1—169. *Leges Anglo-Saxonice*, c. 43—110. (apud Wilkins, folio, 1721.)

* *Eudem. Ibid.*

† *Leges Burgund.* tit. ii. *Leges Wisigoth.* lib. vi. tit. v. —both in the Benedictine Collection.

‡ Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 351.

¶ *Ibid.*

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A. D.
476.
By single
combat.

fraud or of accident which may have contributed to the result.*

The ordeal by fire and water appears to have been employed only for the determination of felonious guilt: the judgment of God by single and mortal combat, which gradually superseded it, was challenged indifferently in all ordinary claims of property and civil litigation, as well as in criminal trials. The wager of battle was congenial to the fierce sentiment of a warlike race, who could not believe that a brave man deserved to suffer, or that a coward deserved to live.† This absurd and cruel appeal from doubtful right to superior prowess and strength, which oppressed the weak, who most needed protection, and favoured the brutal insolence and triumph of force, was long the stain and reproach of the Gothic communities. It little mended the evil that the peaceful and the feeble—ecclesiastics, women, and aged and infirm persons—were permitted to intrust the safety of their lives, or the assertion of their rights, to the uncertain superiority or questionable faith of a friendly, or more frequently a mercenary, champion. The sanctuary of justice was, at best, wantonly defiled with blood; and human life must have been perpetually sacrificed in the unsuccessful cause of innocence and right. The enlightened Barbarian who, in the VIIIth century, acknowledged and condemned the impious abuse of the judgment of God,‡ was still compelled to concede its practice to the sanguinary prejudices of his people and his times; and the reign of judicial violence, which the wisdom and humanity of the Lombard Prince could not arrest, nor the uniform censures of the Church discourage, continued more or less throughout the middle Ages to deform the jurisprudence of Europe.§

State of the
conquered
population,
or Roman
Provincials.

In a review of the Barbarian policy, the condition to which it reduced the Roman Provincials, or native inhabitants of the conquered Countries, who formed so large a portion of the European population, naturally deserves our attention. On this subject, the inequality of the wergild, or composition for homicide, affords some remarkable evidence. By the laws of the Franks and Saxons, we have seen that the life of a Roman or native was avowedly rated at a far less price than that of a Barbarian; and the codes of the Lombards and Burgundians also prescribed the distinction of races between the conquerors and the conquered. The more liberal institutions of the Visigothic Monarchy of Spain alone laboured to unite both people under the same legislative Government. But, with perhaps some exception in this instance, there can be no doubt that in all the Countries which were subjugated by the Barbarians, they had condemned at least a portion of the rural inhabitants to a state of servitude, that was only more or less modified by the accidents of conquest. Under the Franks, one class of the Gaulish population

certainly retained lands of their own, exempt from tribute, and enjoyed freedom and consideration, inferior only in degree to that of the conquerors.* But another, and probably the larger proportion of the natives, were reduced to cultivate for their Barbarian masters the estates which the latter had seized; and these Roman tributaries, as they were called, seem to have been forced into a situation little better than that of absolute bondage to the soil. In Britain, as we have observed, the Saxons subjected the remains of the Celtic race in general to the lowest condition of predial and domestic servitude; and in Italy the whole agricultural population were almost equally the slaves of the Lombard freemen; since they were originally divided among the Barbarians throughout the whole extent of the land, and compelled to pay a third part of its produce to their foreign masters.

Settlement
of the
Barbarian
Nation

A. D.
476.
For the most part
one of the
virtues.

The cruel and degrading institution of personal servitude was not introduced by the Barbarians; it had prevailed from all antiquity, and was universally in existence in the Roman World. But the Northern conquerors had certainly multiplied the number of unhappy persons in that condition; for, like the other ancient nations, they made slaves of their unredeemed captives who had been taken in war, as well as of a portion of the peaceable inhabitants of the Countries in which they settled. And their customs, unlike those of the Roman jurisprudence, permitted even the national freemen to be reduced to slavery by crime, by want of means to discharge their debts, and even by their own suicidal act, the consequence of distress or loss in gaming, or other imprudence.† After the Barbarian settlements in the new Kingdoms, these fatal surrenders of personal liberty were familiarly practised among them. In seasons of famine, which perpetual wars and the miserable state of cultivation rendered frequent, artisans and labourers were compelled to sell themselves for bread. Others became slaves to secure the protection of the powerful; many from inability to pay the pecuniary fines for crime; and some even surrendered themselves to Churches and Monasteries, from the strange superstition of exchanging temporal liberty and property for such benefits as they might reap from the prayers of their new masters.‡

Personal
slavery.

Aggravated by the consequences of these barbarous practices, the yoke which the free Northern conquerors had imposed upon a great mass of the native and subject inhabitants recoiled heavily upon their own race. Historians have seldom insisted sufficiently upon the effects which the policy or violence of the Northern nations in their conquests produced to the corruption of their own rude liberty. Yet it is certain, that their laws and customs had a pernicious and rapid tendency to enslave the majority of their own independent population. Through the obscurity of the Dark Ages, we may discern that personal servitude was continually on the increase; that the lords of large possessions and numerous tributaries easily acquired the more strength thereby to oppress their defenceless neighbours; and that the number of free alodialists of small property was constantly diminishing, by the facility with which their

Its in-
crease
among the
Barbarians
themselves

* Compare, on this curious subject, so far as regards the practice of our Saxon ancestors, the remarks of Mr. Turner (*Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 585—8) and of Dr. Lingard. (*History of England*, vol. i. p. 495.) The Protestant Historian ingeniously exposes the facility and temptation of fraud on the part of the clergy, to whose discretion the process was committed. The Roman Catholic Historian refuses the conclusion, with a positiveness that would scarcely leave any other inference than that of a miraculous interposition.

† Gibbon, *ubi supra*.

‡ Luitprand. *Leges Langob.* in Muratori, vol. ii. p. 65.

§ The best philosophical commentary on the laws of the Barbarians will be found in Montesquieu. *De l'Esprit des Loix*, lib. xvii. —xxxi. and the analysis has been admirably reviewed and condensed by Gibbon, ch. xxviii.,—from which many of the remarks in the text have been borrowed.

* See the satisfactory conclusions of Montesquieu on this subject generally, *Esprit des Loix*, lib. xxi. c. 13.

† The Anglo-Saxon laws even formally established a regular ceremony for this degradation, voluntary or compulsory. *Leyra*, 291.

‡ See the various examples of all these practices collected by Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 216—218.

History.
A. D.
476.

rights and conditions might be surrendered, or their political existence swallowed up in the accumulation of the greater domains. Even of the Saxon race in England, where a portion of the peasantry always remained free, at least two-thirds, before the IXth century, had sunk into predial bondage to their own aristocracy;* the lower Orders of the Frankish, and Lombard, and German races, equally with the descendants of the Roman Provincials, had universally shared the same fate in their several Countries; and the intermediate rank between the Noble and the Slave were becoming almost everywhere obliterated by the operation of violence and want, oppression and weakness. At this epoch, it was happy for the well-being, and almost the existence of Society, that the feudal system, with its long chain of defined relations, its manly spirit of mutual and fixed obligations, arose to preserve the social frame of Europe from a state of indiscriminate Asiatic servitude.

History
of the
Roman
Provincials.
in effect.

It has been usual with modern writers to extol the liberal principle of the Barbarian codes, which left the Roman Provincials in the possession of their own Civil Institutions, and further allowed every man to declare under what Law he would be governed. But the first permission served only to prolong the distinction of the conquering and conquered races: the extent and degree of the latter indulgence are both very uncertain, until a much subsequent period. The Roman, or at least native, population of France and Italy were, however, always suffered by the conquerors, from the outset, to follow the rule of the Theodosian code in their Civil and domestic affairs, and to appeal to its protection in the Courts, even against a plaintiff or accuser of the victorious stock. Among the Barbarians themselves, whose different races came to be mingled in the same Country, the utmost respect was afforded to every freeman to choose under what national Law he would live; and, in the legal deeds of the times, a formal declaration, on the part of the subscriber, of his adherence to the Salic, the Burgundian, Lombard, Gothic, Bavarian, or other German code, forms the common preamble.† At whatever period in the lapse of time the same privilege of adopting a Barbarian nation and Law had been silently acquired by the descendants of the Roman population, the odious distinction of a dominant and subjugated race in the same community, must, by that circumstance, have merged into an equality of rights, varying only in the hereditary preference of legal forms. And this separation of laws seems to have subsisted, in France especially, by the mere force of caprice, for centuries after it had ceased to form the badge of conquest or servitude.‡

Five
centuries.

But a much more powerful cause in eradicating this distinction was the influence of a common Religion. The Northern nations owed their conversion to Christianity, and the imperfect rudiments of their acquaintance with Letters, to Roman teachers; and the possession of sacred and profane learning, corrupted and obscured as it was, enabled the subjugated race to recover, by their superiority in knowledge and mental cultivation, the temporal wealth and dominion which had been lost by their degeneracy in the field. The

Indicated
directly by
conversion
to Christianity.

Effects of
the conversion
of the
Northern
nations.

ignorance of the illiterate Barbarians naturally excluded them, for many Ages after they had embraced the Christian worship, from the ministry and offices of the Church; the Clergy in the new Kingdoms were composed almost wholly out of the Roman population; and the arrogant conquerors surrendered their consciences and their wills, with all the blind devotion of a superstitious Age, in spiritual dependence on an order of their subjects and tributaries. The rate of the composition for homicide—the great test of political condition in the Barbaric codes—denotes the respect and the sanctity in which the Clergy were held. By the laws of the Frankish Monarchy, for example, the life of the lowest Minister of Religion was made equivalent in value to that of two freemen; a simple priest was rated with a Nobleman; and the compensation for the blood of a Bishop rose to one half more than for that of the highest Civil dignitary under the Crown.* No distinction of Frankish or Gaulish birth was here preserved in the protection of the Ecclesiastical Body; but the estimate silently marks the power, not of a Barbarian, but a Roman Order, who filled the Church.

Settlement
of the
Barbarian
Nations.

A. D.
476.
Highly fa-
voured con-
dition of the
Clergy.

The establishment and growth of the Christian Church in the Barbarian Kingdoms of Europe, will be more properly related in that division of our pages, which is assigned to ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY: but the influence of the institutions of Christianity on the state of Society among the Northern nations is closely connected with their Political annals; and its consideration belongs to our present subject of inquiry. Nor, throughout the History of the Middle Ages, can the temporal condition of the Papacy and the Church, which exercised so pervading and paramount an ascendancy over the fortunes of the European Monarchies, be separated from the narrative of their Political vicissitudes. The rapid conversion of the Barbarian nations to Christianity, had accompanied their dismemberment of the Roman Empire. In their new seats, they found the Clergy everywhere endowed with considerable possessions; and the lavish munificence of their new zeal was added to the former wealth of the Church. The mixture of a superstitious imagination with violent passions, which entered into the character of all the Northern nations, contributed to swell the amount of these pious donations. Believing that offences might be expiated by the measure of their offerings at the altar, they were actuated, in the intervals of their rapine and outrage, by remorse and Religious apprehension, to satisfy the pangs of conscience in this manner. Endowments of land to the Episcopal sees, and still more to the Monastic foundations, poured in from every quarter; and Monarchs, powerful Lords, and petty Barons, all felt the necessity of atoning for the disorders and crimes of their past lives by accumulated bequests to the Church. A considerable portion of the territorial property in every Country thus passed into the hands of the Episcopal and Monastic Clergy; and the Ecclesiastical Order obtained, in all the new Monarchies, a large share of positive temporal possessions and power, and a still greater influence upon the Constitution of Governments.†

General in-
fluence of the in-
stitutions
of Christianity
on the Dark
Ages.

Growth of
Ecclesiasti-
cal wealth
and power.

The revolting spectacle of ignorance and superstition, of crime and anarchy, which is presented in the

Moral
effects of
Christianity
in those
Ages,

* Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 213.

† Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae*, Dissert. xxii. Vaissette et Du Vie, *Hist. Gén. de Langueoed*, vol. ii. App. p. 56—70.

‡ Vaissette, *ibid*.

* *Leges Salicæ*, c. 38.

† Fleury, *Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique* (12mo. Paris, 1763) p. 1000. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Dissert.* lxx. and lxxvi.

History,
A. D.
476.
notwith-
standing the
acknow-
ledged cor-
ruption of
the Church,

aspect of Europe during the Dark Ages, might lead us, on a cursory view, to question the beneficial effects of the Barbarian conversion on the state of Society. Nor have endeavours been wanting to depreciate and deny the salutary influence of Christianity over those times, by a certain class of writers, who have delighted to multiply examples of the corruption of the Church, and the wickedness of its Ministers and Professors. Unquestionably the Romish Clergy of the Middle Ages, as a Body, were very corrupt: their private lives were frequently dissolute; their covetousness and rapacity in the pursuit of wealth unbounded; their ambition worldly and unholy; their hypocrisies, frauds, and impostures manifold; their ignorance extreme; and the sacred truths of Christianity were violated and perverted in their doctrines by the gross admixture of a thousand Pagan superstitions and idolatries. It was not to be expected that the moral and intellectual character of the laity should attain a higher standard than that of their teachers; and while the Clergy were themselves ignorant and vicious, the people were naturally plunged into a lower deep of impurity and darkness.

decidedly
beneficial.

But admitting the operation of all these debasing influences to the fullest extent, it is still easy to discern, on an attentive and candid examination, that the introduction of Christianity among the Northern nations, though in its most corrupted form, had a signal and beneficial effect upon the aspect of Society. To judge the question fairly, we should compare those times, not with the enlightened period to which they have given birth, but with the previous state of the world. We should endeavour to conceive the fate of Europe, if the Gothic nations had been permitted to plant the bloody idolatry of Woden and Thor, with its reeking hecatombs of human sacrifices, and its brutal promises of an immortality of drunkenness or slaughter, in those favoured regions of the globe, which had received the dawning light of Truth, humanity, and civilization. We should imagine the ferocious passions of the Barbarians in an era of universal conquest, encouraged by that gloomy and inexorable superstition of their forests, in which war and bloodshed were the creed of virtue; instead of being mitigated by the precepts of a Religion which, however imperfectly heard and obeyed, breathed nothing but mercy and peace. The ameliorating power of a purer spirit often went forth, even from among the clouds of error and falsehood which veiled the divine form of Revelation. If that power was insufficient to direct the actions and control the passions of rude and ignorant men, it sometimes touched their consciences, and frequently awakened their remorse. The political effects of Christianity in the Dark Ages, were not, we may confess, so beneficial as its individual influence; but they were as good as the constitution of Society would admit, and far better than, under the same circumstances, any mere human restraints of Law or opinion could possibly have produced. Even a celebrated Historian, who has rendered his name unhappily proverbial for hostility to the Christian faith, has been compelled to acknowledge the universal benefits which followed its introduction among the Barbarian nations, in inculcating justice and mercy; in alleviating the horrors of war, and moderating the insolence of conquest; in preventing the total extinction of ancient Civilization, Learning, and Science; and in producing that union of the European Republic, that community of

Contrast of
the Gothic
Paganism.

Silent ame-
lioration
produced
by the
Christian
faith and
morality.

jurisprudence, manners, and Arts, which has cemented the bonds of humanity through the modern World.*

Nor, in the exaggerated tone of declamation, which it has been usual for almost all controversial Protestant writers to adopt, in stigmatizing the vices of the Clergy of the Dark Ages, has justice been rendered to their memory, even for the real benefits, which they either positively conferred, or were instrumental in engraving, on Society. Their efforts were in general unceasingly directed to soften the ferocity, and humanize the feelings of their times. They constantly opposed the sanguinary institution of the judicial duel, and fulminated every species of Ecclesiastical censure against that absurd and cruel practice. With equal consistency, they laboured strenuously, by exhortation and anathema, to repress the private wars of the Barons, which, in rather a later Age, had converted every Kingdom of Europe into one great battle-field. The periodical observance which they attempted to enforce of the *Truce of God*,† was a humane endeavour to suspend, at least for brief seasons, the fury of those inextinguishable and bloody feuds; to afford the harassed and wearied people some short intervals of breathing and repose; and to tempt even their tyrants with the familiar blessings of tranquillity. The success of their efforts, indeed, was not immediately visible: but there can be no doubt that the spiritual prohibitions of the Church exercised a great influence both in hastening the disuse of trial by combat, and in diminishing the frequency of private wars.

In the protection of the oppressed, the Clergy often discharged a yet higher and holier vocation. The right of sanctuary, which was very early established, secured persons from seizure within the hallowed vicinity of churches; and this superstitious privilege which, in the Roman Catholic Countries of modern times, has only impeded the operation of justice, had some very different consequences in the lawlessness and tyranny of the Middle Ages. It undoubtedly enabled the Clergy to shelter many defenceless and persecuted individuals from the hand of violence and cruelty. If it afforded an asylum for malefactors, it was also the only secure refuge for weakness and innocence; and we may readily conceive, with an elegant writer, how much this protection must have enhanced the veneration for Religious institutions, how gladly the victims of internal war must have turned their eyes from the Baronial castle, the dread and scourge of the neighbourhood, to those venerable walls, within which, not even the clamour of arms could be heard to disturb the chant of holy men, and the sacred service of the altar;‡

Among these Religious institutions, the Monasteries especially seem to have been everywhere, in those Ages, a blessing to the surrounding districts. In ameliorating the condition of the poor, some of the virtues of the Monks had the most benign effects. The Clergy of all denominations were continually enjoining upon laymen the duty of enfranchising their slaves: though indeed they are accused of not being equally ready to set the example of manumission on their own lands. But when we find them inveighing against the sin of keeping Christians in bondage, and observe how frequently the manumission of slaves is expressly performed in testamentary acts from Religious motives, we may safely

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of the
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The vices
of the
Rome
Clergy
were
aggravated

Benefit
which the
conferred
upon
Society.

1. By the
repression
of private
wars and
judicial
combats.

2. By their
protection
of the op-
pressed.

3. Elemen-
tary vir-
tues of
the Monks.

4. Enfranchisement
of slaves
successfully
rejoined by
the Clergy

* Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 276, 278.

† See Du Cange, *ad v. Truga*.

‡ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 351.

History.

A. D.

476.

5. Superior

evolution of

the peasant-

ry on the

Church.

6. The resto-

ration of

Agriculture.

7. and the

preserva-

tion of an-

cient learn-

ing attri-

butable to

the Monks.

ascribe the practice to the injunctions of the Clergy.* The general exercise of charity by the Monks in the relief of indigence, too, is undisputed; and the condition of the peasantry on the church estates, was always superior to that of the vassals of lay lords. It was a common saying of the people, that men lived more happily under the crosier than the sceptre. The lands of the Monasteries were far better cultivated than any other;† and to the peaceful occupations and superior intelligence of the Monks, we are indebted for the agricultural restoration of great part of Europe.‡ Many of the grants to Monasteries, which appear enormous, were of tracts absolutely desolated by wars, that would probably have been reclaimed from sterility by no other means.

But beyond all question the most important benefit for which the modern world is indebted to the Clergy and the Monastic institutions of the Dark Ages, is the preservation of ancient Learning. However gross the ignorance in which the Clergy were themselves involved, they were the only Order which retained any glimmerings of knowledge; and their Monastic houses were the sole depositories of the neglected remains of classical Literature. The Latin language itself was rescued from ex-

tinction only by its corrupted use in the liturgy, the theological writings, and the decretal correspondence of the Church. All the manuscripts of the great classical authors must have been utterly lost and destroyed amidst the disorders and Barbarism which followed the subversion of the Roman Empire, if they had not been preserved by the care of the Monks. Nor is it too much to assert, that the very use of Letters and the memory of Learning might have perished in the profound darkness which had overspread Europe, but for the studious occupations, ill-directed and tasteless as they were, of the Monastic communities. Even the vilest legends which they produced, kept alive some sparks of intellectual light; and from these were slowly kindled that sacred flame of Truth and Science which, when the improved relations of Society began to foster its diffusion, at last burst into a splendid and general illumination. It was thus in the fate of Learning, as in the vicissitudes of Civil and Political institutions, that the dispensations of a beneficent Providence ordained Good out of Evil, harmony and light out of chaos and darkness; that the efforts of superstition in their progress dispelled the clouds which they had most thickly collected, that Knowledge gained something in every stage after the lowest point of its obscurity, and that the cause of Human Reason and Divine Truth has never ceased to advance, since that period in which it appeared to have approached the verge of its extreme and total ruin.

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of the
Barbarian
Nations.

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476.

* Du Cange, *ad* *Testamentum and Monachismo*.

† See the proofs of this in England, collected by Mr. Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 167.

‡ And by Mr. Hallam, vol. iii. p. 436.

ITALY.	FRANCE AND GERMANY.	SPAIN.
A. D. 476 FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE. Odoacer, King.	A. D.	A. D.
493 THE OSTROGOTHIC CONQUEST, under Theodoric the Great. The authority of Theodoric extends also over Spain, Aquitaine, Pannonia, &c.	486 RISE OF THE FRANKISH MONARCHY, to the 508 Conquest of Gaul by Clovis. I. THE MEROVINGIAN MONARCHY OF THE FRANKS. 511 Divided among the sons of Clovis. (Four Kingdoms of Metz, Orleans, Paris, and Soissons.) 508 Their Conquest of Thuringia, 534 and of Burgundy. 536 Frankish Invasions of Italy. 555 Their Defeat by Narces. 559 Clovis I. sole Monarch of France and Germany. 568 His death. Second partition of the Monarchy, among the sons of Clovis. 613 Clovis II. Reunion of the Monarchy. 688 Rise of the Mayors of the Palace. The Monarchy again divided. 681 Dagobert I. sole Monarch. 638 Partition until 655 Clovis II. sole Monarch. 656 Clovis III. 660 Partition until 678 Thierry III. sole Monarch. 687 Pepin d'Heristal, Mayor of the whole Monarchy. 717 Charles Martel, Duke of France. 730 DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS in the memorable battle of Tours. 741 His son, Pepin le Bref, rules the Monarchy. Extinguishes the Merovingian Dynasty; and assuming the crown, founds II. THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY OF THE FRANKS. 751 Pepin, the first King of his Family. 768 Charles and Carloman, Sovereigns of the Frankish Monarchy. 771 Charles the Great, or CHARLEMAGNE, sole Monarch. 774 Conquers Italy. 778 Charlemagne conquers Spain North of the Ebro from the Saracens; 796 Subdues the Huns; and completes the settlement of his Monarchy in Germany, Italy, &c. 800 CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE AS EMPEROR OF THE WEST.	476 Evaris, King of the Visigoths in Spain and Aquitaine succeeded by 485 Alaric. 507 His defeat by Clovis and death at Poitiers. See Aquitaine. 568 The Visigothic Monarchy under the regency of Theudis the Great, King of Italy, until his death and the accession of 586 Amalaric, King of the Visigoths. Their Monarchy restricted to Spain, and their times obscure and uninteresting. Their religious laws and their government principally directed by the priests. The most noted successors of Amalaric, were: 577 Leovigild. Revolt and martyrdom of his son Hermenegild. 586 Recared, the first Catholic King of Spain. 611 Sisebut, consolidates all Spain under his dominion. Epoch of the meridian greatness of the Visigothic Monarchy, which gradually declines to the end of the century; After which the crimes of Witiza provoke his deposition and the elevation of 710 Roderic, the last King of the Visigoths. 711 THE SARACEN INVASION, and battle of Xerxes. Death of Roderic, and ruin of the Gothic Monarchy. 712 Conquest of Spain by the Arabs. Some Christians retire into Asturias, where, under 718 Pelayo 727 Favila 730 Alfonso I. } THE CHRISTIAN MONARCHY also revives. 755 Abdalrahman, first independent Caliph of the Saracens or Arabians in Spain. 758 Garcia Jimenez, the supposed founder of the Christian state of Navarre. 778 The country north of the Ebro conquered by Charlemagne. Abdalmahmud reigns over Saracen Spain with considerable splendour in the close of the century; but his supremacy does not prevent dissensions and wars among the Arabian Emirs, or Governors of Provinces.

HISTORY.

Empire of the Romans to its Revival in the Person of Charlemagne,
—800.

BRITAIN.

- 477 The Saxons conquer progressive, since the landing of Hengist and Horsa in 449. The Kingdom of Kent founded in 455, and that of Sussex in 477.
- 48 The Kingdom of Wessex founded by Cerdic.
- 49 The conquest of Wessex completed.
- 50 The Kingdom of East Angles founded by Uta, and (530) Euxa by Erikenia.
- 51 Bertha by Ida, and (560) Deira by Ella.—(These two States afterwards form Northumbria.)
- 52 The Kingdom of Mercia founded by Crida. Conversion of the Saxons OCTAVIAN.—His Prince independent of each other, though often acknowledging a Bretwalda, or paramount sovereignty, among their number.
- 53 Conversion of Ethelbert, King of Kent, and his people to Christianity. Ethelbert, third Bretwalda.
- 54 Great defeat of the Scots by the Northumbrians.
- 55 Birth of Northumbria, fifth Bretwalda.
- 56 Defeated and slain in battle against Penda, King of Mercia.
- 57 Oswald of Northumbria, sixth Bretwalda, also defeated by Penda and slain.
- 58 Penda repulsed and killed in battle against Oswy of Northumbria, who becomes seventh Bretwalda.
- 59 Death of Oswy.
- The dignity of Bretwalda suspended. Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, acquire and dispute the ascendancy over the other States.
- 60 Governance of Sussex, the last Pagan State of the Octarchy.
- 61 Ica, the lawgiver, King of Wessex.
- 62 Subjects Essex to his power.
- 63 Wessex great part of Cornwall from the Britons.
- 64 And unites Sussex by conquest to Wessex.
- 65 Ethelbert, King of Mercia, supreme, until
- 66 His defeat in a furious battle by Canard, King of Wessex.
- 67 Northumbria declines in power.
- 68 Offa, of Mercia, overpowers the Kings of Wessex and Northumbria;
- 69 Expels the Britons beyond the Wye, and constructs his "Deira," or rampart of separation between Mercia and Wales.
- 70 Death of Offa. Decline of the Mercian power.
- 71 EDGERT, King of Wessex. Subjects the Kingdoms of Kent, Essex, East Angles, Mercia, and Northumbria to his service, extends his supremacy over all South Britain, and becomes the seventh Bretwalda of the Anglo-Saxons.
- 72 Kenneth, King of the Scots, soon after subjugates the Picts, and reigns over North Britain.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

- 478 Zeno, the Isaurian, Emperor (from 474).
- 479 Theodoris, the Ostrogoth, undertakes the conquest of Italy as his Lieutenant.
- 481 Anastasius.
- 483 Theodoris holds Italy under the nominal supremacy of the Eastern Empire.
- 484 Justin I. 507 JUSTINIAN.
- 529 Publication of the Justinian Code; followed by his Pandects and Institutes.
- 533 Conquest of the Vandalic Kingdom of Africa by his General, Belisarius.
- 539 And of the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy.
- 541 Indefinite war with the Persian Empire under Chosroes or Nushirvan.
- 553 Final reduction of Italy under the Eastern Empire by Narses.
- 565 Justin II. DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE after an epoch of brilliant conquest and despotic vigour.
- 568 Loss of Northern Italy by the Lombard conquest.
- 573 Tiberius II. 582 Maurice.
- 591 Asiatia Chosroes in recovering the throne of Persia.
- 602 Phocas. 610 Heraclius.
- 611 Syria and (614) Palestine, and (616) Egypt, and Ann Minor, conquered by the Persians under Chosroes II.
- 628 The deliverance of the Empire commences by the victories of Heraclius.
- 629 Final defeat of Chosroes and glorious recovery of the Imperial Provinces; followed by disastrous reverses in the reign and spirit of Heraclius, on the
- 632 INVASION OF THE EMPIRE BY THE SARACENS.
- 639 Their conquest of Syria, and (640) of Egypt.
- 641 Constantine III. Herakleios. CONSTANT II.
- 655 The Saracen arms continually progressive up to this year against the Empire.
- 660 Constantine IV. Constantinople itself besieged by the Saracens.
- 678 They are repulsed, and become for a time tributary to the Empire.
- 685 Justinian II. 711 Philippicus. 713 Anastasius II.
- 718 Thronos III. Constantinople again besieged by the Saracens, who are repulsed by
- 717 Leo III. He interdicts (726) the Worship of Images, and provokes the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.
- 741 Constantine V. 759 Loss of the Italian Exarchate.
- 775 Leo IV. 793 Constantine VI.
- 797 Irene. The Empire tributary to the Caliph Haroun Al-raschid.

THE MOHAMMEDAN OR SARACEN POWER.

- 478 Throughout the VIIth and VIIIth centuries, Arabia appears to have been divided among a number of petty Chieftains and Tribes of the cultivated country and desert, who enjoyed a common independence; though they recognised a superior dignity in the state of Mecca, as the holiest seat of their idolatrous worship, and the principal city of their nation. Under the general name of SARACENS, (from some unknown etymology,) the natives of Arabia alternately engaged during these Ages in capricious alliances and desultory hostility with the Eastern and Persian Empires; and towards the close of the VIIth century, the South-Western parts of the Peninsula, in the Arabia Felix, or Yemen, were subjugated by the latter Power. But the History of the Arabian Tribes is obscure and disjointed; and the authentic Saracen Annals commence only with
- 609 The birth of Mohammed at Mecca.
- 610 He proclaims himself the Prophet of God.
- 622 The HEMIRA, or Flight of Mohammed from Mecca; the commencement of the great Musliman era.
- 629 The subjugation of Mecca; followed by the conquest and conversion of all Arabia, and the invasion of the Eastern Empire.
- 632 Death of Mohammed. Abubeker, his successor or Caliph. Invasion of Persia.
- 634 Omar, Caliph. 636 Conquest of Syria, including Palestine, &c. and (640) of Egypt.
- 644 Othman, Caliph. 647 The Saracen arms progressive in Africa.
- 651 The conquest of Persia completed.
- 658 Ali, Caliph.
- I. DYNASTY OF THE OMAYYADS.
- 660 Moawiyah, or Oumayyah, Caliph.
- 668 Siege of Constantinople by the Saracens.
- 680 Yezid. 689 Marwan. 684 Abdalmah. 704 Walid.
- 709 The conquest of all Northern Africa completed.
- 718 Conquest of Spain.
- 716 Soliman. 716 Second siege of Constantinople by the Saracens.
- 717 Omar II. 719 Yezid II. 723 Hisham.
- 728 GREAT DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS AT TOURS.
- 742 Walid II. 743 Yezid III. Marwan II., who is killed in a civil war and succeeded by the
- II. DYNASTY OF THE ABBASIDS.
- 750 Saffah (descended from Abbas the uncle of the Prophet.)
- 753 Almansur.
- 758 Commencement of the TURKISH DYNASTY OF THE CALIPH. are: the Abbassides still reigning in the East, or Asia, the Edissites and Fatimites in Africa, and the Omeyyades in the West, or Spain.
- 774 Mohadi, (in Asia.)
- 794 Mansaladi.
- 796 Haroun Al-raschid. Renders the Greek Empire tributary.
- 800 MERIDIAN GRANDFATHER OF THE ABBASIDIAN CALIPHATE.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER L.

ANNALS OF ITALY, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND SPAIN, FROM THE Vth TO THE VIIIth CENTURY INCLUSIVE.

History.
From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
755.
Annals of
the Barba-
rian King-
doms.

HAVING offered a general survey of the condition of Europe at the settlement of the Barbarian nations on the ruins of the Roman Empire, we proceed to follow out the annals of the Kingdoms which they founded. While the dominion of Rome filled the world, the biography of the Caesars embraced the fortunes of mankind; and under their universal sovereignty, it was easy to confine the current of general History within a single mighty channel. But the inundation of the Barbaric conquests broke out into as many different and devious torrents as there were chasms rent in the dismembered Empire. To define with clearness the wandering course of these streams, to mark their occasional confluence, and their frequent diversion, becomes a task of no ordinary perplexity. In tracing the affairs, during the Dark Ages, of numerous States whose Political relations were at intervals variously interwoven and separated, it is difficult to attend to the strict chronological order of events, and at the same time to preserve any Historical chain of international connection. As far as possible, however, to combine these objects, there seems no better method than, restricting our view to the fortunes of a single State at a time, to pursue them to some remarkable point, at which their conjunction with those of a second Country may lead us to shift the scene of our observation. In this manner we shall successively be attracted to the condition and annals of all the prominent European nations under the same epoch; and the insulated story of States less conspicuous in themselves, or less connected with the rest, may afterwards be brought down in an episodic form to the corresponding period. Our transitions must thus necessarily be frequent, but will more lucidly and naturally conduct us through the complicated vicissitudes of our subject, than if we attempted either to confound their distinct character under one general view, or throughout to maintain several unconnected heads of narration, for events whose course is rather irregularly blended than uniformly parallel and separate.

In this projected arrangement, the fallen majesty of the seat of ancient empire seems to claim our first notice for ITALY. The revolution which had finally delivered over that Country to the rule of a Scythian Chieftain, was a less violent change than the ordinary process of Barbarian conquest. The elevation of Odoacer was effected by no new swarms of Northern invaders; and the settlement of his followers in the

Italian Provinces is to be regarded only as the establishment, in a firmer posture, of those bands of foreign and licentious mercenaries, who had long formed the only defence, while they were also the terror, of the degraded State. After the deposition of the feeble Augustulus, we have seen that the name of the Empire of the West was suppressed by the modesty or prudence of the fortunate adventurer, who had raised himself, on the revolt and the choice of his fellow-soldiers, to the supreme authority; and during fourteen years, Odoacer reigned under only the general title of King. He was not unworthy of a Throne; and the calamities of Italy, so long desolated by war and anarchy, and finally subjected to the rapine of the victorious and insolent mercenaries, were alleviated and arrested by his wisdom and humanity.*

The virtues and courage of Odoacer, however, could not ultimately protect his Throne against the superior genius and power of a foreign rival. Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, who were already seated in Pannonia, was induced by the facility of his position, or the proposal of Zeno, Emperor of the East, to undertake the conquest of Italy. The Greek despot was not sorry to be relieved by this expedition from the vicinity of a dangerous ally and a turbulent people; and though Zeno had maintained an amicable correspondence with Odoacer, and accepted his recognition of the supremacy of the Byzantine Throne, Theodoric entered Italy to reign as the lieutenant or the royal vassal of the Eastern Emperor. His standard was attended by the whole martial host of his people; and the entire nation of the Ostrogoths descended upon the Italian plains with their wives and families, their cattle and waggons, and all their most precious effects. Odoacer defended with unshaken resolution the Crown which his sword had won. He suffered repeated defeats, and lost all Italy except Ravenna; but in that strong city he still maintained himself, and for three years balanced the fate of the contest. It was at last terminated by an agreement, which gave equal and undivided authority over Italy to the two leaders, and admitted Theodoric within the walls of Ravenna. But in the midst of the consequent rejoicings, Odoacer was treacherously stabbed by the hand or at the command of his rival; the remains of the mercenary bands, who had so long held possession

* Paulus Diaconus, lib. i. c. 19, Cassiodorus, *Chron.* ad annos, 476-489.

Italy.
From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
755.
Under
Odoacer.
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
489.
Its conquest
by the Os-
trogoths.
A. D.
499.
to
A. D.
493.

History. of Italy, were everywhere massacred by the Goths; and Theodoric reigned without opposition from the Alps to the extremity of Calabria.*

From A. D. 476. Happily for the fate of the Italians, the King of the Ostrogoths united in his person all the heroic qualities of a Barbarian conqueror, with the milder virtues and intelligence of civilized life; and notwithstanding the foul act of perfidy which sullied its commencement, his long reign was an era of tranquil felicity for the subjugated population. Under his vigorous but impartial administration, they enjoyed safety and consideration; to Romans alone (for so they were not ashamed to call themselves) were the Civil offices of Government confided; and the natives retained their laws and language, their personal freedom, two-thirds of their landed property, and protection from the violence of their Barbarian conquerors. The military employments, and the defence of the State, were reserved to the Goths, who were spread over the Kingdom in possession of one-third of its soil, and held their lands by the general condition of this martial tenure. In a new and happy climate, their numbers multiplied with formidable rapidity; and in a few years after their settlement, they could muster two hundred thousand warriors, besides their women and children.† It was the politic desire of Theodoric to maintain the separation of his Italian and Gothic subjects, by their restriction respectively to Civil and to military occupations: but in their fixed seats the Goths readily imbibed the arts of civilization, and lost a portion of their warlike spirit in a taste for the refinements of luxurious indulgence.

From A. D. 476. The fame of Theodoric extended, his power was dreaded, and his sovereignty even was recognised, far beyond the Alpine barriers of Italy. Northward and Eastward, he continued, or rendered himself, master of the Pannonian, Rhetian, and other territory, from the source of the Danube to the site, on its lower banks, of the modern Belgrade; and his arms repelled and punished the hostility of the Eastern Empire. In the new Barbarian Kingdoms of the West, his conquest of Italy had excited general alarm; but this feeling was changed by his moderation into amicable and respectful deference. By his domestic alliances, he connected his family with the Royal Houses of the Franks, Burgundians, and Thuringians; and the marriage of his daughter with the Sovereign of the kindred nation of the Visigoths of Spain and Aquitaine, rendered him, as the natural guardian of his orphan grandsons, the Protector and the Regent of that oppressed Monarchy against the Frankish ambition. The territorial communication between the two races of the Goths in Spain and Italy, was completed by Theodoric's defeat of the Frankish Sovereign, and his acquisition of Arles and Marseilles; and the great Gothic Monarchy extended under his Sceptre, as King or as Regent, from Sicily and the Southern capes of Spain to the banks of the Rhone and the source of the Danube, and from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the parallel course of the latter river.

From A. D. 476. The true glory of Theodoric, however, rests on the pacific triumphs of his reign. With singular moderation this enlightened Barbarian, in the pride of victory and the flower of his age, renounced the prosecution of further conquests to devote himself to the duties of Civil

government. By the terror of his name, and under the mild vigour of his administration, his Kingdom was constantly preserved from foreign insult, and flourished in recovered prosperity. Amidst the blessings of peace, and beneath his fostering encouragement, Agriculture was restored, Navigation was pursued in security, and Commerce increased and multiplied. For three and thirty years, Theodoric watched with laborious anxiety over the common happiness of his Gothic and Italian subjects. Few Sovereigns have in an equal degree merited to be numbered among the benefactors of mankind: yet it is painful to add that the evening of his life was clouded by popular disaffection, soured by ingratitude, and defiled with virtuous blood. Difference of Religion interrupted the harmony between him and his Italian subjects. Like most of the Barbarians, Theodoric had been educated in the Arian Heresy; and the discontent of a Catholic people was unjustly produced by his firm maintenance of a general Religious toleration, of which they had themselves enjoyed the immunity. His protection of the Jews and punishment of their oppressors was resented as a crime against the Orthodox Church; and the bigotry of the Catholics provoked the King to the verge of persecution. The hatred of the Italians, forgetful of the benefits of his reign, was excited, with equal want of reason, by the imposition of necessary taxes; and the mind of Theodoric, stung to indignation by their fanaticism and ill-founded murmurs, was filled with suspicions of treason. The murder of his rival Odoacer was a stain upon the fair fame of his manhood; and the execution of his minister, the learned and pious Boethius,—the last of the Romans, says a great author, whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countrymen,—and of the innocent and venerable Patrician, Symmachus, branded the old age of the Monarch with indelible infamy, and embittered his last hours with unavailing remorse.†

The splendour of the Gothic annals terminates with the reign of Theodoric; and the total duration of their Monarchy in Italy only survived his death twenty-seven years. Into this narrow period were crowded the rapid succession, the troubled reigns, and the violent deposition or death of six Princes; two bloody and calamitous struggles against the forces of the Eastern Empire; as many exterminating invasions of the Franks; the overthrow and surrender, the general revolt, and the final subjection of the Ostrogothic Kingdom to the Imperial Sceptre. Such an epoch of slaughter and anarchy, devastation and horror, will be sufficiently noised in its general results: it is neither within our purpose, nor would it profit the reader, to burden his memory with the details of barbarous wars, obscure crimes, and daily revolutions. The possessions of Theodoric, who had no son, descended upon the children of his daughters. To his infant grandson Athalaric he bequeathed the Ostrogothic Crown, and to Amalasontha, the guardianship both of her son and the Italian Kingdom. In the

* The intellectual acquirements of Boethius,—which might have reflected lustre on a more aspiring era, but which serve only to deepen the obscurity of his own times with the solitary gleams of genius and Philosophy,—will entitle him to further and honourable notice among the few names that form the scanty sum of Literary History during the Dark Ages.

† Cassiodorus, in *Chron. et Variarum Lib. Procopius, Gothicus*, lib. I. ii. *aque ad c. 6.* Jornandes, c. 57—59. Among the moderns, Gibbon has devoted his thirty-ninth chapter, a splendid monument,—to the life and reign, the character and actions of Theodoric.

* Procopius, *De Bellis Gothicis*, lib. I. c. 1. Jornandes, c. 57. Cassiodorus, *Chron. ad ann. 490—493.*

† Procopius, *Goth. lib. iii. c. 4.*

Italy.

From A. D. 476. to A. D. 755.

His death, A. D. 526.

Fall of the Ostrogothic Monarchy in Italy only survived his death twenty-seven years.

History.

From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
755.

ability and virtues of her Government, this Princess for some years proved herself the worthy daughter of Theodoric; but her sex, which by the Gothic Law had excluded her from the Throne, also prevented the felicitous exercise of her wisdom and power. The Goths endured with impatience the prudent and salutary administration of a woman; and her youthful son was taught to spurn her authority. Some of the Nobles, his instigators, fell the victims of her deadly revenge; and when premature intemperance had hurried the young Prince to his grave before the age of manhood, her attempt to preserve her regal power by a marriage with her weak and vicious cousin Theodatus, who had some claims to the Crown as the nephew of Theodoric, was followed by her own ruin and that of the Monarchy. The noble blood which she had tyrannically shed, rendered her justly odious to a free people; and, by the faction hostile to her rule, her new husband, the object of her undisguised contempt, was easily exasperated to connive at her imprisonment and strangulation. The attention of Justinian, who now filled the Throne of the Eastern Empire, had been eagerly attracted to the state of the Gothic Court. Under the guise of mediation, his ambassadors had fomented its dissensions, and secretly prompted the murder of Amalasontha; but she was no sooner dead, than, in their master's name, they denounced war and retribution against the ungrateful usurper, who had repaid his elevation to the throne by becoming the assassin of his Queen and his benefactress.

Conquest of
their Italian
Monarchy
by the forces
of the Eastern
Empire,

In a moment of fallacious vigour, the transient and unnatural effort of expiring strength, the arms of the Eastern Empire had just achieved the conquest of Africa and the destruction of the Vandalic Monarchy; and Justinian was now encouraged by this success to attempt the overthrow of the Ostrogothic power and the recovery of Italy from the Barbarian domination. The vain image of a Roman Empire was still preserved by the Greek Sovereigns of Constantinople. But the formidable array and numbers of the Roman Legion were replaced by scanty and mercenary bands, of various Countries and animated by no common feeling of patriotism or national spirit; and the only strength of the small Imperial Army which disembarked in Italy for the conquest of the Gothic Kingdom was to be found in the courage and military talents of its leader Belisarius. The despicable Theodatus, too inactive or too pusillanimous to resist the advance of the invaders, was deposed by the indignant voice of his nation, and murdered by a private enemy as he fled from the popular vengeance; and Belisarius entered Rome in triumph. From Ravenna, the Gothic Capital, Vitiges, who was called to the Throne by the election of his fellow warriors, advanced with an immense host to avenge the national disgrace; and for above a year the heroic Belisarius sustained the siege of Rome by the whole Gothic power. At the conclusion of that period, the tardy arrival from the East of a reinforcement of a few thousand men, was sufficient to complete the discomfiture of the Goths; Belisarius became again the assailant; and the reduction of Ravenna, and surrender of Vitiges, in the fourth year of the war, completed the incredible conquest of a great Kingdom and a warlike people, by a force which seems never to have exceeded twenty thousand men.*

under Belisarius.
A. D.
536.
to
A. D.
540.

* Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, lib. i. c. 1. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, vol. v. a. d. 536—540.

The mean jealousy and base ingratitude of Justinian recalled his illustrious General from the Italian command; and Belisarius had no sooner departed, than the Goths revolted, and the fruits of his successes were lost by the misconduct and cowardice of the Imperial Commanders. Without troops and without supplies, the aged hero was a second time despatched to Italy, only to become the powerless and mortified spectator of the Gothic progress; and his second recall was granted to his own solicitation. After the ephemeral elevation and murder of Hildebald, the brave and virtuous Totila was raised to the Gothic Throne; and his valour and ability had reconquered the greater part of Italy, before Justinian was roused to vindicate the honour of his arms. His favourite, the eunuch Narses, no unworthy successor of Belisarius, and far better supported by the Imperial countenance, landed in Italy with a well-equipped army; and the ruin of the Gothic Monarchy was finally accomplished by his victorious arms. But the struggle was fierce and obstinate; and in the desperate extremity of their fortunes, the Goths displayed more of the unyielding spirit of freemen than they had evinced in the pride of their power and strength. The Gothic war did not terminate before Rome had been lost and won for the fifth time; and until the heroic Totila and Teias, the two last Sovereigns of their nation, had successively fallen, as became them, in the field of battle. A tremendous defeat which Narses subsequently inflicted on an invading host of the Franks and Alemanni, gave security to his conquests; and all Italy reposed in obedience and peace under the Sceptre of the Eastern Empire.*

The internal dissensions of the Goths, the hatred which the subject population of Italy had ever borne to their Barbarian conquerors, and the affection with which they welcomed the Imperial arms, had all assisted the genius and fortune of Belisarius and Narses. Yet under every evil of intestine disunion, the Gothic Kingdom, with a force of two hundred thousand combatants, could not have been twice subjugated by far inferior numbers, whose imperfect courage was with difficulty sustained by the talents of their leaders, if the Goths had not, during their Italian settlement of less than sixty years, already lost the better part of their original spirit. The sudden annihilation of a brave people is among those gigantic vicissitudes of human fate which can never be contemplated without awakening some portion of commiseration and interest. The mass of the Gothic warriors had been destroyed by the sword, or by famine and disease. The remnant emigrated Northward, enrolled themselves in the Imperial service, or was compressed into the servile population of Italy; and from this epoch the very name of the Ostrogothic nation totally disappears from the annals of Europe. This subjugation of a numerous and warlike race of the North, by a handful of degenerate Greeks and promiscuous mercenaries, presents a strange and inexplicable spectacle; and the extinction of a nation which, but half a century before, had struck terror into the Eastern Empire, and founded a great and flourishing Monarchy, must be numbered among the unsolved problems which perplex the obscure History of a barbarous Age.

As the lieutenant or representative of the Emperor, Narses, under the title of Exarch, and from the Gothic

* Procopius, *Gothico*, lib. iii. c. 2. ix. c. 25. Muratori, *Annali*, vol. v. a. d. 540—553.

Italy.
From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
755.
Revolt of
the Goths.
A. D.
540.
Their final
subjugation
by Narses.
A. D.
552.
to
A. D.
554.

Total extinction of
the Ostrogothic
nation.

History.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

755.

Government

of Narses.

A. D.

552.

to

A. D.

567.

Treason of

Narses.

A. D.

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Capital of Ravenna, administered the Government of Italy with wisdom and vigour for about fifteen years. But his Political virtues were sullied by personal rapacity: his rule became odious to the Italians, and on some complaints of his avarice and oppression, he was removed from his office. The sentence of his recall by the Byzantine Court is said to have been accompanied with an insulting message from the Empress Sophia, the consort of Justin II., "that the Eunuch should leave to men the exercise of arms, and return to his proper occupation of handling the distaff among the maidens of the palace." According to the vulgar belief of the Age, the bitter retort of the hero, "that he would spin her such a thread as she should not easily unravel," was explained in the immediate invasion of Italy by the Lombards. Whether this enterprise was really instigated by his revenge for the ingratitude of the Imperial Court and the Italians may be doubted: hut, whatever be the truth of the popular tale, the coincidence of the Lombard invasion with the recall and death of Narses decided the fate of Italy. He shortly expired in extreme old age; and his decease removed the only obstacle to the success of the Lombards.

That People, whose enterprise was to perpetuate their name in the fruitful plains of Northern Italy, were one of the most warlike and powerful Tribes of Vandalic origin. They had for about forty years occupied Pannonia in the traces of the Ostrogothic settlements; and the whole nation, under their Sovereign Alboin, now descended from the Julian Alps. The new Exarch, the helpless successor of Narses, could offer no opposition in the field; the pusillanimous Italians were not ashamed to believe without a trial that the Barbarians were invincible; and the whole country to the gates of Rome and Ravenna rapidly passed under their dominion. The strong city of Pavia was the only place which maintained an obstinate resistance against the invaders. The siege lasted three years; and when famine had opened the gates, Alboin spared the inhabitants, and established among them the Capital of his new Kingdom of LOMBARDY. The arms of Alboin and his numerous and martial nation appeared irresistible, the Sovereignty of the Greek Empire over its Italian Province seemed to touch the verge of its destruction: yet the invaders unaccountably failed to achieve the completion of their conquests; and for nearly two centuries, the Exarchs of Ravenna continued to divide, though unequally, the possession of Italy with the Lombard Princes. The Province of Ravenna, the Pentapolis of Romagna, and the maritime districts of the South, remained under the Government of the Exarchs. Rome, with her Bishops, long preserved her fidelity to the Eastern Emperors, less from affection to them than terror and hatred of the Barbarians; and even the Italian fugitives from the Continent, who at different periods had sought security, and founded a Republican independence, in the islets of the Venetian shallows, acknowledged, in a large sense, the supremacy of the Imperial Lieutenants. With some exception, the Kingdom of Lombardy, therefore, may be described in

general language as comprehending only the Northern half of Italy; but a Chieftain of their nation penetrated with his followers into the South, and there founded the Lombard Duchy of Benevento; which, yielding no more than a nominal obedience to the Court of Pavia, survived the Monarchy, and for five hundred years occupied a great portion of the present Kingdom of Naples.*

The imperfect dominion of the Lombards in Italy subsisted with considerable splendour for two hundred and six years. Their national character appears among the fairest in the History of the Barbaric races; their spirit was equally generous, brave, and free; and their laws and institutions may be favourably compared with those of the other Northern conquerors. Like the rest of the States of German origin, the Monarchy of the Lombards was in principle elective: but the whole Kingdom was parcelled out, immediately after its settlement, into thirty Provincial Governments or Duchies; and a great territorial aristocracy was thus created, which soon became hereditary in Italy in the descendants of the Lombard Dukes. But the election of their Kings and the confirmation of their laws were equally the necessary acts of the People, and the proof of their freedom. That freedom was often Barbarian license; and crime and disorder throw an occasional stain over the Lombard annals; but many of their Princes were honourably distinguished by their talents and virtues; and their reigns are occasionally contrasted with the turbulence of a rude and violent Age by the blessings of order and internal tranquillity.

Alboin, the warlike founder of their Italian Monarchy, who possessed the usual qualities of a conqueror and a savage, did not live to enjoy the fruits of his success; but was murdered, after a reign of only four years, at the instigation of his Queen Rosamond. Her father, the King of the Gepidae, had fallen in battle against the Lombards before her forced union with their Monarch; and her brutal lord, during the intoxication of a feast in his palace near Verona, obliged her to drink from a goblet which had been formed of the skull of her parent. She vowed to wipe out the insult in his blood; and the indulgence of an adulterous passion was superadded to the desire of vengeance. After the murder, the Queen fled to Ravenna, where she listened to the addresses of the Exarch; but her former paramour anticipated her in the attempt to make way for this new union by poison; and she was compelled herself to receive from his hand the deadly cup which she had prepared for him. On the premature death of Alboin, Clepho, a noble Chieftain, was elected, by the suffrages of a National Assembly at Pavia, to the Kingly dignity: but the stroke of a domestic assassin closed his mortal career in less than two years; and the Lombards seem then by common consent, whether disgusted by the Government of Clepho, or moved by the artful ambition of their Dukes, to have suspended the Regal office for about ten years, during the minority of his son Autharis. Throughout this interregnum, Italy was delivered over to the oppression of numerous Ducal tyrants: until the disorderly aggressions of these Chieftains, both upon the French frontiers and the Provinces of the Exarchate, provoked the alliance of

Italy.

From

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to

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* Narses is accused of this treason by Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Langob.* lib. ii. c. 5 (in the first vol. of *Script. Rer. Ital.* p. 427.) and, — which Gibbon has not noticed, — also by Anastasius, *Biblioth. Vatic. Rom. Pontif.* in *vitâ Johannis III.* (in the 111d volume of the same collection, p. 133.)

* Paulus Diaconus, lib. ii. c. 7—27. Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, A. D. 567—570. A reference to the modern text of Gibbon is always implied.

History.

From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
755.
594.

the Frankish and Imperial arms; and the sense of common danger then united the Lombard Dukes and nation in the necessity of restoring the Royal Government in the person of Autharis, who had now attained the age of manhood. The young Prince justified the election of his People by the display of valour and ability. He successfully defended his Kingdom against three formidable invasions of the Franks, and the feeble cooperation of the Greek arms; overran the Imperial Provinces to the Southern extremity of Calabria; and confirmed and extended the Lombard power, though he did not consummate the subjugation of Italy.*

A. D.
591.
to
A. D.
712.

From the death of Autharis to the accession of Luitprand, we may pass over the successive reigns of twelve Lombard Sovereigns, and the lapse of above a century, in which there is little change in the fortunes of Italy to arrest our observation. Yet the names of two active Princes in this long interval deserve to be honourably rescued from the general obscurity, less for their military achievements than for the judicial benefits of their reigns. By Rotharis, the seventh King of the dynasty, who surpassed all his predecessors in wisdom, if not also in military skill, the first written code of the Lombard laws was, with the national assent, formally promulgated; while his successes against the Exarchs of Ravenna long established the peace and security of his Kingdom. Under Grimoald, the eleventh in succession from Alboin, a Prince of equal valour and moderation, the Emperor Constans II. was disgracefully defeated in a personal expedition into Italy; and the Lombard Monarch was no sooner relieved from the cares of war, than he applied himself zealously to those of Civil Government, and made considerable improvements in the laws of Rotharis. From the epoch of this revision, the liberal and impartial benefits of the Lombard jurisprudence were eagerly embraced by the Italian as well as the Barbarian subjects of the Monarchy; and the reign of Grimoald is also remarkable, in connection with Ecclesiastical affairs, for the conversion of the Lombards from the Arian to the Catholic faith.†

Luitprand.

A. D.
712.
to
A. D.
736.

The pacific virtues of Luitprand, whom we have already characterized as the most enlightened and humane of the Lombard legislators, were shaded by the more questionable attributes of a warlike and ambitious spirit. He aspired to render himself the sole master of Italy; and the distracted state of the Greek Empire might excite his hopes of reducing the Provinces of the Exarchate, and the new Ecclesiastical independence of Rome, under his own dominion. The origin and consideration of the famous dispute relative to the worship of images, which, during his reign, agitated the Eastern Empire, and produced the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches, belong to Ecclesiastical History: our present subject requires us only to notice the effects of the Religious contest in the revolt of Italy from the Byzantine Sceptre, the rise of the temporal power of the Popes, the ruin of the Lombard Monarchy, and the ultimate restoration of the Empire of the West.

To explain the progress of these memorable events, it is necessary to revert to the state of Rome during the period of three centuries which has been reviewed

in the present Chapter. The condition of that once mighty and fallen Capital of the world had been affected by the same vicissitudes as the rest of Italy. Under the great Theodorici, her citizens had enjoyed the security and happiness which were common to his Kingdom: in the wars of his successors with the Generals of Justinian, they had undergone every extremity of suffering. Their city, as we have already remarked, was five times taken and recovered by Goths and Greeks before Narses had achieved the reduction of Italy, and placed an Imperial Prefect in the Capitol. Under the Gothic Kings and the Exarchs who succeeded them, Ravenna became the Capital, and Rome was degraded to the second place among the Italian cities: when Pavia boasted the Throne of the Lombard Kings and the Assembly of their nation, "the eternal city" sank perhaps to the third place. By what means Rome was preserved from the Lombard yoke, it is difficult to understand: the conquests of the Barbarians extended almost to her walls, their arms were repeatedly at her gates; but they never acquired possession of the city, and the Italian fugitives from the Provinces who swelled the population, might give it strength to resist the conquerors. Theological hatred sharpened the motives of patriotism or fidelity in animating the defence of the Roman citizens against the Lombard assaults. The Barbarians were first Pagans, then Arians: in the eyes of the zealous Catholics their misbelief and heresy equally converted resistance to their arms into a Religious duty; and this principle, which was encouraged by the spirited exertions of the Roman Pontiffs, was easily identified with the obligations of loyalty, first to the Eastern Emperors, and afterwards more deservedly to those Ecclesiastical Governors. The Popes of this period, who were usually Romans by birth, and chosen by the Clergy, Senate, and People, appear in general to have merited their elevation by their virtues; and the Romans, deserted by the feeble Court of Constantinople, withdrew their respect and confidence from the Emperors to repose obedience on their nearer protectors.

But both the Ecclesiastical and temporal power of the Popes was of very gradual and silent progression. In the early Ages of the Christian era, the Bishops of Rome, as residing in the Metropolis of the universe, and governing the most ancient and numerous of the Western Churches, had always been held in the highest Episcopal rank of dignity and consideration; and their diocese had constituted one of the three Patriarchates into which the Church was divided before the Capital of the Empire was transferred to Constantinople.* The Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman See, as the only Patriarchate of Western Europe, might naturally extend over Italy and the Latin Provinces of the old Empire; but the temporal power of the Popedom had its later origin entirely in the neglect of Rome by the feeble Emperors of the East, and their tacit abandonment of its defence to the Bishops and the Citizens. The Pontiffs were recommended to the Romans by their personal qualities, and endeared as the objects of popular suffrage. The wants of their defenceless flock, and the danger of their own position, compelled them to undertake the duties of temporal

Italy.
From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
755.

State of
Rome from
the Vth to
the Vllth
century.

* Paul. Diacon. lib. ii. c. 27. lib. c. 34. Muratori, A. D. 570—591.
† Ibid. lib. iii. c. passim. Muratori, A. D. 591—712.

* De Marca, *De Concordantiâ Sacrorum et Imperii*, c. 8. of the first book. Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, lib. ix.

History. **Governors.** In the imagination of some writers, these early Popes had already conceived the scheme of universal power: but their temporal authority, at least, was, more honourably, the insensible result of their struggles to alleviate the calamities of their See; and the ambition which in after Ages oppressed the world with its audacious pretensions, was, perhaps, first kindled in the most virtuous exercise of those duties of Civil protection as well as spiritual government, which were alike demanded from the Ecclesiastical pastor of a helpless community.*

Pope Gregory I. The most remarkable and energetic character among the early Roman Pontiffs was the first Gregory; and it may be sufficient in this place to advert to his Pontificate, in the beginning of the VIIIth century, as the era of the earliest decided increase of the Papal power. Notwithstanding his professed contempt of learning and his superstition, he deserves to be favourably remembered for his paternal government of Rome. He actively provided for the defence of the city against the Lombards; and his spiritual eloquence, or his gold, directed a formidable attack of the Barbarians. With the Sovereigns and the Hierarchy of the Western Kingdoms, he maintained a regular correspondence; and in his pretensions, the divine authority and office of the successors of St. Peter were first clearly defined, and as strangely acknowledged by the ignorant nations to whom they were addressed.† For one hundred and twenty years after the death of Gregory the Great, the power of the Papacy received no remarkable accession, though the lapse of time was confirming its authority; and it was not until the schism, produced by the controversy on Image-worship, that the next great impulse was given to the grandeur of the Popedom, and that the independent temporal authority of the Roman Pontiff was finally established in the ancient Capital of the world.

Schism of the Latins and Greek Churches in Image-worship. This important revolution occurred during the Pontificate of Gregory II. The Clergy and the people of Italy were equally attached to the superstitious worship of Images; and the edict of the Emperor, Leo the Iconoclast, for their demolition, produced a general revolt in Rome, Ravenna, and the other cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis. The furious spirit of the Italians left no alternative to the Pope, but to adopt the course to which his own zeal and policy sufficiently impelled him. He placed himself at the head of the popular resistance to the Imperial edict; addressed an intemperate remonstrance and defiance to his heretical Sovereign; authorized the Romans to renounce their obedience to the Eastern Empire; and directed their rebellion in the establishment of an independent Republic, of which the real administration devolved on the Papacy.‡

Rebellion of the Eastern Empire. The rebellious and distraction of the Imperial States promised to realize the long-cherished project of the Lombard Monarchy for the subjugation of all Italy. While the Eastern Emperors were labouring to chastise the revolt of their subjects, Luitprand was prompted by his ambition to declare himself the champion of the holy Images. Assisted by the popular disaffection to

the Imperial Sovereignty, he rapidly reduced the whole Exarchate of Ravenna, and even planted his victorious standard on the walls of that impregnable Capital. But the Pope, having secured his own authority, the independence of Rome, and the preservation of the favourite worship, had no desire to strengthen the more formidable power of his Lombard neighbours, by totally overthrowing the feeble remains of the Imperial Sovereignty. By the exhortations of Gregory himself, the Venetian Republic, already respectable by its maritime resources, was induced to cooperate with the Byzantine Exarch in the recovery of Ravenna; and that city was successfully surprised before Luitprand could march to its relief.*

The Lombard Monarch, after alarming Rome itself by his threatened vengeance, closed his existence in amity with the Church; and his death suspended the prosecution of the Lombard conquests. But the Greek power, which, under the shadow of a mighty name, had long concealed the extent of its decline, now approached the period of its subversion in Italy. Astolpho, the third Lombard Monarch in the series from Luitprand, bursting into the Exarchate, easily made himself master of Ravenna, and finally extinguished the government and office of the Imperial Exarchs. Astolpho was stimulated by this conquest to attempt the reduction of Rome itself: all Italy lay prostrate before him; and the hour seemed to have arrived which was to complete the consolidation of the Lombard power throughout the Peninsula. But, contrary to all reasonable expectation, the crowning effort of the Lombard Princes prepared, not the triumph, but the ruin of their Monarchy. The reigning Pope, Stephen III., in his extremity, cast his eyes beyond the Alps, and sought in person a protector and avenger in the puissant Monarch of France. At the head of an irresistible host of his devout and warlike nation, the first French King of the Carolingian race proclaimed himself the soldier of the Church against the oppression of Astolpho. He descended from the Alps; compelled the Lombard Prince, after a weak resistance, to conclude a disgraceful Peace; obliged him to take a solemn oath that he would respect the sanctity of the Papal See; and restored Stephen in triumph to his Ecclesiastical and temporal Throne. The faithlessness and the infatuation of Astolpho and his successors precipitated the impending fall of the Lombard Kingdom:—but at this period, we turn to contemplate the origin and growth of the mighty Power which effected its final subversion, in the History of France during the preceding Ages.†

Italy.
From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
755.

A. D.
736.

Capture of Ravenna by the Lombards, and extinction of the Imperial Exarchate.

A. D.
752.

Danger of Rome.

Its deliverance by Pepin of France.
A. D.
754.

Decline of the Lombard Monarchy.

FRANCE.
Origin of the French Monarchy.

* Paul. Diacon. lib. vi. c. 41—54. Muratori, *ad ann.*

† Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Langobardorum*, lib. vi. to the end of this excellent Chronicle, and the brief fragments of its continuation by another hand, (*Script. Her. Ital.* vol. i. par. ii. p. 153, &c.) Anastasius, in *vita Stephani III.* (also in the same collection, vol. iii.) Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, ad A. D. 755.

‡ See the various Dissertations on this subject, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, particularly vols. x. p. 229, xi. p. 52, xix. p. 557.

* See Spanheim's valuable dissertation on the early History of the Church Territory, in the 1st volume of his Works.

† See Fleury's analysis (*Hist. Eccles.* vol. viii.) of the Pontificate of Gregory the Great.

‡ Anastasius, *De Vit. Pontif. Gregorius II.* (in the IIIrd volume of *Scriptores Her. Ital.*) Maimbourg, *Hist. des Iconoclastes*. Muratori, A. D. 726—28, &c.

History.

From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
768.

Clovis,
King of the
Salian
Franks.
A. D.
481.

State of
Gaul at his
accession.

Divided between the
Visigoths,
Burgundians,
and Roman
power.

Invasion
and conquest of the
Roman Province by
Clovis.
A. D.
486.

tunes and even the existence of the real or imaginary Pharamond; we may equally confess ourselves ignorant of the era, the reign, and the identity of that Meroveus from whom the first dynasty of the French Kings is supposed to have derived its name; and we can with certainty trace the authentic succession of the long-haired* Princes of the Franks no higher than two generations before Chlodwig, Luiduin, or Clovis—the contemporary of Odoacer and Theodoric the Great, and the true founder of the French Empire.

Ten years after the suppression of the Roman Empire in Italy, Clovis first appears in History as the youthful Sovereign of the Salian Franks: the principal Tribe of their nation or confederacy, and the possessors at this time of a narrow district of Belgic Gaul, from Arras and Tournay on the Scheldt to the mouths of that river and the Rhine. It was from this circumscribed territory and remote quarter that Clovis, in the fifth year of his reign, and in the twentieth only of his age, began a career of conquest which gradually extended his dominion over the greatest part of Gaul. The military force of his own Tribe did not exceed a few thousand warriors: but the numerous kindred races of the Franks were everywhere established in the surrounding territory of the old Belgica, on the banks of the Meuse and Moselle, the Scheldt and the Rhine; and the martial reputation of the young Salian Chief, or the mere report of his enterprise, was sufficient to attract a host of voluntary followers to his standard.

The condition of Gaul was highly favourable to the progress of his arms. The Visigothic Monarchy, which had filled all its South-Western Provinces, and but a few years before threatened its total subjugation as far as the Rhine and the coasts of the North, had now declined in vigour, and fallen under the feeble sceptre of a minor. The Burgundian Kingdom was convulsed by Religious dissensions. And the remains of the Roman Provinces in the East and North, which still professed a vague allegiance to the shade of the extinguished Empire, were broken, partly into an uncertain confederation,† and partly under the authority of Syagrius, a Roman Patrician, reigning by the dubious title of an Imperial Governor or an hereditary usurper. At the head of a numerous army of confederate Franks, Clovis invaded the Roman Province; encountered and totally routed Syagrius at Soissons; and easily completed the subjugation of his whole government by that victory. From the battle of Soissons may be dated the final extinction of the Roman Sovereignty, and the ancient name, of Gaul; the permanent settlement of the Barbarian Franks in the civilized territory which they had reduced; and the establishment of the Mo-

narchy of FRANCE, in the Country which was henceforth to be called after their nation.*

For nearly ten years the new reign of Clovis seems not to have been extended by further conquests: but his own marriage with Clotilda, a Burgundian Princess, and that of his sister with Theodoric the Great, intermediately mark the equality of his intercourse and his power with the other Barbarian Sovereigns and Kingdoms of the West. The union of the Pagan King of the Franks with Clotilda, who was a Christian and an orthodox Catholic, had some memorable consequences. In the eleventh year after the battle of Soissons, Clovis marched against a formidable host of the Alemanni, to chastise their oppression of his kindredallies, the Ripuarian† Franks. At Zulzich, near Cologne, he engaged a German nation as valiant and ferocious as his own; the battle was fiercely contested; and it was not until their King had fallen that the Alemanni fled from the field of carnage. The submission and subsequent allegiance of the remnant of their nation to Clovis, extended the Eastern frontiers of his Kingdom from the Rhine to the Elbe: but another event which shortly followed, and which is attributed to the same day, had a still greater influence on the fortunes of the conqueror. In his perilous extremity during the battle of Zulzich, Clovis was believed to have successfully invoked the aid of the God of the Christians; and by the persuasion of his Queen, he soon after declared himself a convert to the Catholic Faith. He was solemnly baptized at Rheims with three thousand of his hereditary subjects; and the mass of his Frankish followers soon imitated the example;‡

Whatever doubts may be entertained on the occasion of this conversion of Clovis, of the sincerity of his belief or the depth of his conviction, it is certain that no measure could have been more politic. The Visigoths and Burgundians, who shared the dominion of Gaul with the Franks, were Arians; the native Clergy and subject people of the Country were strongly attached to the Orthodox Faith; and after the conversion of Clovis, the Roman population were everywhere induced, by hatred of their heretic masters, to give their zealous support to the arms of the Catholic King. Aided by their disaffection, Clovis obtained considerable advantages over the Burgundian power, and reduced the Sovereign of that Kingdom to the condition of a subject-ally. A war which he commenced against the Heretic Monarchy of the Visigoths, under the express pretence of Religious zeal, was signalized by a yet more triumphant result. In one great battle near Poitiers, in which Alaric the Gothic King fell, by the hand as it is said of Clovis himself, the power of that nation in Gaul was completely broken. The weakness of a minority, a disputed succession, and a divided and dissipated nation, delivered the Visigothic territories Northward of the Pyrenees an easy prey to the Frankish conqueror. The powerful interference of Theodoric the Great, on behalf of an infant grandson and a kin-

* In the Merovingian race, long hair was the peculiar and indispensable symbol of the regal dignity; and to deprive one of its Princes of his flowing locks was, therefore, to incapacitate him from reigning. After the Franks had embraced Christianity, shaving and seclusion in a Monastery became the usual form of Royal degradation; and the Ecclesiastical tonsure was rendered, in a double sense, a perpetual disqualification from exercising the functions of Sovereignty.

† It would be beyond our purpose to examine the doubtful existence of a Republican Union at this epoch among the cities of Armorica, (the modern Brittany,) which a celebrated French Antiquary (Du Bos, *Histoire Critique de l'Etablissement des Français dans les Gaules*) has laboured to prove, but which succeeding writers have generally discredited. The evidence adduced by the imaginative Abbé is, perhaps, insufficient: the fact itself is at all events unimportant.

• Gregori Turonensis, *Hist. lib. li. c. 26*. The *useless History of Gregory of Tours* is the authority most nearly contemporary with—and in fact the only original and detailed Chronicle of—the reign of Clovis.

† Ripuarii, (a *ripia*), for they were dwellers on the banks of the Rhine and other Belgic rivers. The origin of the distinctive name of the Salian Franks is more doubtful. The most probable conjecture derives it from their settlement on the river *Sala*.

‡ Greg. Turon. lib. ii. c. 27—31.

France.
From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
768.
Founded
the
Kingdom
of
France.

Conversion
of Clovis to
Christianity.
A. D.
486.

His im-
portant con-
quests.

His triumph
over the
Burgundians.
A. D.
500.

and Visig-
othic power
A. D.
507.

History. From A. D. 476, to A. D. 768. Aquitaine annexed to the Frankish Monarchy.

dred people, saved the Visigothic Monarchy of Spain; and the severe defeat which the Ostrogothic Sovereign inflicted upon the arms of Clovis in the battle of Arles, checked their career in the South. But the great Province of Aquitaine had been already torn from the Visigothic, and annexed to the Frankish Kingdom, from the Loire to the Pyrenees; and the remaining possessions of the Spanish Monarchy in Gaul were restricted by a Treaty of Peace to the narrow maritime Province of Septimania between those mountains and the Rhone.*

The foreign conquests of Clovis terminated with the Gothic war; and the consolidation of his power was in a few years arrested by a natural, though premature, death in the vigour of his age. To the political antiquaries of his Country, we may resign the task of illustrating the obscure and uninviting subject of his government;† nor is there any temptation to dwell on the revolting transactions of his domestic reign. As a conqueror, he may be shortly characterised among the most able and the worst of his species. The great talents which he must unquestionably have possessed were not enlightened by a single ray of benevolence: his Religion, if it was not cool calculating hypocrisy, consisted only in a gross and ferocious fanaticism; his boasted policy was distinguished but by deliberate, inexorable cruelty; and his whole reign was defiled with injustice and blood. His sanguinary ambition in the field, and his oppression of foreign rivals, appear as graceful virtues in comparison with his domestic assassinations; and the founder of the Merovingian dynasty in France did not scruple to secure the unity of his power by the cold-blooded murder of all the Princes of the same Royal race who reigned over the collateral Tribes of the Riparian and German Franks.‡

The same character which is impressed on the actions of Clovis is repeated more faintly in that of his descendants; and the Annals of the Frankish Monarchy for above a century present only a revolting uniformity of bloodshed and cruelty. Unlike the series of the Visigothic, the Ostrogothic, and the Lombard Kings, the barbarous succession of the Merovingian Sovereigns of the Franks is relieved by no fair examples of humanity and moral virtue; nor does a single Prince of their number deserve to be distinguished either for the benignant attributes of his government, the wisdom of his legislation, the encouragement of civilizing and peaceful Arts, or for any other quality than the brute courage and desolating ambition of ferocious Barbarians. The national character, indeed, of the Frankish Tribes appears to no advantage beside that of most of the other Barbaric races;§ nor would it be easy to select, from the scanty records of their political and domestic life which have descended to us, any trait of benevolent conduct or generous sympathy. To trace

with minuteness the successive reigns and the monotonous crimes of a cruel dynasty, or to paint in detail the perpetual anarchy and atrocities of a fierce and savage people, would be an useless as well as a disgusting task; and we may be contented to dismiss with a general survey the transactions of a whole century, during which the mind would in vain seek a single circumstance whereon to dwell with complacency or interest.

On the death of Clovis, his four sons made a partition of his extensive dominions. Thierry, the eldest, received the Eastern or German portion, which, stretching from the Meuse to the Elbe, with Metz for its metropolis, came to be distinguished as the Kingdom of Austrasia. The other three divisions, which devolved to Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire, were termed from their Capitals respectively the Kingdoms of Orleans, Paris, and Soissons; and these three States were also comprehended loosely under one general designation as Neustria, or Western France. But Aquitaine was excepted from this latter classification; and, in the beginning of the VIIIth century, was separated from the Monarchy under a subordinate Ducal line of the Merovingian race. Burgundy, too, though politically annexed to one of the States of Neustria, appears to have been always considered, in a Geographical sense, as forming a distinct division of France. The conquest of the Burgundian Kingdom is the most important event in the simultaneous reigns of the sons of Clovis. Its strength had been shattered by the arms of that Monarch; and, about twenty years after his death, the French Princes, under the plea of avenging the early family wrongs which their mother Clotilda had sustained in the murder of her parents, attacked the reigning branch of the Burgundian dynasty with overwhelming force, extirpated their race with a shocking retaliation of cruelty, and completed the subjugation of their Monarchy.

The partition of the dominions of Clovis by his sons, instead of satisfying the ambition of the four Princes and cementing their fraternal union, produced only the interchange among them of open enmity and frightful crimes, as often as their interests or their passions came into collision. But passing over their mutual perfidies, injustice, and violence, our attention need be arrested only by the relapse of their various succession into a single line. The fall of Clodomir in an engagement in the Burgundian war; the inhuman murder of his infant sons by the hands of their uncles Childebert and Clotaire; the death of Childebert without issue; and the rapid extinction also of the male line of Thierry in the third generation; finally delivered the whole Frankish Monarchy into the possession of Clotaire. Notwithstanding the dissensions of the brothers, its limits had been considerably enlarged since the death of Clovis. Thierry had annexed the German Kingdom of Thuringia by conquest to that of Austrasia; and during the Gothic wars of Belisarius and Narses in Italy, the terror, if not the dominion, of the Austrasian arms had been spread beyond the Alps. Through those mountains Theodohert, the son of Thierry, led an immense force of his Eastern Franks to attempt, though unsuccessfully, the subjugation of all Italy; and under the minority which followed his death, the power of the Austrasian Kingdom was a second time evinced in that invasion of the same Country by a host of Franks and subject Alemanni, which Narses with difficulty

France.

From A. D. 476, to A. D. 768.

Partition of the Monarchy of Clovis among his sons.

Their conquest of Burgundy. A. D. 534.

Frightful disorders of the divided Monarchy.

For reunion under Clotaire I.

A. D. 559.

* Greg. Turon. lib. ii. c. 31—37. The investiture of Clovis by the Eastern Emperor Anastasius, two years after the success of this Gothic war, with the ideal Consulship, (as related by Gregory, lib. ii. c. 38.) has been gifted by Du Bos and others with more importance than that empty pageant deserved.

† This has been ably examined by the Duc de Nivernois, *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xx. p. 147, &c.

‡ Greg. Turon. lib. ii. c. 37—43.

§ Even in the VIIIth and VIIIth centuries, the Romans, the Goths, and the Lombard Chronicles of Italy all represent the Franks as the most cruel and merciless of invaders. There may be national prejudice in the picture; but its uniformity is also in perfect agreement with the tenour of the Frankish Annals.

History.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

768.

Its greatest extent.

Its second partition among his sons.

A. D.

562.

to

A. D.

613.

Spectacle of universal violence and wickedness.

Crimes of Brunehaut and Fredegonde.

The Frankish Monarchy again reunited under Clotaire II.

A. D.

613.

repelled. By the acquisition of Burgundy and Thuringia, and the Country of the Alemanni and Bavarians South of the Danube, the Frankish Monarchy extended without interruption from the Atlantic to the Elbe and the Weser, and from the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, and the Alps to the Northern Ocean; and when Clotaire reunited its Sovereignty in his person, he was master of the whole of Gaul (except the small Visigothic Province of Septimania) and of the greater portion of Germany.*

Notwithstanding the experience of its evils, a second partition of the French Monarchy took place, on the death of Clotaire I., among his four sons. The Kingdom of Paris fell by lot to Caribert, those of Soissons and Austrasia to Chilperic and Sigebert, and Orleans (to which Burgundy was annexed) to Gouttram. The subsequent History of the divided Empire is but a darker repetition of the events which followed the death of Clivis. Amidst a host of assassinations, and in the prevalence of wickedness under every conceivable form, two Queens of rival pretensions in beauty, address, and ambition, but rather demons in the form of human loveliness than women, were conspicuous even in their own Age for the number and enormity of their crimes. These were Brunehilda, or Brunehaut,† a Visigothic Princess of Spain, and consort of the Austrasian Monarch Sigebert; and Fredegonde, a female originally of low birth and infamous reputation, first the concubine and then the wife of Chilperic, King of Soissons. The mutual hatred of these women, their artful influence over their husbands, their iniquitous interference in the administration of the Frankish Kingdoms, and their restless struggle for the ascendancy of their own power, occasioned repeated Civil wars, which were attended with dreadful bloodshed and signalized by every species of cruelty and perfidy. After a number of Kings and Princes of the Merovingian family had perished violently and miserably on both sides by their remorseless machinations, Fredegonde, with a happier fate than her atrocities deserved, was suffered to die a natural death: but Brunehaut, who survived her with various authority over the Frankish Kingdoms for fifteen years, at last met with the retribution of her crimes; and falling into the hands of Clotaire II., the son of her deceased rival, was put to death with every aggravation of cruelty which the savage vengeance of the times could invent or inflict.‡

By the extinction of all the other Royal branches of the four Kingdoms which had been completed before the death of Brunehaut, Clotaire II. remained the sole Merovingian Sovereign; and the whole power of the Frankish Monarchy was again reunited under his sceptre. The government of Clotaire was less sullied

* Greg. Turon. lib. iii.—ix., ad c. 21.

† The gallantry of some modern French Historians (particularly Velly, *Hist. de France*, vol. i. p. 195) has been amused, at the distance of ten centuries, in vindicating the character of Brunehaut, while they are unanimous in branding that of her rival. Gregory of Tours, in relating the first marriage of Brunehaut, (lib. iv. c. 27.) rather praises her: but the subsequent facts of her ambition and cruelty are too strong for her advocates; and the most that can rationally be discerned in her favour is, that her life was a shade less iniquitous than that of her rival.

‡ Greg. Turon. lib. iv. c. 22. *ad fin.* 1. *Fredegarii Chronicle*, (in the same volume of the Benedictine Collection of French Historians) *ad c. 42. Gesta Francorum*, (also in the same volume.) *ad c. 37.* The History of Gregory of Tours concludes before the death of Fredegonde; and neither the *Chronicle* of Fredegarius his continuator, nor the anonymous text of the *Gesta*, is at all deserving of equal credit with his contemporary authority.

by disorders and distracted by Civil wars, than that of any one of his predecessors since Clovis; and under his reign the power of the Merovingian line had, perhaps, attained its meridian height: the Annals of the next hundred years present only its decline and fall, and the rise of the second, or Carolingian dynasty of France and Germany. To Clotaire himself is generally ascribed the error of having laid the preparation for the ruin of his House, by the aggrandizement of the Mayors of the Palace. The holders of a dignity which was to acquire so extraordinary and famous a character, were originally the principal Officers of the Household in the Merovingian Courts, next the Prime Ministers, and, ultimately, the masters of their feeble Sovereigns. To recompense the services of the Mayors of Austrasia and Burgundy, who had assisted him in securing possession of those Kingdoms, Clotaire seems to have been the first French Monarch who confirmed their office for life. That which they acquired by previous agreement or favour, their successors demanded as a right; the prerogative of their appointment strangely lapsed from the Crown; and their dignity was thenceforth suffered to become partly hereditary, partly elective by the Nobles or people, like that of the original Sovereigns themselves of the Franks. The distinct power and gradual independence of the Mayors of the Palace in the three Kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, prolonged the division of the Monarchy under even a more decided form than the partition of the Royal inheritance.*

Under the vigorous administration of Clotaire II. the extent of this impending usurpation was little felt: but the luxurious indolence and vices of his son Dagobert favoured the political ascendancy of the Mayors; and the minority of that Monarch's children completed the extinction of the Royal authority, and threw the whole power of the State into the hands of those Officers. By their artful ambition, the education of the Princes was studiously neglected: their youth was condemned to sluggish inaction and grovelling occupations; they were prevented from engaging in public affairs; and both their mental and bodily faculties were purposely debased and enfeebled. It is useless to pursue the enumeration of a series of titular reigns, in which the Monarchs were pageants and the Mayors supreme. The talents and energy of all, and the wise and just administration of some of these vice-regal governors, are the best apology for their ambitious usurpation. Grimoald and Ebroin, the Mayors of Austrasia and Neustria, the first of their order who very openly arrogated the supreme power, and whose administration occupies the Frankish Annals during the middle of the VIIth century, both paid the penalty of their tyranny or ambition by violent deaths. But Pepin d'Heristal, a subsequent Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia, after totally defeating the rival viceroy of Neustria, remitted once more the whole Frankish Monarchy under his sway; and suffering the phantom King, Thierry III., to retain the semblance of Royalty, governed, under his name and by the title of Mayor or Duke, for twenty-seven years with equal vigour, splendour, and prudence.†

* The original unctions and increasing powers of the Mayors of the Palace may be traced in Fredegarius, *Chron.* c. 54. 101. 105, &c. *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 36. 45, &c.

† Fredegarius, c. 42. *ad fin.* and his continuators, *ad c. 104. Gesta Francorum*, c. 38—51.

France and Germany.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

768.

Decline of the Merovingian dynasty. The Mayors of the Palace.

The progress of their usurpation. A. D. 628. to A. D. 687. reduces the Merovingian Kings to insignificance.

Pepin d'Heristal, Mayor, or Duke, of the whole Monarchy.

A. D. 687.

to

A. D.

714.

History.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

768.

The govern-

ment be-

comes here-

after in his

family.

Charles

Martel,

Duke of

France.

A. D.

717.

to

A. D.

741.

His memo-

rials of the Sa-

racens.

A. D.

732.

At the elevation of Pepin d'Heristal, as the period from which the supreme power became hereditary in his family, some writers terminate the dynasty of Clovis, and date the accession of the Carolingian race. But the imbecile and sluggish Kings of the Merovingian line, the *Rois Fainéans* of the French Historians, were still for above half a century exhibited to the people as State puppets, and suffered by the discreet ambition of their masters to reflect the vain image of Sovereignty. After the death of Pepin, his son Charles Martel, a still more illustrious personage, asserted in arms his succession to the same office with consummate ability, and governed the Frankish Empire, though still under only the modest title of Duke, with increased lustre and power. But the most brilliant and lasting renown of his memory has been established by one great exploit, of which the effects have, perhaps, to this day influenced the Political and Religious aspect of the universe. The Saracens (whose rapid conquests and diffusion of their Faith in Asia and Africa had in the beginning of the VIIIth century carried their arms across the Straits of Gibraltar, overthrown the Visigothic Monarchy of Spain, and established their sway in that Peninsula. Pursuing their ambitions and fanatical scheme of universal dominion and proselytism by the sword, their leaders, during the administration of Charles Martel, passed the Pyrenees with an immense Mohammedan host, and penetrated into the heart of France before the Christian hero could assemble the forces of that Empire to oppose them. In a memorable battle between Tours and Poitiers, Charles Martel, with a boldness which was only justified by the result, staked the fate of Christendom upon the issue of a single contest. The Mohammedans suffered a tremendous defeat, with a slaughter which the Monkish Chroniclers have exaggerated to the incredible amount of three hundred thousand of their number.* The remains of their host evacuated France with precipitation; the memory of their terrible reverse secured the Frankish Empire against any serious repetition of invasion from the Saracens of Spain; and a few years later the Franks tore from the Infidels the Province of Septimania, (of which they had possessed themselves with the rest of the Visigothic Monarchy,) and finally drove them back within the Pyrenees.

Such were the immediate fruits of the Frankish victory: its general consequences to the world can be estimated only on the presumption that a contrary result might have plunged the European mind in bondage to a false Religion, and subjected the nations of the West to the debasing influence of an Oriental despotism. But the vain and narrow calculations of political sagacity are ever mocked by the intervention of a Superior Power. The destinies of Mankind and the doctrines of eternal Truth are placed beyond the event of battles, or the blind chances of Historical speculation; nor is it for human judgment to discern the causes and the means which are shaped to further the inscrutable designs of Infinite Wisdom.

The victory of Charles,—whose quaint surname of *Martel*, or "the Hammer," is derived from the iron weapon which he wielded on the day of Poitiers with

the personal prowess of a hero of romance—had an obvious effect in strengthening his own dominion and perpetuating the grandeur of his family. Even in the ignorance of the times and the imperfect intercourse of nations, the peril which had menaced all Christendom was too palpable and imminent to be overlooked by general apprehension; and the glory which the conqueror acquired throughout France and Europe was proportioned to the terror which the progress of the Saracens had everywhere excited. His name and power became equally respected and feared; and on his death he peacefully transmitted the government of the French Empire to his three sons.* Of these, on the voluntary retirement of the eldest Carloman to a Monastery, and the misconduct, deprivation, and death of Grifon, the youngest, Pepin, surnamed *Le Bref*, or the short, became the sole ruler of France. He proved himself the heir to his father's genius as well as his power; and either more stimulated by the ambition of joining the name to the authority of King, or fudging the circumstances of his Empire better matured for the event, he finally resolved to assume the Regal dignity, from which his father had always abstained, and to complete by its assumption the splendid elevation of his House.

The state of Italy proved highly propitious to the designs of Pepin; and the support of the Church enabled him to strengthen his title to the Frankish Throne in the eyes of a superstitious Age by the sanction of Religion. In the pressing danger which threatened their independence from the Lombard arms, the sagacity of the Popes had early discovered the policy of appealing for mediation and protection to the powerful rulers of France. Even during the government of Charles Martel, Gregory III. had addressed a flattering overture to that hero to prove himself a faithful son of the Church by the defence of the Holy See against its Lombard oppressors; and though Charles did not feel disposed to embrace the Papal cause in arms, the dread of his power, or the influence of his great character, gave almost equal effect to the peaceable exercise of his good offices. Luitprand, who then filled the Lombard Throne, was induced by his remonstrances to withdraw his troops from before Rome, and to restore the lands which he had seized from the Church. The service which Charles thus rendered to the Roman See, led to a close intercourse between the Papacy and the French Court, and laid the foundation for the Imperial title of his descendants. His son improved the advantage by cultivating the friendship, not only of successive Popes, but also of the Clergy of the French States, with whom Charles had lived on indifferent terms. The pious, or prudent, liberality of Pepin to the Church, and his attention to the Ecclesiastical Order, secured their devoted attachment; and fortified by their support, he proposed a formal and solemn reference to the reigning Pope Zachary on a case of conscience: Whether considering the incapacity of the Merovingian, and the merits of his own family in the administration of the French Empire, it were not expedient that he, who already exercised the duties, should assume the name of King? The part of Zachary in this strange but momentous farce had already been prepared; and

France and Germany.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

768.

A. D.

744.

Pepin is

Bref.

His assumption of the Crown.

* Paulus Diaconus, (*De Gestis Langob.*) lib. vi. c. 46. Anastasius *ad vit. Gregor. III.* 4c.

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* The principal and almost the only authority for the life and actions of Charles Martel, is the continuation of Prolegarius, c. 104—110.

History.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

768.

Under the
Papal sanc-
tion.

A. D.

751.

Extinction
of the Mer-
ovingian dy-
nasty.Reign of
Pepin, the
first Carlo-
vingian
King.

A. D.

751.

to

A. D.

768

His trium-
phant ex-
peditions into
Italy.

A. D.

754.

to

A. D.

756.

He wrests
the Exar-
chate from
the Lom-
bard Mo-
narchy,
and bestows
it on the
Holy See.

A. D.

756.

his decision, which was obviously dictated by the interests of the Holy See, was more favourable to its future pretensions of a dispensing power over the temporal Thrones of the earth, than to the general cause of Royal and hereditary right. He pronounced in favour of Pepin: That having considered the whole circumstances of the case, he was satisfied that he who held the reigns of government should also bear the title of King. This judgment was received by the Frankish Nobles as a sufficient release from their oath of allegiance to the last Royal descendant of Clovis; and the sacred authority of the Church removed every scruple from the minds of a devout people against the deposition of the Merovingian line. The feeble Childeric III. was consigned to a Monastery; Pepin was placed on his Throne by the acclamations of a National Assembly of the Franks; and to give the more solemnity to his coronation and sanctity to his person, a Papal Legate anointed and consecrated him after the manner of the Kings of Israel. This was the first very memorable adoption, in the Barbarian Kingdoms, of a ceremony which has ever since been preserved at the coronation of the French Sovereigns, and imitated in all the other Monarchies of modern Europe.*

With what interest the first of the Carolingian Sovereigns redeemed his obligations to the Roman See, and repaid the services of Zachary to his successor Stephen, we have already seen in the Italian Annals. The continued bad faith of Astolpho the Lombard King, his impatience at the disgraceful Treaty which Pepin had forced upon him, and his renewed oppression of the Papacy, roused the powerful Monarch of the Franks, at the supplication of Stephen, again to cross the Alps for the deliverance of Rome. His second expedition was equally triumphant with the first, and distinguished by a severer chastisement of the Lombard and a more important aggrandizement of the Papal power. He easily drove the restless but comparatively impotent Monarch of the Lombards from his recent conquests; besieged him in his Capital of Pavia; and compelled him, as the humiliating atonement for his aggravated attacks upon the Holy See, to relinquish the Provinces forming the Exarchate of Ravenna, which he had so lately torn from the Greek Empire. These fruits of his expedition, the French King formally bestowed upon the successors of St. Peter; and the memorable donation of Pepin, which, in the nomenclature of modern Geography, comprehends the Province of Romagna and the March of Ancona, is the authentic foundation of the Papal Sovereignty over those States.†

The all-powerful interference of Pepin in the Papal cause foreboded the approaching subjugation of Italy to the Frankish sceptre; and the subsequent success of that Monarch in other undertakings, equally prepared the extended supremacy of his Empire. On its Eastern frontiers he quelled and severely punished the revolt of the tributary Saxons and Slavonians; and on, the West and South he consolidated his immediate dominion by re-annexing the great dependent Province of Aquitaine, and compelling the Duke of Bavaria to swear the allegiance of a subject, to the French Crown.

Amidst these triumphs, his mild though vigorous government secured the love and admiration of his own subjects, and the respect and awe of surrounding nations. His reign established the fortunes of his dynasty; and his death opens a new era in the meridian grandeur of the Carolingian Empire.*

During the three centuries embraced in the present Chapter, the Annals of Italy and of the Frankish Monarchy, if for the most part uninteresting in their immediate character, and often disgusting in their details, are at least diversified by the quick series of conquest and revolution, and important in their permanent influence upon the general polity and aspect of European Society. For they illustrate the gradual consolidation of the Barbarian, upon the ruins of the Roman, institutions; the rise of the Papal power; and the formation of the great Frankish or Carolingian Empire, which at length overshadowed the West, and prepared the establishment of the Feudal system. The vicissitudes of the Ostrogothic, the Lombard, and the Frankish nations in Italy, France, and Germany, are accordingly too various in themselves and too complicated in their results to have been embraced and dismissed in a single view: but the fortunes of the Visigothic race in Spain during the same period are contained, and may be sufficiently expressed, in one great event, which suddenly overthrew their monotonous dominion. Our retrospect to their Annals from the Vth to the VIIIth century,—from the settlement of their Monarchy in Spain until its subversion by the Saracen conquest of the Peninsula—will, therefore, naturally be as rapid as our materials for the subject are meagre, valueless, and uncircumstantial.

When Odoacer completed the destruction of the Western Empire, the Visigothic Throne was filled by Euric, the grandson of the great Alaric. The new Sovereign of Rome is declared to have propitiated his friendship by formally resigning to him the Provinces of Gaul and Spain,† which were neither left for the imaginary reversion of the Imperial authority to bestow, nor for the real power of Odoacer to withhold. At that juncture, indeed, the Visigothic Monarchy had attained the meridian point of its grandeur and strength. From his Capital of Toulouse, Euric reigned with a paramount or immediate authority over the whole of Spain and the greater part of Gaul. In the hands of an active, warlike, and powerful Prince, the Visigothic sceptre promised to extend over the greater part of Europe, when the accident of Euric's premature death and the succession of his infant son Alaric, revealed the first symptom of decay in the vigour of his Monarchy and the energies of his nation. The long minority of Alaric, the hatred of the Catholic Provincials of Gaul for their Arian masters, and the dissensions among the Goths themselves, threw the cause of their Monarchy into a very unequal balance against the arms and the machinations of Clovis. It has already been shown that the defeat and death of Alaric delivered the Visigothic dominions in Gaul an easy prey to the Catholic King of the Franks; and that the powerful interpo-

* Contin. Fredegarii, c. 110—117. Eginhartus, *Annales ab initio ad a. d. 730*. The *Annals* of Eginhart, the Secretary, son-in-law, and biographer of Charlemagne, (if indeed, they are really his production), commence with the reign of Pepin.

† Anastasius, in *vita Stephani III.* as before quoted. Eginhartus, *Annals*, ad a. d. 756, &c.

* Contin. Fredegarii, c. 117—130. Eginhartus, *Annales*, a. d. 756—768.

† Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, lib. i. c. 12.

‡ Vide *supra*, p. 286.

France and
Germany.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

768.

His death.

768.

Spain.

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

755.

Monarchy
of the Visi-
goths.In state at
the Fall of
the Western
Empire.Reign of
Euric in
France and
Spain.

His death

A. D.

485.

Loss of
Aquitaine

A. D.

507.

History.

From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
755.

The rest of
the Mo-
narchy
transferred
to Spain.
A. D.
755.

Interest-
ing charac-
ter of the
Visigothic
Annals.

A. D.
560.

Consolidation of the
Visigothic
power in
Spain.
A. D.
611.

Reign of
Leovigild.

sition of Theodoric the Great alone saved a little remnant of their possessions to the North of the Pyrenees, and perhaps the whole Kingdom of Spain itself, from subjection to the sword of Clovis.*

After this loss of the great Province of Aquitaine, the Visigothic Monarchy may, in a general sense, be said to have been restricted to Spain, and its seat of Government was transferred from Toulouse to Toledo. We have seen that, by the marriage of one of his daughters with Alaric, Theodoric the Great had become the natural protector of the Visigothic Crown, and the guardian of his infant grandson, Amalaric. While the Regency of Theodoric united the two kindred nations of the Gothic stock, History has scarcely preserved a trace of the domestic fortunes of the Spanish Kingdom; nor, when the death of that great Monarch again separated the Annals of the two nations in Italy and Spain and bequeathed the Visigothic sceptre to Amalaric,† does the subsequent reign of that Prince present anything worthy of arresting our attention.

This obscure and unimportant character of the Visigothic Annals extends over their whole duration. From the accession of Amalaric to the overthrow of the Monarchy in the person of its last Sovereign Roderic, we are required to survey a dreary waste of nearly two centuries, barren alike in events either of intrinsic interest or foreign value. Through the thick darkness which shrouds all this period, we may indeed faintly discern the confusion and crimes of Barbarian revolutions; the disorders of a Regal succession, which was rather elective in the noble blood of the Goths than absolutely hereditary; endless Civil wars and disputed pretensions to the Throne; the usual assassinations and atrocities which defiled all the Palaces of Europe with blood and violence during the same Ages; and, above all, the fierce bigotry of Religious persecution, which even already seemed to have fore-marked the Peninsula for its chosen and durable theatre. But these domestic vicissitudes of the Visigothic Monarchy exercised no influence upon the contemporary affairs of other nations, and are totally undeserving of record in themselves. Isolated from the rest of the world by the Pyrenean barrier and the Ocean, the Visigoths, after they were confined to their Spanish settlements and the narrow March of Septimania, appear for two hundred years to have maintained little intercourse with the other people of Europe. The Principality of the Suevi in Galicia, which had long survived the first shock of the Visigothic arms, was not entirely subjugated and incorporated into the Monarchy by Leovigild, until near the close of the VIth century; and, about thirty years later, Sisebert, another of the most able and warlike of the Visigothic Kings, by tearing from the Eastern Empire the few maritime possessions which it had hitherto preserved in Spain on the Mediterranean and Ocean, completed the consolidation of the Monarchy. At this epoch—the beginning of the VIIth century—the dominion of the Visigothic Sovereigns of Spain had attained its greatest height; it embraced the whole Peninsula, with the Gaulish frontier, and even extended in the opposite direction beyond the Pillars of Hercules over some part of Mauritania.‡

The Civil Constitution of the Visigothic Monarchy,

though far less interesting than that of the Frankish and Lombard Kingdoms which expanded into the Feudal system, may seem to demand a passing notice. Its chief distinction from them was in the still greater influence arrogated by the Clergy in temporal affairs. The Visigothic Prelates are admitted in some degree to have deserved this superior power.* While the Prelates of the Frankish Empire had degenerated into fighting and hunting Barbarians, the Visigothic Bishops respected themselves and were respected by the Public; and the regular discipline which they maintained in their Church had some beneficial though imperfect effects upon the peace of the Kingdom. The spiritual Convocation, or National Council, of the Clergy appear to have had a concurrent power with the Nobles and great functionaries of the State, if not also the initiative voice, in temporal legislation; and many salutary laws of the Visigothic Code owed their enactment to this mixture of Barbarian freedom and Ecclesiastical policy in the General Assembly of the Noble and Episcopal Orders. The election to the Crown, and the subsequent control of the Royal administration, were vested in the united choice of the Bishops and Palatines, and preserved in the privileges of a powerful Aristocracy; and, after the failure of the Royal line of Alaric, the succession was still limited to the pure and noble blood of the Goths.† We may add a fact to this summary which has escaped the great authority from whom we are borrowing, that, though revolution, cruelty, and anarchy disturbed the series of the Visigothic, perhaps as thickly as of the Merovingian Kings, the unity of the State was never broken by the mischievous custom of Regal partitions; and the laws and the internal polity of the Spanish Monarchy were on the whole far more equable and uniform, and probably better administered, than those of the Frankish Empire.‡

To this favourable exercise of Ecclesiastical influence must be darkly contrasted the horrid spectacle of Religious persecution, which it was employed to excite and aggravate. The Visigoths, at the epoch of their conquest of the Peninsula, and for above a century afterwards, like most of the Barbarian nations, professed the Arian Heresy; the descendants of the Roman Provincials of Spain adhered to the Orthodox Visigothic Creed; and this diversity of Religion was sufficient to produce and perpetuate the worst excesses of a furious bigotry. The cruelties to which the Arian Bishops stimulated their Monarchs against the subject Catholics, the sudden conversion of the Visigothic Court and Clergy to the oppressed Faith, and the proscription to which the Arian opinions were in turn exposed, are events belonging rather to Ecclesiastical than Political History. Two circumstances, however, in the Annals of the Visigothic Church deserve mention in this place for their connection with the temporal affairs of the Monarchy. In the reign of Leovigild, the Religious divisions of the State produced a furious Civil war, in which the rebels were led by his own son, Hermenegild. That young Prince had espoused a daughter of one of the Merovingian Kings; and the shameful violence to which the Religious constancy of his Catholic

Spain.
From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
755.

Immense
power of the
Clergy.

Religious
Persecution
Arianism of
Goths.

Reign of
Leovigild.

* *Fide supra*, p. 287.

† *Ibid.* *Chron. Goth.* p. 721.

‡ *Mariana, Hist. de Rebus Hispania*, lib. vi. c. 1—6.

* Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 376.

† *Ibid.*

‡ At least all this may fairly be inferred from the spirit of careful legislation which breathes through the Visigothic Code (published in the Benedictine Collection, *Recueil des Hist. &c.*) already quoted.

History. bride was exposed, by the bigotry of his stepmother, was followed by his own conversion from Arianism and revolt against the Royal and paternal authority. The disaffected Catholics supported his cause; and it was not until after a long and sanguinary struggle that their rebellion was subdued. Hermenegild himself fell into the hands of his parent, and his repeated treasons justly forfeited his claim to the mercy with which he was at first treated: though even his aggravated guilt can scarcely excuse the ultimate and unnatural severity of a father, who pronounced the alternative of his son's death or return to the Arian profession. He sealed the sincerity of his conversion to the Catholic Faith with his blood; and the Romish Church has canonized his memory, and perpetuated one of her gloomiest legends in the martyrdom of St. Hermenegild.*

From
A. D.
476,
to
A. D.
755.
Conversion and revolt of his son Hermenegild.
A. D.
578.
to
A. D.
584.
Martyrdom of Hermenegild.
A. D.
585.
Conversion of the Visigoths.

Recared, the first Catholic King.
A. D.
586.

This shocking tragedy clouded the glory and happiness of a reign, which had otherwise been distinguished as the brightest in the Annals of the Visigothic Monarchy of Spain. But, by what must appear an unaccountable change of opinion, unless we attribute a strong revulsion of popular sympathy to the fate and the cause of Hermenegild, the Arian Clergy and nation within a few years voluntarily adopted the Creed which they had strenuously proscribed. Recared, the brother of the martyr, had embraced the same Faith: but with more timidity, or prudence, or filial reverence, he avoided to disturb the last days, and perhaps to aggravate the remorse, of his unhappy parent; and it was not until Leovigild had sunk into the grave, that the new King avowed himself a Catholic, and invited his people to share his conversion. Notwithstanding a conspiracy and a partial revolt, which he quelled, Recared at once succeeded in his purpose; a general Council of the Arian Prelates and Nobles yielded to his exhortations; and the mass of the Visigothic nation strangely hastened to abjure in one hour the Heresy to which they had clung for two centuries.†

Persecution of the Jews.
A. D.
612,
to
A. D.
710.

The second circumstance to which we have referred, in the connection between the Ecclesiastical and Political Annals of the Visigoths, was the persecution of the Jews. That unhappy race had settled in great numbers in Spain long before the epoch of the Visigothic conquests; and the wealth which their industry had gradually accumulated seems to have offered the first temptation to oppress and ruin them. The Canons of the Visigothic Councils, during almost the whole of the VIIIth century, are filled with traces of the spoliation, the tortures, and the misery of every kind, by which the Jews were punished for the exercise, and compelled to the abjuration, of their Faith; and these merciless enactments but too closely anticipated, if they did not first suggest, the detestable spirit of the more modern Inquisition. By Siebert, near an hundred thousand of the Jews were compelled, on pain of death, to receive the sacrament of Baptism; Clintilla, one of his successors, decreed the banishment of the whole race; and it was only a refinement of avarice and cruelty that rescinded the sentence, to detain the victims of repeated confiscation and persecution within the grasp of their tyrants. The political effects of Persecution are in all Ages nearly the same; and the detestation which the Jews cherished against their Christian oppressors, naturally impelled them to become the secret but

active auxiliaries of the Saracens in the overthrow of the Gothic Monarchy of Spain.*

That memorable event, however, was immediately produced or precipitated by intestine disunion among the Visigoths themselves; and the Mohammedan conquest of the Peninsula was first invited by the treason of a Christian Chieftain. At the opening of the eighth century, the successors of Mohammed had extended the empire of their Religion and nation to the Western limits of Africa; and the victorious career of Mouna, the Lieutenant of the Caliph Walid, was only arrested by the walls of the Visigothic fortress of Ceuta, in Mauritania, and the bravery of its Governor, Count Julian. The motives which suddenly converted the gallant defence of that Nobleman into a traitorous alliance with the infidel enemy, are involved in much real obscurity; and a suspicious tale of Romance† is all that remains to supply the want of better Historical materials for the barbarous annals of a troubled and calamitous epoch. It was the dishonour of Count Julian's daughter by his Sovereign Roderic, according to the legend, which provoked the treason and suggested the fatal revenge of the Chieftain. But this story is scarcely sustained by the few authentic facts of the Saracen conquest which have descended to us; and the distracted state of the Visigothic Monarchy, which at the time was torn by the feuds of the Clergy and Nobles, and divided in allegiance between the reigning Sovereign and the sons of the last King, Witika, may justify the suspicion, that the introduction of the Saracens was less the work of one man and the vengeance of his private wrongs, than the desperate project of an ambitious and broken faction.

The crimes of Witika had provoked the revolt of his subjects; and on his deposition, Roderic, the representative of one of the most illustrious Houses of the Gothic lineage, had been raised to the Throne. In the insolence of his Regal fortunes, Roderic might forget the practice of former virtue, the duties of his office, and the fate of his licentious predecessor. He is accused of having wasted his talents in debauchery: it is only certain that, whether through his vices, or their restless turbulence and factious spirit, a portion of the Gothic Clergy and Nobles had become disaffected and estranged from his Government. Encouraged by this temper of the Aristocracy, the sons of Witika secretly asserted their title to the Crown; their uncle Oppas, the Ecclesiastical Primate of the Kingdom, favoured their pretensions; and it is probable that Count Julian had entered into the same cause, and incurred the disgrace and danger of an abortive conspiracy. But, whatever were his political fears and disgusts, or his private injuries, the station which the Count occupied in the Monarchy gave him but too ready a means for the accomplishment of his policy or vengeance. His extensive domains, his high rank, and his numerous retainers made him a powerful leader; and the government both of the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom and its African dependencies enabled him to betray the keys of the Peninsula to the formidable enemies who were already at its gates. To the Lieutenant of the Caliph, he exposed the wealth and the weakness of his

Spain.
From
A. D.
476,
to
A. D.
755.
Fall of the Visigothic power.

Its probable causes.

Intestine dissension.

Reign of Roderic.

Disaffection of the Nobles.

Treason of Count Julian.

* Mariana, *Hist. de Rebus Hisp.* lib. v. c. 12—14.

† *Ibid.* lib. v. c. 14, 15.

• Mariana, lib. vi. c. 1—18, *passim*.
† Mariana has laboured hard (lib. vi. c. 21.) to weave the Romance of Count Julian's daughter Cava into the thread of genuine History; but he quotes no contemporary evidence; nor, in fact, does any exist for this legend of, probably, some much subsequent creation.

History. Country: the slothful vices or unpopular government of the King; the disaffection of the Nobles; and the corruption of a people, who, in the long disuse of arms and the temptations to luxurious indulgence, had utterly degenerated from the energy and prowess of the old Gothic character.

From A. D. 476. to A. D. 755. **Conquest of the Peninsula by the Saracens.** A. D. 710. Fired with ambition at the prospect of so splendid and easy a conquest, Mousa delayed only for the permission of the Caliph to undertake the enterprise; and an experimental descent of a few hundred Mohammedans on the Spanish coast having sufficiently confirmed the report of the traitor, and proved the defenceless condition of the Kingdom, a more serious invasion was repeated in the following summer. In transports provided by the Gothic Count, and at the head of only seven thousand Arabians and Moors, (or Africans,) Tarik, an intrepid Saracen, crossed the strait between the ancient Pillars of Hercules, and pitched his first camp in Spain, on the rock which owes its modern appellation of Gibraltar* to his name. Conducted by Count Julian and his followers, and reinforced from Africa, the Saracens were rapidly successful; and the defeat of a Gothic army under Ecdico, roused Roderic himself from his dream of indolent security to the opposite error of a presumptuous rashness. His summons to the national defence was obeyed by the Nobles and Clergy of the Gothic Monarchy at the head of near one hundred thousand followers; but the numbers of this disorderly host, unpractised in arms and divided by treason, were feebly opposed to the firm array of twenty thousand veteran Arabians and Moors, breathing a common spirit of fanaticism, and flushed with the promise of an opulent realm.

Birth of A. D. 711. The temerity of the Gothic King staked the fortune of the Monarchy on a single battle; and on the banks of the Gaudalete, near the town of Xeres, the Christian and Mohammedan armies met in the memorable and sanguinary encounter, which was to deliver the fairest portion of Spain to the dominion of the Arabs for eight hundred years. Notwithstanding the decay of their national vigour, and the evils of their disunion, the Goths still fought with some remains of a spirit worthy of their ancient renown; and the event was for several days adverse to the Saracens, until the treachery of the Archbishop Oppas, who, with his nephews, suddenly drew off his troops from the Christian line and charged his astonished countrymen, spread dismay through their ranks, and produced irretrievable disorder, a general flight, and a tremendous carnage. Roderic himself escaped from the field only to perish in the waters of the Guadalquivir;† his fall involved the immediate ruin of the Monarchy; and the long series of the Visigothic Kings of Spain terminates with his death.

Before the panic-stricken and disunited Christians had leisure to collect their scattered strength, or recover their broken spirit from the fatal field of Xeres, Tarik had rapidly advanced to the Gothic Capital of Toledo; received the submission of its inhabitants; and, by seizing that seat of the Monarchy, prevented any attempt to fill the vacant Throne. The surrender of the Capital was imitated by every city in the Saracenic line of march; and in a few months Tarik triumphantly

overran the whole length of the Peninsula from South to North, and extended the Musulman conquests from the rock of Gibraltar to the bay of Biscay. So rapid was the career of Tarik that, when Mousa, whose jealousy was unworthily excited by the glory which his officer had acquired, hastened to supplant him by landing with a fresh army in Spain, there remained little more for him to accomplish than the reduction of the cities which had lain out of the route of his precursor. Of these, Seville and Merida alone resisted with obstinacy before they submitted to the common lot of capitulation; and in less than three years from their first descent, the Arabians had securely established the long dominion of their race and their Religion in Spain.

The fate of the mass of the subjugated nation, and the settlement of the Musulman conquerors in their new possessions, will each claim a brief notice, and may be comprehended in the same rapid view. After the first excesses of warfare were over, the Saracens treated their new subjects with remarkable lenity: the Christians were permitted to enjoy the undisturbed exercise of their Religion and laws; the tribute which the conquerors imposed, did not, except where the resistance had been obstinate, exceed the usual taxes of the Visigothic Kings; and there can be no doubt that the general fertility and wealth of the Spanish Provinces, and the prosperity, happiness, and numbers of the people, were largely improved and multiplied under the beneficent rule of their Arabian Lords. The toleration, which was only permitted to the Christians, was measured with a more abundant and cordial spirit to the Jewish population of Spain. That oppressed and persecuted race had hailed the Saracen invasion as the glad signal of deliverance and revenge. They had, both in secret, and afterwards more openly, rendered the conquerors most important services during the prosecution of the enterprise; and they were rewarded by the gratitude of the Mohammedans with almost every immunity and privilege which they could possibly desire. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Jews enjoyed in the Moorish Provinces of Spain the happiest seats any where permitted to them; and the bonds of fidelity and protection between them and their Musulman masters remained unbroken until the final ruin of the Arabian Monarchies.

The alliance between the invaders and the traitorous faction of the Goths, which had introduced them into the Kingdom, was probably less sincere: but it does not appear that the Saracens violated their faith even towards the instruments whose baseness they must have despised. Of the fate of Count Julian himself, indeed, History has preserved no authentic trace; and the natural hope that he did not escape the retribution which his crime had deserved, has been indulged only in the romantic creations of a Poetical justice. But it is known that the sons of Witika were invested by the Saracens in their private and patrimonial estates; even their subsequent family disputes were equitably adjusted before the impartial tribunal of the Caliphs; and the Gothic origin of their descendants was gradually mingled, by intermarriage, with the noblest blood of Arabia.

But it was not possible that the violence of conquest could equally respect the rights of the whole Christian population. The numerous bodies of the victorious Saracens, who seated themselves in the Peninsula, until, by colonization or conversion, they overspread the Spanish Provinces with a Musulman

Spain.

From A. D. 476. to A. D. 755. **Conquest of the Peninsula by the Saracens.** A. D. 713.

Fate of the conquered population.

Toleration granted to, and tribute imposed upon, the Christians.

Favour shown to the Jews.

Faith kept with the Christian traitors.

Settlement of the Arabians and Moors.

* *Gebel Tarik*, or the mountain of Tarik—the ancient Mount Calpe.

† Such, in opposition to the romantic imaginings of the Spanish writers, is the unvarnished relation of Roderic's death in the best Arabian Historians. *Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana*, vol. ii. p. 327.

History.

From
A. D.
476,
to
A. D.
755.

people, must originally have been established in their lands at the expense of Christian proprietors; and though the manner in which the spoliation was conducted is not recorded, it cannot be doubted that many of the Goths must have been violently dispossessed of their lands. It may be conjectured that the confiscated estates of those numerous adherents of the unfortunate Roderic, who had fallen in the defence of their Country, or who preferred an honourable resistance or exile to an ignominious submission beneath the Infidel yoke, afforded a great means of provision for the Saracen colonists. But the numbers of the original conquerors were perpetually reinforced by hordes of fresh adventurers from the various regions of Asia and Africa who arrived under the command of the successive Lieutenants of the Caliphs; and the distinction of their races in the Spanish Cities and Provinces was long cherished by the pride of their descendants. The Asiatic bands of Palestine, of Emesa, and of Damascus, were seated at Medina-Sidonia, at Seville, and at Cordova; the Gothic Capital of Toledo was occupied, and the central Provinces were thinly overspread, with Tribes of Persian and Arabian birth; and the beautiful region of Grenada, the longest preserved and the most precious gem in the Spanish Empire of the Arabs, was assigned to a numerous colony, who boasted a peculiar descent from the purest and noblest blood of their native deserts. The crowd of Africans, who had followed the standards of Mousa and his successors from Mauritania and Egypt, were scattered over the surface of the Peninsula, and might be distinguished on its opposite shores, in the Provinces of Portugal and in Murcia: but, by a curious caprice of fortune, the Moors of Africa, the proselytes, the subjects, and the inferior companions of the Saracens, have been suffered to embrace in their familiar name the whole Arabian population of Spain.*

The subsequent Annals of Spain under the dominion of the Arabians belong, according to our plan, rather to the Mohammedan than the Christian division of Political History. But the slow revival of a Christian Monarchy in the Peninsula is a portion of our present subject. After the fall of the Gothic Kingdom, great numbers of the inhabitants from the Eastern Provinces fled into France: but a few of the harder spirits, who embraced the nobler alternative of resistance, had retired into the lofty mountains of Asturias; and a small inland district in the most inaccessible part of those natural fastnesses, became the cradle of the modern Monarchy of Spain. Pelagius, or Pelayo, a Goth of noble, or perhaps even of Royal blood, who is said to have rallied the poor remnant of the national army after the battle of Xeres, became the leader of these fugitives in the North, and the founder of a new Christian Kingdom: but nothing can be more obscure and uncertain than the first foundation of the little State which was gradually to expand into the Monarchy of

Leon and Castile. Tradition has justly consecrated the invincible constancy and patriotism of the handful of brave men, who, amidst the wreck of their national fortunes, still disdained a base submission to the Saracen yoke; and who chose rather to assert, at the point of their good swords, a life of poverty and freedom in the barren mountains of Asturias, than to share the wealthy servitude of their degenerate Countrymen. But Pelayo and his followers were, it is probable, in the outset, enabled chiefly to maintain their independence by the obscurity of their retreat and the neglect of the conquerors. Seven years elapsed between the battle of Xeres and the date assigned by the Spanish Chroniclers to the first encounter between the Saracens and the Asturian Christians; and even the story of the expedition despatched by the Caliph's Lieutenant, Alakor, against their reviving State, and of the tremendous overthrow given by Pelayo to his numerous army in the mountains, is disfigured and exaggerated by the Monkish Legends, into the miraculous destruction of one hundred thousand of the Infidels.

If we credit, in any degree, the magnitude of this and a subsequent defeat which Pelayo is declared to have inflicted on the Saracens, it must seem very inconsistent with the sagacious policy which tempered the fanaticism of the Mohammedans in those Ages, that they should have turned aside from the task of reducing an enemy already so dangerous in the heart of their Spanish Empire, to undertake the more distant and arduous conquest of France. It is far more probable that the shock which their power sustained from the arms of Charles Martel in that disastrous expedition, the declining vigour of the Caliphate itself, and the dissensions among the Spanish Arabians, which immediately preceded its triple division in Asia, Africa, and Spain, all conspired to favour the silent and neglected growth of the Christian State in the Asturias: which in its origin could scarcely have sustained an open and regular struggle against the undivided force of the Saracen conquerors. We have little knowledge of the internal condition of the North of Spain in that dark and troublous era: but it was perhaps the same dissensions of the Moorish Governors, that cherished the first germs of two other free Christian States in the Pyrenean mountains, which afterwards swelled into the Kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre. The increase of the Asturian State is more distinctly marked. After the intermediate rule of Favila, the sword or sceptre of Pelayo descended to his son-in-law, Alfonso I., the real founder, perhaps, of the Asturian Monarchy; who, availing himself of the internal distractions of the Moors, broke from his mountains into Galicia, reconquered that Province, and consolidated the strength and compactness of his Kingdom. It was during his reign that Spain, by the dismemberment of the great Saracen Empire, afforded the splendid seat for an independent Caliphate, and the revival of an Omniad dynasty in the West, under Abdalrahman: but at this epoch we may conveniently postpone both the Christian and Mahomedan Annals of the Peninsula, for a future consideration.*

Spain.
From
A. D.
476,
to
A. D.
755.

Favoured
by the dis-
ensions of
the Arabs.

Silent re-
val of the
Christian
Monarchy
in Asturias:
under Pe-
layo.

A. D.
718,
to
A. D.
734.

Germ of the
Christian
Kingdoms
of Aragon
and Na-
varre.

Alfonso I.,
King of As-
turias.

A. D.
739,
to
A. D.
755.

Triple di-
vision of the
Caliphate.
Abdalrah-
man, first
Caliph of
Spain.

A. D.
755.

* The original, or at least earliest, authorities for the History of the Saracen conquest of Spain, are contained in the Arabic writers, copied into the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica* of Casiri, vol. ii, *passim* from p. 31 to 331; and in the Chronicles of King Alfonso III. of Leon, (*Pagi, Critica*, vol. liii.) and of Roderic of Toledo, *ad c.* 9. See also the more modern text of Mariana, *Hist. de Rebus Hispania*, lib. vi, c. 19 *ad fin.* Among our English Historians the subject has been adorned by the labours of Gibbon, c. 51; and of Mills, *History of Muhammedanism*, 2d Edit. p. 109—116, an elegant specimen of learning and condensation.

* The revival of the Christian Monarchy, and the Arabian Annals of Spain from the conquest to the triple division of the Caliphate, must be gleaned from Roderic Toletan, *Hist. Arab.* c. x.—xviii. *Chron. Alfonso Regis*, c. lib. *Arab. Hisp. ub. suprà*; and Mariana, lib. vi, c. 1, 2.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LI.

THE REIGN AND EMPIRE OF CHARLES THE GREAT, OR CHARLEMAGNE.

FROM A. D. 768. to A. D. 814.

History. This reign of Charlemagne * stands out in prominent relief from the History of the Dark Ages: a distinct epoch of solitary grandeur dividing two long periods of Barbarian tumult and disorder. It forms that signal and equidistant point between the destruction of the Roman Empire and the slow revival of social cultivation, which alone breaks the dull continuity of six centuries of anarchy; and it offers the only contrast of organized power on which the mind can repose amidst the disrupted elements of political civilization. It intervenes between two examples of degenerate dynasties and two periods of corrupted Barbarism: between the common decay of the original Royal Houses of the Northern nations, and of the Imperial line which supplanted them; between the dissolution of the free Gothic Democracies, and the consolidation of the Feudal system.

Division of the Frankish Monarchy between the sons of Pepin. Notwithstanding the fatal experience of the Merovingian custom of partition, it was imitated by the second Royal line of the Franks. Pepin le Bref bequeathed his extensive dominions between his two sons, Charles and Carloman;† and the usual evils of the division were immediately shown in the quarrel of the brothers and the insurrection of their tributary States. These turbulent members of the Empire, no longer compressed into unity and obedience under the vigorous sceptre of Pepin, were immediately encouraged to attempt the recovery of their independence by the youth, the inexperience, and the dissensions of his sons. If the talents of the young Princes had been similar and their lives equally prolonged, their rivalry would have perpetuated the first disorders of their common reign: but Charles surprised his enemies by an early display of extraordinary

ability and valour; and his fortunes at once acquired the decided ascendant over those of his feebler brother. He forcibly stripped Carloman of a part of Austrasia, which was in dispute between them; quelled an effort of the deprived Duke of Aquitaine to reestablish his independence;* and overawed both the tributary Sovereigns of the Bavarians and Lombards, who were disposed to renounce their allegiance. The politic marriage of Charles with the daughter of Desiderio, the Lombard Monarch, gave a hollow promise of friendship, which was shortly broken by the death of Carloman. Seizing the inheritance of his brother's infant sons with little opposition, Charles was no sooner master of the whole Frankish Empire, than he insultingly divorced his Lombard Princess; and the resentment which Desiderio rashly betrayed, and the asylum and countenance which he afforded to the widow and children of Carloman, entailed a total ruin upon the declining Monarchy of the Lombards.

That Kingdom was in no degree equal to a contest with the power of the Frankish Empire, even if Desiderio, with the usual imprudence or fatality of his House, had not also outraged the Papacy, and by his aggressions compelled the reigning Pontiff, Adrian I., to implore the succour of the hereditary protector of the Holy See. At the call of the Pope, the Frankish Monarch, like his father, descended with alacrity from the Alps, besieged Desiderio in his Capital of Pavia, and compelling him to surrender at discretion, finally extinguished the national independence and dynasty of the Lombards. The widow and children of Carloman, as well as Desiderio and his family, fell into the hands of the victor, who is said to have conveyed all these Royal captives to France. History is silent on their subsequent fate; and the Lombard Monarch and his children may either have perished by violence or have been suffered to languish out their days in obscurity: but there can be less doubt that the infant nephews of Charles were inhumanly sacrificed to the safety of his usurpation. The conquest of Lombardy was not com-

France, Germany, Italy, &c.

From A. D. 768, to A. D. 814.

Charles sole Monarch. A. D. 771.

His conquest of the Lombard Kingdom. A. D. 774.

* The only original authority that can be relied upon for the History of the reign and actions of Charlemagne is his Secretary, Eginhart, who composed both a well-known Life of the Emperor, and the Annals of the Carolingian Monarchy, which we have before quoted. These Works, with the occasional light thrown on the government of Charlemagne by his Laws or Capitularies, (which have been collected in the Work of Stephen Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, 2 vols. fol. Paris, 1680.) form the only authentic materials out of which various modern writers have raised their Historical superstructure.

† This partition, however, was rather in fact ultimately the work of a National Assembly, after the death of Pepin. *French, Feodo assemblee generale convenu*, says Eginhart, *ambos uis regis constituitur*. Eginhart, *Vita Caroli Magni*, c. 4. They repeated the division; or rather, it should seem, made a new one.

* Though composing an integral portion of France itself, the Province of Aquitaine was not completely brought under the immediate dominion of the Crown, until the repeated rebellion of its Dukes had been punished by confiscation, imprisonment, and death. Guillard, the modern biographer of Charlemagne, has laboriously attempted (*Histoire de Charlemagne*, vol. ii. p. 60, et seq.) to trace the Merovingian descent of these Princes.

History.

From
A. D.
768.
to
A. D.
814.

pleted, until after a revolt which was punished by the defeat and death of a Duke of Friuli: but another great Chieftain, whose family had established the Lombard Duchy of Benevento in Southern Italy, successfully resisted the Frankish arms, and was finally permitted to preserve at least the forms of independence. It was the policy of the conqueror rather to annex the Lombard Kingdom by an equal union to his Empire, than to treat it as a subjugated Country. The great aristocracy of the Lombard Dukes, or Governors of Provinces, whose functions and power had become hereditary, remained undisturbed; the people were suffered to retain their own national laws and customs; and Charles was contented with the paramount Sovereignty and the general allegiance of Northern Italy.*

Subjugation
of the Sax-
ons.

A. D.
775.

From the easy task of completing the valuable conquest of that Peninsula, by the acquisition of its Southern Provinces, which were still subject to the Eastern Emperors, the ambition of the Frankish Sovereign was strangely diverted to the wild and distant forests of Saxony. Though a considerable portion of Germany had been embraced within the Merovingian Monarchy, the fierce and Pagan Tribes or confederacy of the Saxons, which extended over its Northern regions, had always in a large sense maintained their independence. The bold spirit of freedom, with which this rude people disdained a foreign yoke, was associated with an insurmountable repugnance to Christianity; and the obstinate resistance and frequent rebellions of the Saxons, seem to have been chiefly excited and aggravated by the religious zeal of the Frankish Monarch. In his first or second expedition into Saxony, after a sanguinary contest, of which the details would be odious to humanity and are little worth particular record, Charles had received the submission and enforced the reluctant Baptism of several thousands of the people, when his attention was invited, by the arrival of a Saracen Emir in his camp at Paderborn in Westphalia, to the opposite extremity of his dominions.†

Expedition
into Spain,

The dissensions among the Moorish Governors of Spain had at this period attained their height in the struggle between the adherents of the Abbasid and Omniad dynasties of the Caliphate; and the Emir of Saragossa, after being expelled from his possessions, had traversed France and Germany to implore protection from the most powerful enemy of his national Faith. Charles promptly accepted an office which gratified his insatiable thirst of dominion; and soon after assembling a great army on the Spanish frontier, he descended from the Pyrenees and penetrated without difficulty to the banks of the Ebro. The tremendous renown of his grandfather's victory had not been effaced by the lapse of half a century from the memory of the affrighted and degenerate Saracens; their divisions or fears made his power irresistible; and the capitulation of Saragossa completed the rapid conquest of the country between the mountains and the Ebro, which, under the title of the Spanish March, he permanently annexed to the Frankish Empire. The Emir of Saragossa was faithfully restored to his government: but the supreme administration of the March was confided to a Frankish Count, who resided at Barcelona, and whose successors

and perma-
nent exten-
sion of his
Empire to
ne Ebro.
A. D.
778.

continued for four centuries to acknowledge at least the feudal superiority of the French Crown.*

The termination of Charles's Spanish expedition was remarkably contrasted both with its substantial success and the general splendour of his reign. While his victorious forces, on their return into France, wound through the defiles of the Pyrenees, they were suddenly attacked by the Gascons: an aboriginal, or at least Keltish race, whose possession of that region had survived the long revolutions of Ages, and the vicissitudes of the Roman, the Gothic, and the Saracenic conquests. In the pass of Roncesvalles, these hardy mountaineers succeeded in cutting off the rear guard of the Frankish host, and capturing the immense booty which encumbered its careless or toilsome march. History obscurely betrays the real circumstances of a disgraceful and calamitous defeat, of which the magnitude is more strongly attested, since the memory has been imperishably preserved, in the wildest traditions of Romance. One of Charles's principal Commanders was slain in the rout; and the prowess and fall of the Paladin Roland in the fight of Roncesvalles, was long the dearest theme of those early fables of chivalry, which have been so luxuriantly adorned by the Italian muse.†

From the Spanish, the attention of the King of France reverted to the Italian Peninsula; and his next visit to the latter Country was principally employed in settling the Kingdom of Lombardy upon his infant son Carloman, or Pepin. He accordingly caused the young Prince to be solemnly presented with the ancient diadem of the Lombard Kings, the Iron Crown of Italy: that symbol of an imaginary right, which was in after ages so often to form the prize of foreign conflict; and which, in our own times, after typifying the ambitious pretensions of the modern Charlemagne,‡ has descended upon the brows of an Austrian dynasty. The infant King of Lombardy was left to grow up among his new subjects; but the restless activity of his parent was soon summoned a second time from the Italian plains to the forests of Northern Germany, by the intelligence of a fresh insurrection among the Saxons. The unconquerable love of freedom, or the blind hatred of Christianity, which distinguished that people, was animated by the hero Witikend, who, like another Arminius, headed his nation in the obstinate struggle against the double yoke of conquest and civilisation. Disdaining submission to the force which he was not prepared to withstand, the Saxon Chieftain, during the former successes of Charles, had retired into Scandinavia: but the general revolt of his Countrymen was the signal for his return; and before Charles could

Revol of
the Saxon
people Wi-
kend

* *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, vol. ii. p. 291.

† This Spanish expedition of Charlemagne is briefly related in the 1Xth chapter of Eginhart, our only original authority of credit. But the fabulous exploits of Charles and his Paladins against the Saracens, which form the daring theme of the Romances of the Middle Ages, are reflected and multiplied, like many-coloured hues of prismatic light, from the lustre of his real achievements.

‡ At a distance of ten centuries, the reestablishment of a French Empire, suggested to literary adulation the obvious resemblance between its first and second founders; and several acts of Napoleon attested his eagerness to accept the comparison. His assumption of the Iron Crown was a palpable copy of Charlemagne; and his legislative labours, his patronage of Letters and the Arts, and the magnificence of his public works, might have justified the parallel:—if the enlightened conqueror of our times had expiated the cold selfishness of his devastating ambition with the same unaffected sympathy and zeal for the welfare and happiness of his people, which have sanctified the memory of the illustrious Barbarian.

* Eginharti, *Annal.*, ad annum 768—776. *Vita Car.* c. 5, &c. *Annal.* Bertiniani, apud Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 475—498.

† Eginharti, *Annal.*, ad ann. 778.

France,
Germany,
Italy, &c.

From
A. D.
768.
to
A. D.
814.

Victories of
Charlevoix
the Slavonic
Tribes
and Huns.

A. D.
789.

A. D.
796.

Consoli-
dation and
extent of his
Empire.

Greatest
power, and
reputation
of Charles.

His inter-
course with
the Eastern
Empire.

History. reach the theatre of action, Witikend had inflicted a severe defeat upon his Lieutenants. The approach of the Frankish King with a formidable army revived the terror of his power; the Saxons, as usual, submitted at his presence, only to await a more favourable opportunity of insurrection; and Witikend, deserted by his followers, fled again for refuge to the North. Charles then resolved, with a cool and detestable cruelty which has left an indelible stain upon his memory, to quell the spirit of the whole Saxon people by an appalling example of severity. All the principal men of the nation being convened to attend his camp at Verden for the purpose of homage or counsel, the peaceful assembly was suddenly surrounded by his troops and disarmed; and four thousand five hundred Saxons of the noblest blood of their nation were led out and beheaded on the same spot.*

Subdued by
Charles: let his
atrocious
ministry of
the Saxons
A. D.
788.

produces a
new conspi-
cation.

Extermination
of Witikend,
A. D.
783.

Protracted
conquest of
the Saxons.

Final settle-
ment of
Germany by
the inter-
change of
Saxons and
Frankish
colonies.

This horrible butchery, so far from producing the desired effect, only gounded a brave and ferocious people to fury and vengeance. They everywhere flew to arms; Witikend once more appeared as their leader; and a war of extermination raged for two years longer, until Charles, either relenting in his policy or sincerely weary of endless massacre, converted his victories into the means of conciliation. The courage of the surviving Saxon leaders had been broken by repeated defeats, they gladly listened to his overtures of mercy; and even Witikend himself, as if yielding to the spell of inevitable destiny, at last tendered a faithful submission, and acknowledged the Religion and dominion of the victor. His example had a powerful influence upon his Countrymen: but it did not prevent a frequent recurrence of insurrection and massacre; nor were the Saxons finally subdued, and the remains of Paganism extirpated in Germany, until after above thirty years had elapsed of frightful persecution and bloodshed. Even in the total subjugation of their Country, the most resolute freemen or the fiercest idolaters, preserving their spirit untamable, retired to the forests of Scandinavia; and carrying with them their hatred of the Frankish name, while they gradually mingled their blood with the Tribes of the Northmen, or Normans, these Saxon exiles swelled the piratical swarms which were shortly to issue from the shores of the Baltic, and took a deadly vengeance on the Carolingian Empire for the original wrongs of their nation.†

The great talents and incessant activity of Charles, the magnitude of his power, and the constancy of his fortune, had barely sufficed for the conquest of a people, whose rebellion was renewed as often as he withdrew his armies or even his presence from among them. A transfusion of races was adopted as the only alternative of perpetual revolt or gradual extermination. By the wisdom of the conqueror, Frankish colonies were settled on the Elbe and the Weser; and bodies of the Saxons were compelled to transport themselves to Italy, and more numerous into Flanders and Brabant: in which latter Provinces they still maintained that inextinguishable passion for freedom, and resistance to tyranny, which, fostered by the spirit of Commerce, became for many centuries the proverbial inheritance of their brave and industrious descendants. In their native seats, the remains of the Saxons were permitted to retain their own laws; they were governed by Dukes of their own

blood; and while their union with the body of the Frankish Empire was gradually effected, the independence and distinction of their national character were in a great measure preserved.

The victories by which Charles subjugated, or at least curbed, the other barbarous nations who disquieted the Eastern frontiers of his Empire, were associated with circumstances less repugnant to humanity, and almost equally important in their results. The Slavonic Tribes, who had overspread the modern regions of Bohemia, Prussia, and Poland, were in general compelled to acknowledge obedience to his sceptre; and the first of those Countries, at least, may be numbered among the conquered Provinces which he annexed to his dominions. It required a more arduous effort, and a sanguinary and devastating struggle of several years, to reduce the Huns or Avars of Pannonia to a similar subjection: but after the Frankish arms had penetrated to the Royal village of those Barbarians, and all the flower of their race had perished in several engagements, the wreck of the nation accepted the mercy of the conqueror; and the frontier of the Empire was permanently extended over a part of the modern Hungary and Dalmatia, to the junction of the Danube with the Save, and the shores of the Istrian gulf.*

These conquests on the Eastern extremity of the Frankish Empire seemed to put the seal to its grandeur and security. The traitorous machinations and frequent rebellions of Tassillon, the Duke of Bavaria, a kinsman of Charles, in concert with the Saxons and Huns, had justified a lenient sentence of deposition; the whole of his great Duchy was incorporated into the general Monarchy; and the Carolingian dominions extended without intermission from the Ebro to the Elbe and the Lower Danube, and from the North Sea to the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, over a part of Spain, the whole of France, and Germany Proper, with portions of Bohemia and Hungary, some Dalmatian Provinces, and Italy, as far as the present Neapolitan frontiers. The completion of this geographical circle by the arms and the activity of Charles opens the most glorious epoch in his long and fortunate reign. The supremacy of his power and the renown of his great talents were acknowledged, not only in his vast dominions, but throughout the Western world, in the respect and fear of the Saracens of Spain, in the reverence of the Christian Monarchs of Gallia and Asturias, and in the homage of the Scottish and perhaps of the Saxon Princes of Britain.† The fame of his greatness extended even to the distant Court of the Mohammedan rulers of Asia and Africa; and Haroun Alraschid, his contemporary, and the most illustrious of the Abbasid Caliphs of Bagdad, sought an interchange of embassies and compliments with his Throne, and cultivated a ceremonial friendship, which was protected by distance from any interruption, and could not be endangered by the collision of political interests.‡

Upon less doubtful motives than curiosity or vanity, the reputation and power of the Frankish Monarch commanded the respect and excited the dread of the only Potentate who might pretend to dispute with him the obedience of the Christian world. The sceptre of

* Eginhart, *Annales*, ad ann. 788—794. *Vita Car.* c. 15.

† The respectful correspondence of our Saxon Egbert with Charlemagne appears rather apocryphal. But see Gaillard, vol. ii. ad p. 384, &c.

‡ Egin. *yr.* *Vita*, c. 16.

* Eginhart, *Annales*, ad ann. 783.

† *Ibid.* ad ann. 783—786.

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History. the Eastern Empire was now held by a woman and a mother, whose unnatural ambition was defiled with the deposition and cruel mutilation of her own son. After depriving him of his birthright and his eyes, Irene reigned alone as Empress of the East; and her alarm at the increasing power of the Frankish Monarchy had been artfully evinced in the intrigues by which she had instigated the unsuccessful revolt of the Dukes of Bavaria and Benevento and the Slavonic Barbarians. After the failure of these machinations, she endeavoured, if the Chroniclers of her own nation may be believed, to divert the hostility and allure the ambition of Charles, with the hope of sharing the Imperial title, and uniting the Frankish and Grecian Empires by the possession of her hand.*

With whatever truth and sincerity the proposal may have been made and accepted, its fulfilment was frustrated by a revolution which suddenly precipitated Irene from the Throne of Constantinople; and the formal elevation of Charles to the Imperial dignity was reserved for another political architect. This was Pope Leo III., the successor of Adrian I. A sedition at Rome, in which the nephews of the late Pontiff compelled Leo to fly for his life, reduced the new Pope to throw himself upon the protection of Charles, and paved the way for a signal exhibition of his gratitude to his benefactor. Charles, after restoring the fugitive Pope in triumph to his seat, proceeded in person to Rome; heard the accusations of Leo's enemies; constituted himself the judge of his innocence; and feigned a reluctance to receive the recompense of this service, for which it is probable that he had privately stipulated. Leo was popular at Rome; and his restorer was welcomed in the ancient Capital of the world with the enthusiastic plaudits of the citizens. Ever since the first delivery of Rome from the oppression of the Lombards by the Carolingian arms, both Pepin and Charles had exercised a general, though not very definite Sovereignty over the city, with the vague and unmeaning title of Patrician, which had originally been borne by the Lieutenants of the Eastern Empire. A more august appellation was now to confess the allegiance of the Romans, and to assert the succession of the Frankish Sovereigns to the purple of the Cæsars. During the celebration of high mass at the festival of Christmas, on the last year of the VIIIth century, and in the Church of St. Peter, while the French King knelt before the altar, Leo suddenly approached him and placed an Imperial crown on his head, with the exclamation, which was immediately echoed in the shouts of the people, of "Long life to Charles Augustus! crowned by the hand of God: the great, pious, and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" The authority of the Pope to confer this dignity might vainly be demanded, but the new Emperor was at least worthy of the honour; the restoration of the Empire of the West may be formally dated from the solemn event; and the coronation of CHARLEMAGNE has, perhaps, more than any other single circumstance, indissolubly united the well-merited epithet of greatness with his name.†

Protection of Pope Leo III.

A. D. 799.

And coronation as Emperor of the West.

A. D. 800.

* Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 401—402. In the reign of Nicephorus, the successor of Irene, a solemn Treaty was concluded between him and Charlemagne which, (a. n. 802.) on the basis of possession, adjusted the limits, and proclaimed the alliance, of the Eastern and Western Empires.

† Eginhart, *Anales*, ad ann. 799—800. In the contest for supremacy between the Empire and the Papedom, which fiercely

The elevation of Charlemagne to the Imperial dignity introduces the most splendid, the pacific glories, of his protracted dominion. In a natural division of his reign, that event marks the triumphant term of his conquests, and the settlement of his Civil administration. In a period of thirty-two years, which were passed in incessant hostilities, he had extended his possessions from the Rhine to the Elbe and the Save, from the Pyrenees to the Ebro, and from the Alps to the borders of Calabria: the remaining fourteen years of his life were almost wholly occupied in unwearied and laudable efforts to consolidate and ameliorate the institutions of his Empire. An era of general peace was maintained, with few interruptions, by the fame of his talents and power, and the dread of his arms and activity; and the establishment of tranquillity was followed by efforts for universal improvement in jurisprudence, learning, manners, and morals. Among the Franks, he restored the regular convocation of the National Assemblies, which had fallen into some disuse under the Merovingian Kings. He laboured to introduce order into their meetings, and encouraged their legislative deliberations for the common weal. While he left the people of the conquered Provinces as much as possible in the enjoyment of their own ancient privileges and customs, he endeavoured to modify and amend their Barbarian institutions. He even meditated the comprehensive design of reducing and reconciling the contradictions of the Roman and Barbarian law into one uniform Code of jurisprudence throughout his whole Empire; and the magnitude of this conception, which a single life was too short to mature, at least attests the capacity of his mind and the elevation of his views. He also mingled actively in the Ecclesiastical affairs of his Empire; and even, with the tone of command or protection to the Latin Church, interposed in her controversies and dictated the proceedings of her Councils. It was in the same plenitude and security of his own power, that he lavishly increased the privileges and authority of the Clergy, whom he intrusted with a large share in the administration of the Empire. With too abundant a confidence in their superior qualifications for office, he extended the jurisdiction of the Bishops over his temporal tribunals; he forbade the lay Magistrates to entertain causes against churchmen; and he thus elevated the influence of the Episcopal Order above all former example and authority.*

With less questionable advantage to his subjects, this great Monarch reformed the coinage of the Empire and enacted the legal divisions of money, provided by his laws for the correction of innumerable abuses of administration, and laboured to ameliorate the slavish condition and to diminish the oppression of the common people.† The same wise and benevolent zeal for the advancement of general civilization and happiness,

agitated the Middle Ages and has been more harmoniously continued to modern times by the zeal of literary and antiquarian partisans, the circumstances of Charlemagne's coronation have been variously regarded: but the simple fact remains the same, that the Pope first conferred the Imperial diadem upon a Prince whose general sovereignty he had already acknowledged, and afterwards paid him the homage of a subject. See, chiefly, Muratori, *Anales d'Italia*, ad ann.; Pagi, *Critica*, vol. iii. p. 418; Giazaroni, (*Historia d'Napoli*), vol. i. p. 395; Gaillard, vol. ii. p. 412—446; St. Marc, *Abrégé Chronologique*, vol. i. p. 440—450.

* Steph. Baluzi, *Capitulare*, (Caroli.) vol. i. p. 227, 904, 995, 1105, &c.

† Baluzi, *Capit. passim*.

France, Germany, Italy, &c.

From A. D. 768, to A. D. 814.

Pacific glories of his subsequent reign

Efforts in legislation.

Supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs.

Measures of social improvement.

History. was shown in the number and variety of the public works which he directed: in the construction of roads and bridges, the opening of navigable rivers, and the creation of a marine to foster the commerce and protect the coasts of the Empire. Among these projects, the attempt to complete a communication between the German Ocean and the Euxine by connecting the Rhine and the Danube with a canal, deserves a particular and honourable mention for the grandeur of the design, although it miscarried in the execution.* The failure has been imputed to the rude state of the Arts and the ignorance and unskillfulness of a dark Age: yet, if the difficulties of the work were not really insuperable, it is a greater reproach to the superior intelligence and power of modern times, that at the distance of ten centuries, the magnificent conception of a Barbarian mind remains still unaccomplished.

All these useful efforts to associate his greatness with the welfare of his people have justly raised and perpetuated the renown of Charlemagne far above the ordinary fame which is lit up in the desolation of conquest. Yet, to the eye of scholastic enthusiasm, it is his zealous endeavours for the encouragement of Learning, imperfect and transient though they were, which have shed the purest and most pleasing lustre on his memory; and, with their usual prodigality of gratitude, men of letters have delighted to confer that immortality on the genius of Charlemagne, which Princes have ever cheaply won by the patronage of intellectual studies. But after every deduction for the tastelessness and superstition which disfigured his purposes, the foundation of Schools and the collection of Libraries, the attempt to form an Academy in his Court, and the persevering and successful desire to gather the few learned men of every Country around his person, are all positive evidences of a real sympathy for literary excellence, which not only overcame the original deficiencies of a neglected education, but rose far superior to the rude spirit of his times.†

All the glory and fortune of Charlemagne, however, could not exempt his declining years from the heavy cares of Empire and the ordinary afflictions of humanity. The perpetual anxiety for the repression of abuses which his edicts evince, betrays also the inefficiency of his best efforts, and reveals the internal disorders of his reign and the miseries of the lower class of people. The very extension of his conquests had served only to enlarge the assailable circle of his dominions; and his subjugation and settlement of Northern Germany first threw down the barrier which had concealed the general weakness of Europe from the fierce natives of Scandinavia. At least the advancement of the Frankish frontiers to the Elbe, and the flight of the Saxon exiles to the shores of the Baltic, were almost immediately followed by the emerging of those piratical fleets from the Scandinavian seas, which in a few years spread desolation throughout the coasts of the Ocean and Mediterranean. The genuine origin or fortuitous union of those merciless swarms of adventurers, who became so terrible to the less barbarous nations under the name of Northmen,

Normans, or Danes, is buried in the obscurity of Scandinavian legends; but the Age and the Empire of Charlemagne first witnessed and sustained the scourge of their perpetual invasions. Nursed in the wild storms and cold of their native regions, and habituated to a tempestuous navigation, these Northmen fearlessly braved every peril, and were unequally opposed by the less hardy people of milder climates, whose defenceless coasts invited their roving activity, and whose possessions tempted their ravenous appetite for plunder. In a few years after their appearance on the Ocean, they extended their desultory ravages along the shores of Germany, England, France and Spain. Their descents were sometimes repulsed by the vigilance of Charlemagne and the victories of his navy: but all his power was insufficient to check the incessant expeditious and avert the progress of their numerous fleets. Even during his life they penetrated into the Mediterranean; and on the first spectacle of their vessels from a port id that sea, the aged conqueror is said to have wept in prophetic sorrow at the evils which threatened his Empire.

In his family the heart of the Emperor was doomed to suffer some of the severest trials which belong to the parental condition: to witness and survive the death of his children. His eldest son, Pepin, whose legitimacy is doubtful, had engaged in an unnatural rebellion, and was justly punished by confinement to a Monastery in which he died. Two other of his sons also, Charles and Pepin Carloman, closed their lives before him; and the death of his favourite daughter Rotrude filled up the measure of his affliction. These misfortunes, indeed, were soothed by the filial piety of Lewis, his only remaining son, whom he rewarded by associating with him in the Government. In the last year of the Emperor's life, a solemn Assembly of his States was convened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to confirm his intention; and the Imperial Crown being laid on the altar, Charlemagne, as if he foresaw and desired to prevent the usurpations of the Church, commanded the Prince to place it on his own head, in token that he received and held it alone of God, his father, and his people. Charlemagne survived this remarkable ceremony only a few months; breathing his last in the seventy-first year of his age and the forty-seventh of his reign.‡

The character of Charlemagne has been perhaps sufficiently described in the political, the military, and the domestic transactions of his memorable life. But, on a formal estimate of his qualities of heart and mind, our judgment should in fairness be confined, and his real merit should be measured only by the moral and intellectual standard of his own times. Apart, indeed, from the accidents of his position at an epoch of thick barbarism and ferocious violence, we may readily discover in many features of his conduct the true and unchangeable elements of greatness. His universal ambition of excellence, the magnitude of his conceptions, his benevolent purposes of social improvement, and the indefatigable activity of his spirit, could be the natural products of no particular state of civilization, and less than any, of the times in which he lived. In whatever age of the world he had filled a Throne, these capacities would probably have numbered him among the most illustrious of mankind: but the positive as well as the

France, Germany, Italy, &c.

From A. D. 768, to A. D. 814.

Domestic afflictions

and death of Charlemagne. A. D. 814.

His character.

* Eginhart, *Annales*, ad ann. 794: with a commentary on the attempt, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xvii.

† Eginhart, in *Vita Car. postm.*, and especially c. 25. and 29. But the efforts of Charlemagne for the promotion of Learning are best collected and developed in the *Hist. Littéraire de France*, vol. iv of the learned Bénédictines.

• Thegan. *Chron. Fidei Ludovici Pii*, c. 7.

‡ Eginhart, ad ann.

History.

From
A. D.
768.
to
A. D.
814.
Estimate of
his achieve-
ments

apparent splendour of his character becomes immeasurably enhanced by a contrast with the darkness which surrounds it.

Considering him merely as a conqueror, it would not perhaps be difficult to detract largely from the fame of his exploits and the wisdom of his policy. It has been objected against the originality of his merit, that he did no more than conquer with the means which the two heroes of his race who preceded him had prepared and bequeathed to his hand: but neither were the most celebrated conquerors of the ancient and modern world, Alexander, the first two Cæsars, Mahomet II., Charles XII., and Napoleon, any more than Charlemagne, the absolute creators of the military power which they wielded. There is more justice in the remark that it was the fortune of Charlemagne never to encounter an antagonist worthy of his arms, or equal in strength, discipline, and union to the contest with his troops. Enemies utterly incapable alike of singly resisting the force of his Empire or of confederating for their mutual defence, were easily subjugated in detail by his numerous armies. It extremely depreciates the value of his achievements, that his best trophies were torn only from the degenerate Lombards, the barbarous Saxons and Huns, and the disunited Saracens of Spain; and both his martial genius and his glory are heavily impeded in his disgraceful and unrevenged defeat by the mountaineers of Gascony.

and policy
as a con-
queror.

The policy which directed the arms of Charlemagne, and the theatre of their employment, has been as freely questioned as the merits of his success. It has naturally excited the surprise of Historians, that he abandoned the brilliant completion of his rich conquests in Italy and Spain, to consume thirty laborious campaigns in the forests and wilds of Germany and Pannonia. There can be little doubt that it would have needed far inferior efforts to extend his Empire over the whole of those two Southern Peninsulas of Europe, than he wasted in the barren consummation of his victories over the Saxons. The weakness of the Greek Empire must have delivered its Provinces of Southern Italy an easy prey to the Frankish arms: the fatal dissensions of the Saracens in Spain offered a splendid prize to his ambition. Nor, if his strong but misdirected anxiety for the propagation of Christianity be held to account for his perseverance in the Saxon wars, is his indifference to the pursuit of his Spanish conquests the more explicable: since his Religious zeal and his thirst of glory might have been equally gratified, and his ambition would have been more highly rewarded, by the expulsion of the Infidels from one of the wealthiest and most ancient Kingdoms of Christian Europe. It has been ingeniously suggested that, in his expeditions beyond the Rhine and the Elbe, Charlemagne perhaps aspired to save his Monarchy from the fate of the Roman Empire, to tame the enemies of civilization, and to oppose a rampart to the North against the future torrent of the Barbarian migrations. But this defence of a policy,—which, besides, is only imagined in the opinion, without being supported by any contemporary declaration of the purpose,—is rather plausible than justified by the event. The utility of the precaution would be signally exposed in the subsequent devastations of the Norman pirates; and the Northern conquests of Charlemagne could not extinguish, if they did first rouse, the fierce energies of the Scandinavian race, who mercilessly lacerated anew the Provinces of the second Western Empire, with the same fatal wounds

which the earlier Barbarian invaders had inflicted on the first.

Whatever errors may be fairly imputed to the military conduct and judgment of Charlemagne as a conqueror, are deeply aggravated when we view them in connection with his intolerant and sanguinary bigotry. With the furious zeal of a Barbarian, he outraged the gentle spirit of Christianity, when he attempted the forcible conversion of the Saxon idolaters; and true Religion and policy must equally condemn the cruel and injudicious violence which substituted the horrors of persecution for the persuasive truths of the Gospel. The laws of a conqueror who punished the refusal of Baptism, the relapse to Paganism, and even the eating of flesh during Lent, with the penalty of death, degrade the bigotry of Charlemagne even below the ignorant ferocity of Clovis, or the fanatical proselytism of the Koran. The perpetual revolts of the Saxons were chiefly provoked by these atrocious edicts; and the Capitularies of Charlemagne offer a sufficient explanation for the obstinate resistance of that people, and an eternal reproach to his own memory. Nor, without even the same excuse of a mistaken zeal for Religion, was he incapable of yet greater cruelties in the unscrupulous gratification of his ambition; and both the fate of his brother's children and the shocking massacre of the Saxon thousands in cold blood, are paralleled only by the worst atrocities of a Tartarian despot.

France,
Germany,
Italy, &c.

From
A. D.
768.
to
A. D.
814.

His Reli-
gious intol-
erance

and cruel-
ties against
the Saxons

These excesses of Religious and Political cruelty are the deep shades in the bright character of Charlemagne; the darkening vices of a great nature which, though far from sanguinary by temperament or in wantonness, could scarcely be expected to escape from the contagious influence of a superstitious and ferocious Age. In the judgment of more humane and enlightened times, it requires nothing less than the benevolent attributes of his Civil administration to redeem the offences of his ambition and bigotry: but, even in analyzing his crimes, we ought at once to lose their remembrance, when we compare the benefits of his reign with the previous and subsequent misery of Europe. Seldom has the violent acquisition of power been equally sanctified by its use; and posterity has done justice to the merit of Charlemagne, when it has rested his greatness chiefly on the qualities which were least appreciated in his own times, and conceded to his legislative labours for the public happiness, his encouragement of pacific Arts, and his protection of Learning, the renown which it detracts from his sanguinary conquests and persecuting fanaticism.

Contrast of
wisdom, and
benevolence
in his Civil
administra-
tion.

In the Civil administration of Charlemagne, however, some prominent faults are readily discernible. His legislation extended only to the wants of his own immediate reign; and the unsettled Constitution of his Empire, neither provided for the stability of its foundations, nor secured the fabric of Society beyond the term of his own life. Though he frequently convoked the National Councils of the Franks, he neither organized any vigorous system for perpetuating an absolute Monarchy, nor dictated any plan for the improvement and composition of those Representative Assemblies which are the essence of all free Governments. While his sons lived, he even intended the continuance of that custom of partition which had proved the ruin of the Merovingian Monarchy; and his sagacity was not displayed in any effort to prevent the dissolution of his ill-considered Empire.

Defects of
his govern-
ment.

History. But the most striking Political error of his Government was the encouragement which he gave to the power of the Clergy. In this he was doubtless actuated by the most magnanimous trait in his character—that respect for intellectual superiority, which led him to cherish an Order who engrossed all the knowledge of the times. His esteem for Learning, the remains of which they alone possessed, his anxiety for the support of Religion and the advancement of civilization, and his conviction of his own strength, might all impel him to select the Clergy for the most intelligent, virtuous, and pious instruments of his designs. But this generous confidence had some fatal effects for his own posterity, and the independence of Society. It gave to an ambitious Hierarchy the future means of subjugating the Thrones of Europe to their influence: the Imperial supremacy which restrained the pretensions of the Ecclesiastical Order expired with the genius of Charlemagne; the extravagant pretensions of the Romish Church, if not also of the Papacy itself, were in a great degree of his creation; and the despotism which the Bishops established over the temporal affairs of the Empire almost immediately after his death, may clearly be traced to the share in Civil administration which he had habituated them to exercise.

His domestic and personal qualities. In estimating the private character of this great Prince, the same large allowance is to be made for the manners of the times, which is demanded in the consideration of his public conduct. The licentiousness of his domestic life, the unscrupulous divorce of nine wives, and the unrestrained indulgence of innumerable amours, are sufficient stains upon his morals: without the aggravated charge of an incestuous passion, which appears to have had no other foundation than in the popular mistake of some modern writers.* The frugal economy of his Imperial household, and the temperate simplicity of his own habits in apparel and diet, which Eginhart, his Secretary and Biographer, has minutely described, may be favourably contrasted with these grosser propensities, though they will not extenuate their scandal; and his amiable and generous qualities as a parent, a master, and a friend, at least prove that

his moral infirmities were associated with all the finer and better feelings of our nature. But it is his intellectual tastes and occupations in the midst of the coarse and brutalizing ignorance of Society, which most gracefully redeem his subjection to the common vices of his station and times. His own education was defective and late; and he was indebted to perpetual and laborious study in his mature years, and even in old age, for the sum of his acquirements. As a scholar, these were not perhaps great, even in comparison only with the most erudite of his contemporaries: but the solicitations and liberality with which he attracted men of Learning and merit to his Court, and the delight which he took in their conversation, show his eagerness to repair his own deficiencies, and explain the mode in which he improved his knowledge. Eginhart celebrates his familiar command of Latin, his ready perusal of Greek, and his acquaintance with the chief Sciences, such as they were, of the times: Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, and Astronomy. The fluent eloquence with which these acquirements were displayed might be a natural gift; a quick apprehension probably enabled him to gather most of what he knew from oral communication; and we are astonished by the plain testimony of Eginhart to his ignorance even of the mechanical rudiments of writing, which it was the laborious and imperfect effort of his latter years to acquire.† But the illustrious qualities and accomplishments of Charlemagne are not to be measured by the pedantry of the Schools. In whatever point of view we regard his intellectual character, we shall find it still surrounded with all the originality and loftiness of a truly great mind: his errors and vices were those of his Age, his talents and virtues were his own.‡

* The fond zeal of the good Benedictines (*Hist. Litt. de France*) for the memory of so illustrious a patron of Letters has tempted them to disregard the plain confession of Eginhart, (*Vita Car. c. 25.*) that his Imperial master “*tentavit scribere, &c. ut manuum fingendis literis non proficeret. Sed parum prosperè successit labor præceptoris et viri inchoatus.*”

† The most elaborate view of the life, Empire, and character of Charlemagne is to be found in the Work of Gaillard, (4 vols. 12mo.) before quoted. But it errs in the usual partiality of biography. An opposite fault may be objected to the otherwise masterly sketch of Gibbon, c. 49—who cannot forgive the memory of the Emperor for his support and elevation of the Church. The industrious and impartial Schmidt (*Hist. des Allemans*, vol. ii.) is here a safer guide than either the French Biographer or the English Historian.

* This error has strangely originated in a palpable misinterpretation of a passage in Eginhart, *Vita Car. c. 19.* which indeed gently insinuates, in no very enigmatical language, not the infamy of the father, but the scandalous reputation of his daughters.

France, Germany, Italy, &c.

From A. D. 768. to A. D. 814.

His intellectual tastes and acquirements.

General grandeur and elevation of his mind.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LII.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, FROM THE DEATH OF JULIAN, A. D. 363, TO THE END OF THE IVth CENTURY.

History.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
400.

We now resume the thread of Ecclesiastical History, which, as yet, has not guided us beyond the death of Julian. During his short reign, and, indeed, in the whole intermediate period, from the accession of Constantine, the external History of the Church is so intermingled with Civil and Political History, that we have thought it more convenient to treat them together than separately. In the present Chapter we propose to offer a rapid sketch of the chief outward events affecting the fortunes of Religion for the few remaining years till the close of the IVth century; and we shall afterwards, in pursuance of the system which we have heretofore adopted, review the chief Ecclesiastical Writers and Heresies who adorned or distracted the Christian Church in the whole course of the same century. It is only necessary to premise, that if we here speak of certain Heresies not yet noticed, as if the reader were already familiar with them, this anticipation, which is, indeed, a matter of necessity, must neither surprise him, nor create a suspicion that ought to be omitted. A full account of the doctrines of the Arians and of the disputes excited by them will be given under the head of Heresies. They bear such a prominent part in the transactions of this period, that it would be difficult to avoid all mention of them in writing the external History of the Church.

Policy of
Jovian.

A. D.
363.

Jovian, the successor of Julian, a zealous Christian, conducted himself with great temper and moderation in Ecclesiastical affairs. He lost no time in restoring the free exercise of the Christian Religion, and in abolishing the Laws enacted by Julian to degrade and oppress the Sacerdotal Order. He restored the privileges and immunities of the Church, placing it in nearly the same condition in which it had been left by Constantine. He recalled the Prelates banished during the preceding reign. He manifested his attachment to the Orthodox Believers in the Trinity by the attention which he paid to the illustrious Athanasius, who became his principal adviser on the affairs of the Church; and by checking the petulance of the Arians when they pertinaciously attempted to regain the ascendancy lost since the time of Constantine. But, though decidedly Orthodox, he wisely and magnanimously forbore to per-

secute either the Sectarics or the Pagans.* He granted a full and free toleration to all Religious opinions and all modes of worship, and he showed a sincere desire to allay Religious animosity,† and to promote peace and unity in the Church.‡

Valentinian, whose great qualities as a Sovereign and a legislator were strangely contrasted with the natural violence and ferocity of his disposition, steadily pursued the temperate and judicious policy of his predecessor. He, indeed, severely prohibited the nocturnal sacrifices of the Pagans, and magical incantations, and occasionally restrained those Sectarics§ who were reputedly guilty of flagrant immorality, or obnoxious as disturbers of the public peace. But, with these few exceptions, he allowed the free exercise of Religious worship to all, extending the equal protection of the Law to Heretics, Jews, and Heathens.|| In consequence of this moderation, and of the Emperor's strict and vigorous administration of the Laws, the Western Churches, generally speaking, were little disturbed by the Religious animosities or rancorous Persecutions, so disgraceful to the reign of Constantine.¶

Of the
Christian
Church, &c.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
400.
Valentinian
His Reign
was moderate
tous.
A. D.
364.

* Theodoret (lib. v. c. 21.) represents Jovian as having interdicted the worship of Idols, and this statement is adopted by many modern Ecclesiastical Historians. But Theodoret, a contemporary Orator, and himself a Heathen, positively asserts the contrary; and his testimony is quoted, and not contradicted, by Socrates.

† It is probable that either the direct influence of the Emperor, or the knowledge of his pacific sentiments, brought about the Synod of Antioch, in which a sort of reconciliation took place between the Anomœan party of Acacius of Cæsarea, and the Catholics who adhered to Meletius, Bishop of Antioch. The former agreed to receive the definitions of the Nicene Council, and the latter abated something of their rigour respecting the use of the term *consubstantial*. The consequence was that the sincerity of the Acacians was doubtful, and Meletius and his friends were stigmatized as Semi-Arians and Macedonians.

‡ For a more detailed account of Jovian's proceedings, the reader is referred to Socrates, lib. iii. c. 24, 25. Sozomen, lib. vi. c. 3, 4, 5. Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 1—4.

§ Particularly the Manicheans and the Donatists, the former of whom were accused of licentiousness, and of practising magical incantations at their secret meetings. The Donatists were regarded, not only as rebels against the Civil authority, but as guilty of sacrilege in rebaptizing the members of a different communion.

|| After the death of Julian, the Heathen Temples were often attacked, and sometimes demolished in popular tumults. Valentinian allowed guards to be stationed for their protection, and at the same time consulted the feelings of his Christian subjects by forbidding any Christian soldier to be employed in that service.

¶ Socrates, lib. iv. c. 1. Sozomen, lib. vi. c. 6. Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 6.

* Some original documents, containing a curious account of the conferences between Jovian and the Arian deputies from Alexandria, are inserted in the II^d volume of the Works of Athanasius. Compare Bletier, *Histoire de Jovien*, tom. I. p. 138—147.

History. The Church of Rome was at this time peaceably governed by Liberius, who, after his return from banishment, retracted his profession of Arianism and his condemnation of Athanasius, and adhered steadfastly to the Orthodox party. That party, superior in numbers, and no longer oppressed by the tyranny of Constantius, or the insidious policy of Julian, speedily regained the ascendancy.* On the death of Liberius, a violent and disgraceful conflict arose between two rival candidates for the vacant See, hitherto unexampled in the annals of Christian Rome, though by no means uncommon in later Ages. Damasus, a Spaniard by birth, was elected to succeed Liberius, an election made, it appears, in due form and with the sanction of the public authorities; but a considerable party in the Church, dissatisfied with his character and with his conduct during the Arian Persecution, protested against his appointment, and elected one Ursinius in opposition to him. The Prefect Juventinus endeavoured to put a stop to those irregular proceedings; upon which a popular commotion was excited, and a number of the friends of Ursinius assembled in the Basilica of Sicinius. There they were attacked, and many cruelly massacred by the armed partisans of Damasus. The popular fury on both sides was so great, that the Prefect was compelled to provide for his safety by leaving the city; nor could the tumult be quelled but by the utmost exercise of Imperial authority. The victory remained with Damasus; † his election was confirmed; and the rival Pope, with many of his abettors, was banished from Rome. With this exception, the tranquillity of the Western Churches experienced no material interruption during the reign of Valentinian, and Christianity continued to make silent but rapid advances, both in the Roman Provinces and among the independent Barbarians. By the vigorous, and, in the main, judicious enactments of Valentinian, the prosperity of the Western Church was greatly promoted, and increased dignity and importance were attached to the Christian profession.

Very different was the condition of the Eastern Churches under the rule of Valens, brother to Valentinian, but resembling him in nothing but his faults. A proselyte to the opinions of Eudoxius, the Arian Archbishop of Constantinople, by whom he was bap-

tized, he is said to have solemnly sworn, at the instigation of that Prelate, to exert all his power in favour of the party espoused by him, and to the prejudice of Catholicism. It does not appear that he molested the Pagans, or even the Heretics; but all who adhered to the Nicene* opinions were exposed to a severe Persecution. At Constantinople, and in many other places, the churches were forcibly taken away from the Orthodox and transferred to the Arians. Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, Eusebius of Samosata, Gregory of Nyssa, and many other Catholic pastors, were banished, and the most arbitrary measures were employed to force persons of every age, sex, and condition to abjure their Faith. In Cappadocia those measures were opposed, with some degree of success, by the zeal and activity of Basil, Bishop of Cesarea, and his friend Gregory Nazianzen; the high character and firm and intrepid conduct of both of whom commanded the respect, or excited the awe of the Emperor, and procured them an indulgence which was granted to few. At Alexandria, also, Athanasius was protected from the Imperial officers by their fear of a popular commotion; and during his life his followers experienced comparatively little molestation. After his death, the Arians, supported by the Prefect Palladius, forcibly introduced Lucius, a man previously conspicuous by his rancorous opposition to Athanasius, into the vacant See. Peter, who had been appointed to it by the unanimous consent of the Catholics, was imprisoned; all the Clergy who espoused his cause were banished; and throughout Egypt innumerable acts of cruelty and oppression were exercised upon those who adhered to the Nicene doctrines, especially the Monks, whose zealous opposition to Arianism † rendered them peculiarly obnoxious.

The Arians might, perhaps, have been more successful in their efforts to secure a complete ascendancy if they had not been weakened by their own dissensions. Their numerical strength was greatly increased by the accession of the Goths ‡ of Mœsia and Thrace, who, as

Of the
Christian
Church, &c.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
400.

A. D.
373

Went of
unity among
the Arians.

* A copious, and, probably, somewhat exaggerated account of the sufferings of the Orthodox under Valens, is given by Sozomen, lib. iv. c. 4. & seq.; Sozomen, lib. vi. c. 6. & seq., and particularly by Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 22—36.

† Gibbon (vol. i. c. 25.) extenuates the Persecution of Valens, and tries to make it appear that his agents often exceeded their master's instructions and intentions. In such matters it is almost impossible to discriminate between the portion of blame due to an arbitrary monarch, or to his advisers and agents; but the maxim, *Qua fuit pars alterius, parit per se*, seems as justly applicable to Princes as to persons of an inferior class. It is certain that many severities were exercised against the Catholics, of which the rigorous prohibition of their Religious worship was not the least. It is no less certain that Valens often interfered personally in the controversy in a busy meddling manner; and the character given of him by the impartial Marcellinus, who represents him as *in crudelitatem proclivum, subrogatus ingenti, injuriam, iracundiam, criminibusque sine differentia veri et falsi facit, autem non*, would not lead us to suppose that he greatly disapproved of the cruelties inflicted in his name on a Body of men who illustrated his views and inclinations; but rather make us suspect that, on some occasions, his direct share in them was greater than Gibbon is willing to admit.

‡ The time of the first conversion of any considerable portion of the Goths to Christianity, and the immediate occasion of their embracing *Christianism*, are so variously stated by the Ecclesiastical Historians, that it is difficult to arrive at any certain conclusion on those points. The different accounts of the ancient writers are industriously brought together by Mosco, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, book vii. sec. 39, 40. p. 317—322. However, there seems no reason for doubting that many of them embraced the Christian Faith early in the IVth century; that about A. D. 372, the Pagan King of the Visigoths, Athaulph, instituted a severe Persecution against many of his sub-

* Liberius, in his *Epistle* to those Eastern Bishops who renounced Macellonianism and Semi-Arianism, (*apud Sozomen*, lib. iv. c. 12) represents all the Western Bishops as having disavowed the profession of Rimini, and embraced the doctrine of the Nicene Council. This, however, must be understood with some limitation, as the important See of Milan was then, and for some time, after occupied by the Arian Prelate Auxentius. In the year 364, Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, had a vigorous contest with Auxentius, endeavouring to prove that he was a Heretic, and unworthy of the situation which he held. But Valentinian, to whom the matter was referred, being either deceived by an ambiguous Confession of Faith drawn up by Auxentius, or resolved to proceed with strict impartiality in those contests, not only maintained him in the possession of his See, but ordered Hilary to quit Milan.

† A petition presented to the Emperor by two Presbyters of the party of Ursinius, it is asserted that Damasus marched in person to the attack, at the head of his Clergy and a body of hired Gladiators, and that of a hundred and sixty dead bodies which were found, not one belonged to his party. The account excites the colour of Baronius, and is discreetly passed over in silence by Fleury and other Roman Catholic Historians. The reflections which the Heathen Ammianus Marcellinus takes occasion from this incident to make on the ambition, luxury, and worldly-mindedness of the Roman Pontiffs, are too well known to need quoting.

‡ Soz. lib. iv. c. 29. Sozomen, lib. v. c. 23. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xvi. c. 13.

History.

From
A. D.
369,
to
A. D.
400.

and Euno-
mania.

Religious
liberty
greatly
abridged by
Gratian.
A. D.
367.

it is said, through the influence of their Bishop, Uphilas, embraced the doctrines of Arius in the time of Valens, and by their subsequent conquests disseminated them through a great part of Western Europe. But the divisions^a among them were almost infinite, and (though frequently relating only to minor points of doctrine) effectually prevented all unanimity and concert in their proceedings. Many of the Semi-Arians and Macedonians were so jealous of the ascendancy of the pure Arians, that rather than hold any communion with them, they chose to reunite themselves to the Catholics.†

The Eunomians were at variance with all other sects, and even among themselves; so that though Valens was able for a time to harass and depress the Orthodox, he could not organize his own party, composed of such discordant materials, into a compact and permanent society.

Gratian, the son and successor of Valentinian, though of a mild and pacific disposition, did not exercise his father's impartiality in Religious matters. Imbued by St. Ambrose,‡ Bishop of Milan, with a strong attachment to the Catholic Faith, and, perhaps, with something of an intolerant spirit, he soon showed a disposition to circumscribe the liberty hitherto enjoyed by the Sectaries. He appears, indeed, to have tolerated the Arians;|| but the Eunomians, the Photinians, and the Manicheans were prohibited from holding any public Religious assembly; and the Donatists were commanded to surrender all the churches in their possession to the Catholics, and forbidden, under severe penalties, even to hold any private conventicle. When the death of Valens placed Gratian at the head of the Eastern Empire, the exiled¶ Prelates were immediately recalled; and though not immediately restored to their lost dignities and emoluments, especially where the Arians were numerous and powerful, it was not difficult to perceive that such a measure was in contemplation. The Pagans,** though nominally

tolerated, were subjected to various vexatious restrictions; their Priests were deprived of many privileges and exemptions, hitherto enjoyed by them; and plain indications were given that the liberal policy observed by Jovian and Valentinian was about to be succeeded by a very different system.

It was reserved for Theodosius, a Prince of greater talents and energy than Gratian, but acting upon the same maxims, and under the influence of the same advisers, to carry this change into effect. Immediately after his baptism,* his zeal for the Catholic doctrines displayed itself in a series of intolerant enactments against Heretics.† On his arrival at Constantinople, where Arianism had predominated during forty years, Demophilus, the successor of Eudoxius, was immediately required to embrace the Nicene Faith, or renounce his Bishopric. As he refused to change his principles, he, and the Clergy who adhered to him, were expelled from the city. Gregory Nazianzen, who, upon the death of Valens, had come to take charge of the oppressed and scattered Catholics of Constantinople, was chosen to fill the vacant See, by the arbitrary interposition of the Emperor, rather than by a regular canonical appointment.‡ The Sectaries were prohibited from holding any Religious assembly within the walls of towns, and a commission was issued, by which the Imperial officers were empowered to eject them from the churches which they had usurped, and to reinstate the Catholics. This mandate was rigidly enforced, and, shortly after, the Heretics were forbidden to consecrate Bishops, or to erect places of worship, either in the cities or the country. Little opposition was made to these sweeping measures. In many districts the Arians were in an humiliating minority; in others, where their numbers were greater, they were so divided into factions, as to be incapable of unity of purpose. Their Religious principles, moreover, were but ill calculated to support them in the hour of trial.|| They were dispersed and intimidated, and gradually conformed to the established system; and thus the public profession of that doctrine, once triumphant throughout the Roman Empire, was suppressed almost without a struggle.

While Theodosius, in the East, thus endeavoured to

jects on account of their attachment to it; and that their lapse into Arianism took place during the reign of Valens.

* Socrates, lib. v. c. 20—24.

† This reconciliation, perhaps more apparent than real, took place in the year 365, chiefly through the influence of Eustathius of Sebaste, whose subsequent conduct made it appear that he acted more from policy than conviction, on this occasion.

‡ Upon the death of Auxentius, A. D. 374, Ambrose, who was then Governor of the Province, was chosen to succeed him by popular acclamation. Though a layman, and not even baptized at the time of his election, he applied himself so zealously to his new profession, that he quickly surpassed most of his contemporaries, and became, through his talents and his influence with the Emperors, the great arbiter of the affairs of the Western Churches. It is easy to perceive that the authority of the Bishops of Rome was very insignificant compared with that exercised by Ambrose.

§ Sozom. lib. vii. c. 1.; and for Gratian's Laws against Heretics, see Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 5. l. 4, 5.

|| The Arians would not have escaped, if the second Constitution of Gratian, published A. D. 379 against Heretics, "*Omnes vestra*," had been acted upon to the full extent of the letter. But this does not seem to have been the case; at least the Arians were allowed to retain their churches, even those which they had usurped from the Catholics, till some time after the accession of Theodosius.

¶ Though persons who have suffered under Religious Persecution are seldom disposed to show much forbearance towards those whom they regard as the authors of their misfortune, sons of the restored Catholic Bishops had the magnanimity to offer to leave their Arian competitors in possession of their Sees, in case they would consent to embrace the Nicene Faith. Sozom. lib. vii. c. 2.

** Gratian's Laws against the Pagans do not now appear in the *Theodosian Code*. They are, however, mentioned by the Heathen Orator Symmachus. *Relist. ad Valentinian*, as well as by Ambrose, in his Reply to Symmachus, and are appealed to in a subsequent Constitution of Honorius, Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 10. l. 20. *De Paganis*:

* Theodosius was baptized in the beginning of the year 380, at Thessalonica, by Ascholinus, Bishop of that place. The famous Law, "*Consecro populus*," which declares the Faith professed by Pope Damasus and Peter of Alexandria to be the only true one, and every departure from it to be impious and heretical, was promulgated a few days after. Sozom. lib. vii. c. 4, and compare Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 1. l. 2. *De Fide Catholica*.

† The *Theodosian Code* (lib. xvi. tit. 5. *De Hereticis*) contains not fewer than fifteen rigorous Constitutions by this Emperor against the various denominations of Sectaries.

‡ The exercise of the Catholic worship had been so completely suppressed at Constantinople that Gregory was forced to assemble his congregation in a private apartment; and even this proceeding was attended with some risk. The apartment was called *domus*, as being the place of the *resurrection* of the Nicene Faith. Sozom. lib. vii. c. 5.

§ The question of the validity of Gregory's appointment was rendered still more perplexed, by Maximus the Cynic, a worthless person, who first initiated himself into Gregory's favour, and then surreptitiously obtained consecration, as Archbishop of Constantinople, by the Egyptian Bishops. The Western Prelates were at variance with those of the East about this time, and for a while they espoused the cause of Maximus, and opposed the promotion of Gregory.

|| Gibbon's remarks on the cause of the want of firmness manifested by the Arians at this time, (vol. v. ch. xxvii.) though not in a friendly spirit, are, upon the whole, just and well worthy of attention. The whole tenour of Ecclesiastical History shows that a Christian Sect, denying the divinity of the Saviour, carries a principle of decay in its own bosom.

Of the
Christi
Church,†

From
A. D.
369,
to
A. D.
400,
Policy at
legislation
of Theod
sius.
A. D.
379.

Consec
Ambrose.

History. suppress Heresy by penal enactments, and to unite the Orthodox (with whatever success) by the convocation of the Council of Constantinople.* Ambrose exerted himself zealously to the same purpose in the West. Through his influence, Palladius and Secundianus, the only Arian Bishops of note within Gratian's dominions, were condemned and deposed at the Synod of Aquileia. The accession of the younger Valentinian revived, however, the hopes and spirits of that Sect. His mother, Justina, had long been a proselyte to their doctrines, though she concealed her sentiments during her husband's lifetime. The virtual sovereignty of Italy and Illyricum having fallen into her hands by the death of Gratian, she employed it to secure a free exercise of their Religion,† and an equality of privileges for her own party. But when, in pursuance of those objects, she demanded that one of the principal churches in Milan, in the possession of the Catholics, should be surrendered for her accommodation, she was encountered by Ambrose, who declared himself ready to suffer every extremity rather than allow the churches of God to be contaminated by the worship of Heretics. The Empress strained every nerve, not neglecting intimidation, to carry her point, but the firmness and intrepidity of the Archbishop prevailed. Shortly after, Justina, or her ministers, contrived to obtain a sentence of banishment against Ambrose, apparently under the pretext that he had infringed the toleration granted by the Emperor to his Arian subjects. But the Archbishop, foreseeing the dangers to which his flock would be exposed during his absence, boldly refused to obey the sentence, and though matters proceeded to such an extremity that he was actually besieged in his Cathedral by the Imperial troops, his firmness, aided by the enthusiastic zeal of the people of Milan in his cause, and by the dexterous interposition of a few miracles,‡ (a species of machinery already extensively employed,) finally triumphed over all opposition.§ The influence which Theodosius soon after obtained in the affairs of Italy finally extinguished the hopes and completed the downfall of the Arian faction in the West.

Though Theodosius was severe in enacting penalties against Heretics, he was, upon the whole, lenient in enforcing them, and was satisfied with preventing the public profession of obnoxious opinions. It was reserved for the usurper Maximus, aided by two Catholic Prelates of very equivocal character, to set the first example,

* This Synod created more divisions than it healed. The Macedonians, whom the Emperor hoped to reconcile, were completely alienated; the differences already existing between the Western and the Eastern Churches were augmented, and the illustrious and amiable Gregory Nazianzen fell a victim to the jealousy of his brother Prelates, being forced to resign his Archbishopric in order to make room for Nectarius, a man much inferior to Gregory in every respect, and elected under circumstances highly discreditable, both to himself, and those who patronized him. Seeom. lib. vii. c. 7, 8.

† It is extraordinary that the Constitution whereby Valentinian grants his Arian subjects the most ample liberty of conscience, and in which he even seems to admit the Orthodoxy of the Creed of Rimini, is still extant in the Theodosian Code, under the title *De Fide Catholicæ*.

‡ He was directed, in a dream, to the bodies of two unknown martyrs, Gervasius and Prothasius, by which holy relics the usual miraculous cures were wrought. The Arians discerned the artifice, and exclaimed against it; but the Empress and her advisers dared not contend against the Religious frenzy of the people.

§ We have a circumstantial account of these contests with Justina from the pen of Ambrose himself. *Epist.* 20, 21, 22, &c. Compare Seeom. lib. vi. c. 13.

one alas! too fatally followed, of persecuting Christians to death for their Religious opinions. Their victims were Priscillian, Bishop of Avila, in Spain, with several of his followers, male and female. He had imbibed a system, compounded, as it is said, of the errors of the Manichæans and of the Gnostics, first introduced into Spain by an Egyptian named Mark; and, by his eloquence and address, he had made many proselytes. His errors, or his popularity, excited the alarm of Idacius, Bishop of Meriola, and Ithacius, Bishop of Sossu, by whose joint influence his doctrines were condemned at the Council of Saragossa. Not satisfied with this triumph, they obtained, after much importunity, a sentence of banishment from the Emperor Gratian against Priscillian and his followers. The leaders of the party, however, contrived to procure the revocation of that sentence, and the restoration of their churches. On their reinstatement they engaged the people and the Imperial officers so completely in their interest, that Ithacius was in his turn compelled to fly. Full of resentment, he applied to Maximus, as soon as the death of Gratian had left that usurper in possession of Spain and Gaul, and represented the principles and conduct of the Priscillianists in the most odious light. Maximus warmly espoused his cause, and ordered Priscillian and his principal associates to be apprehended and tried by an Ecclesiastical Synod at Bourdeaux. Priscillian having appealed to the Emperor, the Cause was carried before the Civil Tribunal, and, notwithstanding the humane intercession of St. Martin of Tours, who represented that exclusion from the pale of the Church would be a sufficient punishment, and that it was a thing unheard of, that Secular Judges should take cognizance of errors in Faith and Doctrine, he was finally condemned and executed. Six of his associates, among whom were Euchrocia, a noble Aquitanian matron, and Latronianus, an eminent poet, shared the same fate. Instantius, a Spanish Prelate, already condemned by the Synod of Bourdeaux, was deposed and banished to Scilly; the meaner disciples were dispersed through various parts of Gaul.* These proceedings, equally irregular and barbarous, excited general reprobation; and it is to the honour of Ambrose and St. Martin, whose zeal for the Catholic Faith sometimes amounted to intolerance, that they openly and fearlessly expressed their abhorrence of the sanguinary conduct of Maximus, and for a long time refused to hold Religious communion either with him, or his instigators, Idacius and Ithacius.

The Religious liberty of the Pagans, though considerably abridged by Gratian, was yet greater than had been allowed by the Laws of Constantine and his immediate successors. The Priests and Vestals were deprived of their immunities; the revenues of the Temples were confiscated for the service of the State; but the Heathen rites of their forefathers were still allowed to those who were conscientiously attached to them, provided they abstained from nocturnal sacrifices and magical incantations. But when Theodosius, in the early part of his reign, prohibited the immolation of victims, their superstition was attacked in its most vital

Of the Christian Church, &c.

From A. D. 363. to A. D. 400.

Fate of Priscillian and his followers.

A. D. 364.

* Sulpic. Sever. *Hist. Sacr.* lib. ii. c. 65.

† The Laws of this Emperor and his successors against Heathenism, which are numerous, are preserved in the Theodosian Code, lib. xvi. tit. 10. *De Paganis Sacrificiis et Templis*.

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part,* and, in the course of a few years, the success of his measures against Heresy, and his triumph over Maximus emboldened him to proceed to steps of a still more decisive kind, and to attempt the entire subversion of the already tottering fabric of Paganism. A Commission was issued to the Prefect of the East, directing him to close all Heathen Temples within his jurisdiction; and while the Imperial officers were engaged in this task,† assisted by the Clergy, and especially by the Monks, with a vigour not always strictly legal, Theodosius gradually increased the rigour of his legislative prohibitions. A Law was passed in the year 391, declaring that to enter a Heathen Temple, with a Religious purpose, was an offence liable to a fine of fifteen pounds of gold; and in the following year, not only all public, but even all private and domestic, exercise of Heathen rites was interdicted under the severest penalties.‡ In some few instances, the intemperate and tumultuous proceedings of the Monks in destroying the Temples, excited the opposition of the fanatical Heathen peasantry, and at Alexandria a serious commotion, fatal to many Christians, was occasioned by the injudicious measures of the Patriarch Theophilus. But, generally speaking, the Pagans showed little disposition to incur the rigorous penalties of the Laws, still less to become martyrs for a Religion so little calculated to inspire real faith or fortitude. Some show of zeal in the cause of Paganism was made at Rome, where the votaries of the ancient superstition still had a strong party, both among the Senate and populace. But the eloquent exertions of Symmachus, the champion of Heathenism, were easily baffled by Ambrose,§ who encountered him with equal ability, better argument, and a confident reliance on the support of his Sovereign; and not long after, a more important victory was gained, in an enactment by the Senate, carried, through the influence of Theodosius, by an overwhelming majority, that Christianity should for the future be the sole Religion of the Roman State. This decisive measure sealed the ruin of Paganism in Rome and its dependencies. The Senators and Nobles hastened to conform, nominally at least, to the dominant Religion; the inferior citizens followed their example, and St. Jerome was in a little while able to boast that every Heathen altar in Rome was forsaken, and every Temple had become a place of desolation. Arcadius and Honorius, the sons and successors of Theodosius, trod closely in his steps; the zealous efforts of the Clergy, especially of St. Martin of Tours, in the work of conversion and instruction, powerfully seconded the vigorous measures

of the Emperors, so that, at the close of the IVth century, the open profession of Paganism was confined to the inhabitants of some obscure Provinces, and to a few Philosophers and men of rank, whose talents, on the one hand, or whose Civil and military services, on the other, induced their Governors to tolerate or connive at their Religious opinions. Of the converts thus obtained to Christianity, many, doubtless, were honestly and fairly convinced by force of argument, and thus far were the interests of true Religion promoted. But it is to be feared that the arbitrary measures of Theodosius were, upon the whole, injurious to the purity and welfare of the Catholic Church. The churches were filled with hypocritical pretenders, who, influenced by secular force or sordid self-interest, assumed the denomination of Christians, while their hearts were still attached to their former superstitions. It would have been happy for the Christian Church if the evil had been confined to the mere admission of these spurious members. But, unfortunately, their Spiritual rulers, aware of the insincerity of this portion of their converts, and anxious to conciliate them, rashly compromised the dignity and truth of Christianity, by adulterating it with Pagan superstitions and human inventions. The evils caused by thus alloying pure Religion with superstition and falsehood have subsisted ever since; and most of the gross and debasing practices which deform Christianity in Roman Catholic Countries, may be distinctly traced to this source.

The retrospect of the IVth century, the most important period, perhaps, between the first promulgation of Christianity and the Reformation, is in some points of view not unfavourable. The boundaries of the visible Church were extended, and the numbers of her subjects were considerably increased. In the earlier part of this century the Gospel was preached with success, and Churches were organized in Armenia, Iberia, and Abyssinia. A considerable Tribe of Saracens, also, subject to Queen Mavia, or Moavia, is said to have embraced Christianity in the reign of Valens. Many of the Pagan Gauls were converted, chiefly through the exertions of St. Martin of Tours. In the time of Theodosius the Gospel began to make some progress in the frontier Provinces of Germany; and if the Irish Annalists may be credited, the Culdees formed various establishments on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, and laboured diligently to instruct and enlighten the barbarous natives. It must be admitted that this gratifying picture of the triumphs of the Gospel has its dark side; indeed, a full and impartial view of the subject is calculated to give the enlightened and pious Christian almost as much pain as pleasure. As the Church increased in numbers, she also increased rapidly in wealth, power, and influence, and the evils which seldom fail to follow in the train of prosperity, soon began to manifest themselves. Artful and unprincipled men perceived the power of the Christian Religion upon the human mind, and abused it to their own evil purposes. Ambitious Sovereigns learned to make the Church an engine of State, and equally ambitious Ecclesiastics conceived the bold design of subjecting the Civil power to Spiritual tyranny. Errors in doctrine were made inveterate by severity and injudicious opposition; errors in practice were frequently connived at through sordid and selfish motives. Thus Schisms and Heresies were multiplied and perpetuated; seeds of corruption were sown, which speedily grew up in rank

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Christian
Church, &c.

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to
A. D.
400.

Progress of
Christianity
during the
IVth cen-
tury.

A. D.
395.

* There is an ambiguity in the Law published A. D. 381. *Si quis vetitis sacrificia.* (Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. l. 7. *De Paganis*) which might seem to justify the inference that every species of sacrificing was not prohibited. Zosimus and Libanius both concur in affirming, that the immolation of victims was forbidden about this time, and that only the use of incense was allowed; but it is not quite clear whether they allude to the above Law, or to the one addressed to Cyneget, A. D. 385. Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. l. 9. with Godefray's commentary.

† Theodoret, l. v. c. 21. and Sozomen, l. vii. c. 15. give an account of the destruction of idolatry in the Eastern Empire.

‡ The terms of the Law are sufficiently comprehensive: *Nullus omnino stans curatibus simulachris, vel innotent victimarum cordis; vel secretorie piaculis, Larem igne, mero Genium, Penates nudare veneratiles, accendat lumina, imponat turra, eria suspendat.* Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. x. l. 12. The penalty imposed was confiscation of the house or property where the offence was committed, or, in certain cases, a fine of twenty-five pounds of gold.

§ Ambrose, *Epsist.* 17, 18.

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Persecu-
tion.

and mischievous luxuriance; and, perhaps, it is not too much to affirm, that nearly all the erroneous doctrines, corrupt practices, and Religious fictions of the present day may be traced to this period.

After the death of Julian, the Church suffered but little from external violence, at least within the limits of the Roman Empire. If we except the Persecution under Valens, the effects of which were transient, she was uniformly protected by the Civil power, and her worst foes were those of her own household. The sufferings of the Christian subjects of Athanaric the Goth, are probably exaggerated; but there seems no reason to doubt that martyrdoms occurred among them. Nicetas and Sabbas are spoken of as the most eminent victims: of the former, little is known; the Acts of the latter have been preserved, and, making allowance for an alloy of the marvellous, from which few Histories of martyrdoms are exempt, there seems no reason to doubt their authenticity. The last Persecution under Sapor, King of Persia,* between the years 390 and 370, was of a more serious character. That Monarch, exasperated by Political and Religious causes against his Christian subjects, pursued them with such unrelenting rigour, that the Church in that Country never completely recovered from its effects.

Sufferings
of the pro-
phets
Carthage

The disposition already shown by the Bishops of Rome to encroach upon the rights of their brethren, was held in check during the lives of Theodosius and Ambrose. The Pontiff Damasus was succeeded, in 365, by Siricius, a man of moderate abilities, and remarkable only as the first Pope of whom we have any genuine Decretal Epistles. He was succeeded, A. D. 398, by Anastatius, whose claim to notice rests only on his condemnation of the Works of Origen, which he probably did not understand, and on his persecution of the learned Rufinus, Origen's apologist and translator. At the same time, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, placed by a Decree of the Second General Council on an equality with the Roman Pontiffs, began to extend their jurisdiction and their prerogatives. Their views were greatly promoted by the celebrated Chrysostom, who succeeded Nectarius in 398, and who soon showed that his ambition equalled his genius. On the death of Peter of Alexandria, Timothy, a man of little note or influence, governed that See for about four years. He was succeeded by Theophilus, an able, bold,

active, ambitious, and unprincipled man, famous for his vigorous proceedings against Hethenism, and still more so for his cruel treatment of the Origenists, and his rancorous persecution of Chrysostom. In the mean time the Church of Antioch was disturbed by a singular Schism. When Eudoxius was translated from Antioch to Constantinople, Meletius was regularly ordained in his room. A small faction, however, called the Eustathians, suspecting his Orthodoxy, refused to acknowledge him as their lawful pastor, and persuaded Lucifer, Bishop of Calaris, to consecrate a Presbyter named Paulinus, in opposition to him. The Schism was prolonged and aggravated, first by the obstinacy of the Popes and other Western Bishops, who adhered to the cause of Paulinus; and afterwards by the perverseness and bad faith of the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople, in appointing Flavian as Meletius's successor, in spite of an express pledge, that upon the demise of one of the rival Prelates, the survivor should be allowed to remain in possession of the disputed See. After the death of Paulinus in 389, his party, not choosing to acknowledge Flavian, elected one Evagrius. The dispute was not terminated till the year 398, when, upon the death of Evagrius, Theophilus of Alexandria had the address to prevail upon his party not to appoint any successor; and Chrysostom persuaded the Western Bishops to admit Flavian to their communion.

The death of Theodosius was of no advantage to the Sectaries, as Arcadius and Honorius rather increased than relaxed the severity of their father's laws against Heresy. At the close of the IVth century, the different denominations of Arians, and the Macedonians, weakened by their own dissensions and by the want of able leaders, dwindled into comparative insignificance, and in many places conformed, outwardly at least, to the Catholic Church. The Manichæans, though proscribed and declared infamous, were still numerous, and, to the best of their power, evaded the rigorous laws directed against them, by dissembling their opinions, and disguising themselves under a variety of appellations. The steadfastness with which the Novatians adhered to the Nicene Faith during the Arian Persecution, procured them a degree of indulgence scarcely experienced by any other Sect; and their Church at Constantinople, under the direction of Sisinnius, an able and accomplished Prelate, is described as being in a flourishing condition in the time of Arcadius. The numbers and the factious spirit of the African Donatists, rendered them exceedingly troublesome both to the Civil and Ecclesiastical power. The rise and progress of this Sect, and the various Synods which were assembled in order to repress them, will be treated in another Chapter.

Of the
Christian
Church, &c.

From
A. D.
363.
to
A. D.
400

Condition of
the principal
Sects

* The best account of the Persian Persecutions is contained in the *Syrian Martyrology*, published by Stephen Assemani. In the first part of the Work, attributed to Maruthas, the sufferings of the Christians under Sapor are described in a simple, unaffected manner, and without the garnish of improbable miracles, so usual in narratives of this kind.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LIII.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

History.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The Christian Writers of the IVth century are much more numerous than those of the IIId and IIId; and their Works are, generally speaking, more voluminous, and of a more elaborate nature. We deem it unnecessary to dilate much on their general character as authors, since the remarks already made on the merits and defects of their predecessors are no less applicable to them. In learning, eloquence, and in the graces of composition, many of them equalled, or perhaps even excelled, their most eminent Heathen contemporaries: but these excellences are greatly obscured by their want of method and precision; their frequent substitution of declamation for argument; and, most of all, by their willingness to adopt or connive at the growing superstitions of the Age, and to adulterate the purity and simplicity of the Gospel with human inventions.

As it would greatly exceed our limits to furnish regular Biographical accounts of all the Theological writers of this century, or to enter into a detailed examination of their voluminous productions, we shall omit those of whom no writings, or only a few inconsiderable fragments, have been preserved, and we shall compress our remarks upon the others into as brief a space as possible. Instead of making two distinct classes of the Greek and Latin authors, we shall henceforth arrange them all according to the strict chronological order, as nearly as it can be ascertained.

ARNOBIUS.

CIRCITER A. D. 303.

Arnobius was a native of Africa: the date of his birth and that of his death are equally unknown. Little, indeed, can be ascertained respecting his personal history, except that he was originally educated in the principles of Heathenism, and that he taught Rhetoric at Sicca Venera, a city of Numidia. Being convinced of the falsehood and folly of Paganism, and of the truth of Christianity, he composed his Work *Adversus Gentes*, while yet a catechumen, chiefly, as St. Jerome* informs us, with the view of satisfying his spiritual instructors of the

sincerity of his conversion. This Work consists of VII Books; it is of a polemical character throughout, being a direct attack on the whole system of Heathenism. After refuting the popular calumnies against Christianity, and vindicating the character of our Saviour and some of the principal doctrines of the Gospel, he exposes, at considerable length, and with all the acrimony of a new convert, the absurdities of Polytheism, and the irrational nature of the Religious services of the Pagans. As might be expected of a catechumen, he shows himself only moderately acquainted with the genuine doctrines of the Gospel; and is, throughout his Treatise, much more successful in attacking the system which he had renounced, than in pleading the cause of that which he had recently embraced. His style is of a declamatory cast, somewhat harsh, and occasionally disfigured by African barbarism, and an affectation of antiquated words. It is, however, animated, nervous, and forcible; and the whole Work plainly shows the author to have possessed a vigorous and comprehensive mind, and to have been a person of considerable research and information.

The early editions of Arnobius were printed from faulty manuscripts, and are consequently very incorrect. The Plantin edition, printed at Antwerp in 1582, is much superior to all preceding, and the editor (Canter) has appended a number of useful notes. A good Variorum edition was published at Leyden, in 1652, by Le Maire, under the superintendence of Thysius, and reprinted in 1657. A copious analysis of the Work, together with many judicious remarks on its merits and defects, is inserted in Le Nourry's *Apparatus ad Bibliothecam Maximam Patrum*, tom. ii. dissertat. ii. p. 257. et seq. Consult, also, Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclési.* vol. iv. art. *Arnobius*; Dupin, *Biblioth.* vol. i. cent. iii.; and Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* lib. iv. c. 3. p. 728.

There is a short commentary on the Psalms bearing the name of Arnobius, which is evidently a production of the Vth or VIth century.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IVth Century.

Editors

Commentary on I Psalms.

LACTANTIUS.

A. D. 303—320.

Lucius Cælius Firmianus Lactantius was, it is said, a native of Italy, but the exact place of his birth is unknown. He studied under Arnobius, at Sicca Venera, where his talents displayed themselves to so much

Adversus Gentes.

* Hieron. *Chron.* ad an. 327.

History.

advantage that he was invited to open a School of Rhetoric at Nicomedia, in Bithynia, which, in the time of Diocletian, was one of the most flourishing cities of the Empire. Not meeting with the success which he expected, he commenced author by profession, and during Diocletian's Persecution laudably exerted his talents in behalf of his fellow-Christians, in vindication of whom he wrote several spirited Treatises. Upon the accession of Constantine, he went into Gaul, and received the honourable appointment of tutor to Crispus, Constantine's eldest son. Notwithstanding his fame as an author, and his credit with the Emperor, Eusebius and Jerome assure us that he was so poor as frequently to want the common necessities of life.* He died at an advanced age, probably a short time before the Nicene Council.

De Divinis Institutionibus.

The most considerable Work of Lactantius is the Treatise *De Divinis Institutionibus*, which professes to be a complete exposition of the errors of Heathenism, and of the truth and excellence of Christianity. It is divided into VII Books, the first two of which are entitled, *De Falsâ Religione*, and *De Origine Erroris*. In these, he undertakes to demonstrate the unity of the Godhead, to explode the fabulous Deities of the Heathens, and to expose the absurdity of the idolatrous worship paid to them by their deluded votaries. In the III Book, *De Falsâ Sapientiâ*, he attacks the whole system of Pagan Philosophy as vain and futile; and from his demonstration of its utter worthlessness, concludes that the knowledge and worship of God is the only true wisdom. In the IVth Book, *De Verâ Sapentiâ*, he delivers a succinct account of the principal doctrines of the Gospel, occasionally vindicating them from the objections of the Heathens. The chief object of the Vth Book, *De Justitiâ*, is to claim a toleration for the professors of Christianity, and to show the cruelty and injustice of the severities inflicted on them by their persecutors. In the VIth Book, *De Vero Cultu Dei*, he shows that the true worship of God consists in the inward purity and devout dispositions of the heart, and in the active discharge of moral duties, dilating at considerable length on the necessity and excellence of the latter. The last Book, *De Vitâ Beatâ*, is a discourse on the immortality of the soul, the reality and nature of a future state, and the certainty and awfulness of the last judgment. The whole concludes with an eloquent and solemn exhortation to mankind to be converted, and embrace the salvation offered by the Gospel while they have the opportunity. The epitome of this Work, executed by Lactantius himself, is lost, with the exception of the last III Books.

Other Works.

We have, moreover, a short Treatise by Lactantius, *De Irâ Dei*; and another, *De Opificio Hominis*, in which he undertakes to prove the reality of a Divine Providence by a review of the bodily powers and mental faculties of man, the most excellent of God's works. The small Work, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, though known to have existed in the time of Jerome, was long supposed to be lost, till it was rescued from oblivion by Baluze, who published it from an ancient manuscript in the III volume of his *Miscellanea*. It is written with spirit and elegance, and is of value, from containing several Historical facts not to be met with elsewhere. But the general tone of it is too acrimonious and uncharitable, and the author falls into the same error of

which the Christians of that period justly accused their Pagan adversaries—of being too ready to interpret every signal calamity as a token of divine vengeance on the sufferers.

The following Works of this author are no longer extant: *Symposium*, (a juvenile production); *Ἐκλογικὸν*, a Poem in which he described his journey from Africa to Nicomedia; *Ad Actepiadem*, lib. ii.; VIII Books of Epistles.*

In classical elegance of style, Lactantius far excels Style, all his contemporaries; indeed, it may be doubted whether he does not surpass every Latin prose-writer since the time of Augustus. His language is at once clear, copious, flowing, and energetic; and of all imitators of Cicero, he is, undoubtedly, the most successful. With respect to his matter, his Ethics are generally sufficiently pure and rational, but his Theology is too often erroneous and unsound. Like his master Arnobius, he was less versed in the doctrines of the Gospel, than in the Religion and Philosophy of the Heathens, whose errors and superstitions he attacked while he was as yet but imperfectly emancipated from them. Hence he is to be read with some degree of caution, and must be regarded as a very indifferent authority on Religious subjects, particularly on points of dogmatic Theology. Many editions of Lactantius have been printed: the Geneva edition of 1613, and the Leyden one of 1660, are esteemed for their accuracy; they want, however, the Treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, as do all editions published before the end of the XVIIth century. This defect is supplied in the Oxford edition of 1684, and in all subsequent to it.

Editions.

Vide Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. Art. *Lactance*; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iii.; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. sec. 4. p. 161, c. seq.; Nourry, *Apparat.* tom. ii. *Dissert.* 3. c. 1, art. 2.

COMMODIANUS.

DATE UNCERTAIN.

The Country and the personal history of Commodianus are equally unknown; nor is it, perhaps, certain that he ought to be classed among the Ecclesiastical writers of the IVth century.† From the peculiarities of his diction, it is conjectured that he was a native of Africa; and he represents himself as a convert from Paganism to Christianity. His only Work, entitled *Instructionum Opus adversus Paganos*, is one of the most singular monuments of antiquity. It is divided into eighty Strophes or sections, each of which is an Acrostick, the initial letters of the lines being so arranged as to compose the title or subject of the Section. It is, strictly speaking, neither verse nor prose. A sort of rhythmical modulation is observed, and the lines have generally something approaching to the cadence of the hexameter, but without the smallest regard being paid to the laws of prosody or metre. We have now no means of ascertaining whether this uncouth versification, if it deserves the name, was invented by Commodianus; or whether he imitated the Poetry of some

Instruct.iones.

* There are a few Poems still extant bearing the name of Lactantius, but undoubtedly spurious.

† Rigaltius supposes him to have flourished about the year 326, on the ground of a fancied allusion to Pope Sylvester. Cave and Dodwell think that he flourished in the latter part of the IIIrd century being contemporary, or nearly so, with Cyrillus. This latter opinion seems most probable, and best supported by internal evidence.

* Euseb. *Chron.* An. 318. Hieron. *Ep. ad Paulinum*, p. 104. VOL. XI.

History.

Barbarous nation, constructed, like that of most modern languages, according to certain rules of rhythm and accent, without any regard to syllabic quantity.

The Instructions of Commodianus are partly of a polemical and partly of a didactic nature. In the first division of the Work, he demonstrates the absurdity of Paganism, and the superior purity and excellence of Christianity. In the second part he shows the Jews that the Law was only a shadow of better things to come, and that it is superseded by the Gospel. The third part consists of a series of Moral and Religious Instructions, addressed to professors of Christianity, strongly enforcing the necessity of strict holiness of life, and the duty of bearing all the calamities inflicted on them by their Pagan persecutors with fortitude, rather than renounce the Faith.

The style of Commodianus is harsh, his diction barbarous and impure, nor does his Work display much originality or elevation of thought. His theology is infected with the prevalent errors of the period in which he wrote; and his morality, though pure, is of a rigorous and ascetic cast. Upon the whole, he appears to have been a man of excellent intentions, and by no means destitute of information, but of little genius, of still less taste, and of more zeal than judgment. They who can overlook these defects will, however, find in his Work a good deal of curious and valuable information respecting the manners and opinions of the Age in which he flourished.

Editions.

This Work was long unknown to the moderns, except through the slight mention made of the author by Gennadius.* It was first published by Pigault, from a manuscript in the possession of Sirmond, (Toul. 1650, in 4to.) afterwards, together with Cyprinus, Paris, 1666, and separately by Heischius, Wittenberg, 1705. This last edition contains the notes of Rigault, and Dodwell's *Dissertation on the Age of Commodianus*.

Vide Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 136—138; Fabricius, *Bibl. Med. et Inf. Lat.* lib. iii. p. 1139.

EUSEBIUS OF CESAREA.

CIRCITER A. D. 264 TO CIRCITER A. D. 338.

Eusebius was a native of Palestine, most probably of Cesarea. The precise date of his birth is unknown; but, from his describing various transactions of the reign of Gallienus as having occurred in his time, it is supposed to have taken place about A. D. 264. Nothing is known of his parentage, and very little of his early life. It is thought, but without sufficient evidence, that he studied at Antioch, under a Priest named Dorotheus, and that he was ordained Priest by Agapius, Bishop of Cesarea. Early in the IVth century he became intimately attached to Pamphilus of Cesarea, whose name he adopted, and in whose company he indefatigably prosecuted his studies in sacred and profane literature. During the Persecution under Galerius and Maximin, Pamphilus was thrown into prison, where Eusebius courageously continued to visit him, and to pay him every friendly attention in his power, until the time of his martyrdom. He himself did not escape Persecution, being imprisoned, as it is commonly supposed, in Egypt; at least, we know that Potamon, an Egyptian Bishop, was his companion in captivity. Some time

after his release, he was appointed to succeed Agapius in the See of Cesarea, which he governed till his death. After taking an active and prominent part in the affairs of the Christian Church, especially in the Arian controversy, he finished his laborious and useful career about the year 338.

In extent and variety of learning, Eusebius far excelled all his Christian contemporaries; and his talents as a writer, a theologian, and a man of business, were of a very high order. Though his influence with the Emperor Constantine was almost unbounded, he never availed himself of it to enrich or aggrandize himself; and he gave a signal proof of disinterestedness, by refusing to accept the Patriarchate of Antioch, when vacant by the deposition of Eustathius. The moderation and forbearance which he showed towards Arius and his followers caused his Orthodoxy to be suspected; and though the charge of Arianism, so confidently made against him both by ancient and modern writers,* has never been substantiated, it must be confessed that some expressions in his Works, and his conduct towards the latter end of his life, gave some sort of countenance to it.

Of the multifarious writings of Eusebius, some have come down to us in a mutilated state; others are only known to us through the medium of Latin translations, and by far the greater number have entirely perished. Those, however, which we have the good fortune to possess, are highly creditable monuments of his talents and industry. We have already treated copiously of the merits and defects of the Ecclesiastical History, which may be regarded as his principal Work. Next to this may be placed the *Præparatio Evangelica*, the avowed object of which, as the title implies, is to dispose men's minds to think favourably of Christianity. This Work, which is perhaps the ablest, the most methodical, and the best argued Treatise on Natural and Revealed Religion of which Christian antiquity can boast, is divided into XV Books, and is addressed to one Theodorus, who, it is supposed, was Bishop of Laodicea. The leading propositions which the author undertakes to establish are, that Paganism is a pernicious system, totally repugnant to right Reason, and that Christianity is not only agreeable to Reason, but suitable to the wants and conducive to the happiness of mankind. The *Demonstratio Evangelica* is an elaborate Treatise on the direct and positive evidences of Christianity. It consisted originally of XX Books, the last X of which are unfortunately lost. In those which are still extant, Eusebius chiefly combats the prejudices of the Jews, to whom he shows at great length, from the evidence of their own Scriptures, that Christ must be the true Messiah. This latter Work, though written with considerable ability, is inferior to the *Præparatio* in originality of matter and variety and copiousness of learning. In the V Books *Against Marcellus of Ancyra*, Eusebius appears to have departed a little from his usual temperance and moderation. His object is to convict his opponent of Sabellianism; in labouring to effect which, he affords some ground for questioning his own Orthodoxy, as, though he explicitly asserts the divinity of the Son, he appears to deny his perfect

Ecclesiastical
Writers of
the IVth
Century.

Historia
Ecclesiastica.

Præparatio
Evangelica.

Demonstratio
Evangelica.

Adversus
Marcellum.

* Particularly by Jerome, Baronius, and Le Clerc. Those who are desirous of investigating the matter more fully, may consult Le Clerc's *Byssius Ecclesiasticus*, et Ori. sp. 2, and Cave's *Epistole Apostolicæ*, the latter of which is a formal and elaborate vindication of Eusebius from the accusations of Le Clerc.

† HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, vol. xi. c. xxxviii. p. 81.

* De Scriptis. Euseb. c. 15.

History. equality with the Father. The Treatise against Hierocles is a short, but spirited production, in which Eusebius effectually chastises the audacity of that Philosopher in presuming to compare the life and miracles of Apollonius of Tyana with those of Christ. His life of Constantine, in IV Books, is written in a more florid and elaborate style than the generality of his compositions; and may be regarded more as a panegyric than an impartial narrative of facts. This, together with an Oration in praise of the same Emperor, and a concise account of the *Martyrs of Palestine*, is usually appended to his Ecclesiastical History. The original text of his *Chronology*, a Work of immense research and erudition, is unfortunately lost.* A Latin version of the III Part of it is still extant, but greatly altered and interpolated by the Translator, Jerome, and by subsequent compilers. His Treatise *De Locis Hebraicis*, is a short topographical index of the places mentioned in Scripture. His *Commentary on the Psalms*, and on *Isaiah*, which were long supposed to be lost, were published, though in a defective state, by Montfaucon in his *Collectio Nova Græcorum Patrum*, tom. i. and ii. Paris, 1706. The *Apology for Origen*, written in conjunction with his friend Pamphilus, consisted originally of VI Books. The Latin version of the I Book by Rufinus is still extant, but there is reason to believe that the translator, according to his usual practice, has taken great liberties with his original. For an account of the Works of Eusebius which are entirely lost, the titles of which alone would occupy a considerable space, the reader is referred to Cave, Tillemont, and Dupin. His great *Work against Porphyry*, is, perhaps, the one which we have most cause to regret. It would be interesting to see the learning of that formidable opponent of Christianity encountered by the equal or superior learning and talent of Eusebius.

It is evident that this illustrious and learned writer never studied the graces of composition, nor took much pains in polishing and revising his Works. His style is harsh, dry, and repulsive, and his periods are embarrassed and obscure. These defects are, however, amply compensated by his good sense, and the general interest of his subjects, and excellence of his matter.

A complete edition of the Works of Eusebius, similar to those editions of the other Greek and Latin fathers published by the Benedictines of St. Maur, is still a desideratum in Literature. The best editions of the *Ecclesiastical History* are that of Valesius, including also the *Histories of Socrates, Sozomenes, &c.*, Paris, 1659, 3 vols. folio, and that of Reading, Cambridge, 1720, 3 vols. folio, which is little more than a reprint of the former, with a few additional notes. The *Preparatio et Demonstratio Evangelicæ* were published by Robert Stephens, Paris, 1544, 1545, folio, and by Vigerus, Paris, 1628, 2 vols. folio. The latter edition contains also the Treatises against *Hierocles*, and *Marcellus of Ancyra*. The Book *De Locis Hebraicis* was published by Bonfrerius, Paris, 1811. Jerome's ver-

sion of the *Chronicle* has been frequently printed: the best edition is that contained in Scaliger's *Theophrastus Temporum*, Amsterdam, 1658, who published at the same time all the fragments of the original Greek which could be recovered.

Vide Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 175—183; Dupin, *Biblioth.* vol. ii. Cent. iv. p. 1—11; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 39—76.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IVth Century.

ATHANASIUS.

DIED CIRCA A. D. 371.

The life and character of this illustrious Prelate belong rather to the entire Ecclesiastical History of the period in which he flourished than to a mere Literary notice. He was born at Alexandria towards the close of the IIIrd century. At an early age, his talents and virtues attracted the notice of Alexander, Bishop of that important see, who appointed him his secretary. It is said that he accompanied Alexander to the Nicene Council, and that the zeal and ability which he there manifested against the Arians, laid the foundation of the rancour and animosity with which that Sect afterwards pursued him. In the year 326, he was chosen by the unanimous suffrage of the Catholics to succeed his patron, to the great mortification of the Arians, who, from that time, used every exertion to compass his disgrace and downfall. After various unsuccessful attempts to prejudice the Emperor Constantine against him, they contrived, by laying a number of fictitious crimes to his charge, to obtain his deposition by the Council of Tyre,* and the year following, Constantine was prevailed upon to banish him into Gaul. Soon after the death of that Emperor, he was recalled by Constantine the younger; but the intrigues of his restless adversaries again prevailing, he was a second time deposed by the Synod of Antioch, and one Gregory, a mere creature of the Arian faction, appointed in his stead. On this occasion, Athanasius took refuge at Rome, where his cause was warmly espoused by Pope Julius, and the majority of the Western Bishops, who used all their influence to obtain his restoration, but without success; even the decision of the Council of Sardica in his favour was disregarded by the adverse faction. The Emperors were, however, favourably disposed towards him; and on the death of Gregory,† Constantius restored him to his Archbishopric, which he governed peaceably for several years. This calm was but the precursor of a more violent storm. A powerful party was formed, which being openly supported by the Imperial officers,§ forcibly ejected him, and introduced one George, a Cappadocian of low birth and disreputable character, as his successor. These tumultuous and irregular proceedings received the sanction of Constantius, who had entirely surrendered himself to the guidance of the Arians, and was then exerting himself to the utmost to depress, and if possible to extirpate Catholicism. Athanasius was compelled to seek safety from the violence of his enemies in the deserts of the Thebaid, where he remained concealed till the death of Constantius. He was once more exiled during the reign of Julian, after whose death, with the exception of some slight molestation under Valens, he was allowed to enjoy his Bishopric

* An Armenian version of Eusebius's *Chronicle* has been recently published by Archer, Venice, 1818. If it may be relied on as a faithful representation of the original, (and there seems no reason for doubting that it is substantially so,) it is undoubtedly an important accession to Literature.

† The beginning of the Ist Book of the *Demonstratio*, and the conclusion of the Xth, which are wanting in both those editions, were first published by Fabricius, *De Veris. Christ. Reliq.* p. 1.

* A. D. 335.
† A. D. 348.

† A. D. 341.
§ A. D. 356.

History. peaceably till the end of his days. According to So- crates, his death took place in the year 371, other authorities place it two years later.

Among all those members of the Church who distinguished themselves during this eventful period, no one acted a more honourably conspicuous part than Athanasius. His talents marked him out as the champion of Orthodoxy, and he sustained that character through evil and good report, with a zeal, integrity, consistency, and firmness, which proved that he was actuated by no unworthy or selfish motive, and which, while they excited the hatred of his enemies, commanded also their admiration. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that his writings and personal exertions did as much for the Trinitarian cause in the East, at a time when it seemed to be struggling for its very existence, as those of Luther did afterwards for the doctrines of the Reformation in Europe.

The writings of Athanasius are voluminous, and almost exclusively of a polemical nature. The *Oratio adversus Gentes*, and the *Treatise De Incarnatione*, supposed to be his earliest productions, are chiefly directed against the superstition of the Gentiles. In nearly all the others, he defends the doctrine of the Trinity, or refutes the errors of the Arians. Most of his productions are in the form of *Orations* or *Epistles*; and, though generally written on the spur of the moment, and under most unfavourable circumstances, they are calculated to give the reader a high opinion of the skill and talents of the author. The *Apology* addressed to the Emperor Constantius, which is an eloquent and spirited vindication of his own conduct against the calumnies of his adversaries, may be regarded as his most finished composition. The *Life of St. Antony*, the famous Egyptian solitary, is the production which reflects the least credit on his taste and judgment: indeed several critics, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, suspect that it has been interpolated by some later author.

Athanasius, though not to be compared to Eusebius in depth and variety of learning, greatly excels him in the graces of composition. His style is elegant, perspicuous, and flowing; eloquent and forcible, and at the same time free from tumour and affectation. As a controversialist he was eminently calculated to excel; his manner is insinuating and persuasive, and his arguments are commonly well chosen, judiciously arranged, and happily and forcibly expressed. Sometimes his reasonings are more plausible than solid, and not unfrequently he lays a good deal of stress on interpretations of Scripture which a little more skill in Biblical Criticism would have shown him to be utterly untenable. The occasional vehemence of his invective may be pardoned, when we consider that it is directed against persons who had not scrupled to employ every sort of fraud and violence to effect his ruin.

Editions. The early editions of Athanasius are both defective and inaccurate; indeed all published in the XVth and XVIth centuries, are merely Latin versions of a few of his principal Treatises. The Greek text was first printed by Comelinius, Heidelberg, 1601, 2 vols. folio. It was published again at Paris, 1627, 2 vols. folio, and at Cologne, 1686, fol. The only critical edition is the Benedictine, Paris, 1698, 3 vols. folio, Gr. Lat. The first two volumes contain the genuine Works of Athanasius; those which are regarded as doubtful or spurious are inserted in the third. The Preface, apparently

by the learned Montfaucon, contains a mass of valuable information respecting the life and writings of Athanasius.

Vide Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 169—198; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 28—34. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. viii. Art. *Athanas.* and *Histoire des Ariens*, *passim*.

See also the *Life of St. Antony*, by the 17th Century.

JUVENCUS.

UNDER CONSTANTINE.

Caius Vectius Aquilinus Juvencus was a Spaniard of noble birth, and, as St. Jerome informs us, a Presbyter. This is all that we know of his personal history. He flourished in the time of Constantine, and wrote a number of Poems, all of which are lost, except his *Historia Evangelica*. This is an account of our Saviour's Life and actions, in IV Books; it is written in hexameters, and closely adheres to the narrative of the Evangelists. The flow of his verse is not inharmonious, but, as might be expected from the Age in which he lived, his diction is occasionally inelegant and unclassical, nor does he display much poetical genius or elevation of sentiment. He is, however, entitled to the credit of having embodied the facts related by the four Evangelists in one clear, faithful, and not unpleasant narrative.

This Poem has been frequently printed: the principal editions are those of Basle, 1541, 1564; Lyons, 1588; Paris, 1543, 1575, 1581, 1624; Frankfurt, 1710. It is also to be found in the Collections of the Christian Poets published by Fabricius and Aldus, and in most editions of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Vide Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 200; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 20, 21; Hieron. *de Script. Ecclesiast.* c. 84; and *Chron.* ad ann. 330.

JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

UNDER CONSTANS AND CONSTANTIUS.

Though this writer is supposed to have been a person of rank and consideration, he is not mentioned by any of the Ancients, and is only known as the author of a Book against Paganism, entitled *De Errore profanarum Religionum*. This Work, which is undoubtedly a genuine production of the IVth century, is addressed to Constans and Constantius, the sons and successors of Constantine. It is written with some degree of force and elegance, and a good deal of learned research is displayed in the author's Historical development of the origin of the different Heathen systems. His reasonings are, however, occasionally weak and superficial, and his zeal against idolatry frequently amounts to intolerance.

This Treatise was first printed at Venice, 1469; afterwards at Basle, 1533; Strasburg, 1562; Paris, 1575, 1589, 1610; Leyden, 1632; also in the Paris edition of Cyprian 1666, and the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

A Treatise on Astronomy, bearing the name of Julius Firmicus Maternus, is extant; it is supposed by several critics to have been written by the same author before his conversion to Christianity.

Vide Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 204; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iii. p. 170, 171; Baronii, *Annales* ad ann. 337.

Dr. Errore profanarum Religionum.

Style.

Editions.

Treatise on Astronomy.

CYRILLUS OF JERUSALEM.

DIED A. D. 386.

Cyril was probably a native of Jerusalem, or of its immediate vicinity. He was ordained Deacon by Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Priest by his successor Maximus, during whose Episcopacy he held the office of Catechist, or Theological lecturer. On the death of Maximus he was appointed to the vacant See, chiefly through the influence of Acacius, Bishop of Caesarea. Not long after, however, a violent dissension broke out between these two Prelates, occasioned by Cyril's attempting to exercise an independent jurisdiction within his Diocese of Jerusalem. This encroachment on the prerogatives of the Metropolitan Church of Caesarea was warmly resented by Acacius, who contrived, soon after, to procure the deposition of Cyril by a Synod of the Bishops of Palestine. He appealed from their sentence to the Emperor Constantius, and the contest was carried on for many years with various success. The Synod of Seleucia gave a Decree in Cyril's favour; but Acacius had sufficient interest to obtain his condemnation and deposition once more by a Council assembled at Constantinople. He returned to Jerusalem upon the accession of Julian, but he was not formally restored to his See till the reign of Theodosius, when his cause was espoused by the II^d General Council, and the sentence of deposition reversed. After this, he retained undisturbed possession of his dignity till the time of his death, which took place A. D. 386.

Cyril appears to have been a man of moderate abilities, who acquired a certain degree of notoriety by happening to make himself obnoxious to a Prelate at the head of a numerous party. His early connection with Acacius, and the intercourse which he held with the Semi-Arian Bishops at the Council of Seleucia, caused his Orthodoxy to be suspected; in fact, Jerome and others accuse him of Arianism in direct terms. No traces, however, of this heresy appear in his writings; and it is not unlikely that his greatest crime, in Jerome's eyes, consisted in espousing the cause of Meletius of Antioch, in opposition to Damasus and the Western Bishops.

Twenty-three of Cyril's Catechetical Discourses are still extant. They are divided into two classes; the first eighteen, addressed to the *competentes*, or catechumens deemed worthy of Baptism, are brief expositions of the general doctrines of Christianity; the remaining five, addressed to persons already baptized, and distinguished by the name of *Mytagogical Lectures*, are chiefly devoted to an explanation of the nature of the Sacraments. They are written throughout in a plain, familiar, and unadorned style, and, generally speaking, are well calculated to answer the purpose for which they were intended. It is, however, easy to perceive that a superstitious spirit, and a disposition to find mysteries where none were intended by the sacred writers, had already made great progress in the Christian church.

There is also extant an *Epistle to Constantius* respecting an apparition of a luminous cross at Jerusalem, an *Oration on the Presentation of our Lord*, and an *Epistle to St. Augustine*, have been published under his name, but they are evidently spurious.

The principal editions of Cyril are those of Petavius, Paris, 1622, folio, and again Paris, 1631, folio, along with Synesius; Miller, Oxford, 1703, folio; and the

Benedictine edition superintended by Tontée, Paris, 1720, folio.

Vide Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 211—213; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 107—115; Tillemont *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii. Art. 8. *Cyrille*.

Ecce-
nastical
Writers of
the IVth
Century.

HILARIUS.

DIED A. D. 367.

Hilary was born at Poitiers early in the IVth century, and was educated in the principles of Heathenism. His own reflections first made him dissatisfied with the inconsistency and absurdity of that system; and his inquiries after Truth, together with a diligent perusal of the Scriptures, induced him to become a Christian. After his elevation to the Bishopric of Poitiers, which is supposed to have taken place about A. D. 354, he quickly began to distinguish himself by his zeal in the discharge of his pastoral duties, and also by his activity in opposing the progress of Arianism. His warmth in defending Athanasius at the Synod of Beziers against his persecutors Ursacius and Valens, excited the displeasure of the Emperor Constantius, who banished him into Phrygia. Nevertheless he continued to uphold the Catholic cause, both by his writings and his personal influence. His character and conduct appear to have gained the respect of the public authorities, as he met with more indulgent treatment than the generality of his brethren. He was permitted to attend the Synod of Seleucia, and was also allowed to accompany the deputies of the Council to the Imperial Court. Here, according to Sulpicius Severus, he presented several Memorials to Constantius on behalf of the oppressed Catholic Church, and even ventured to challenge the Arians to a public disputation. The leaders of that Sect declined the proposal; and, fearful of the ascendancy which Hilary's zeal and talents might gain over the mind of the Emperor, they contrived that he should be sent back to Gaul. The death of Constantius, which happened shortly after Hilary's return to his Diocese, leaving him at liberty to act with vigour, he exerted himself with diligence and success in checking the further spread of Arianism, and in reorganizing the Catholic Church in Gaul and in the North of Italy. He assembled a number of Provincial Synods, in which the Acts of the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia were disavowed and reprobated, and the principal Arian Prelates condemned. The Historians of that period, indeed, do not scruple to say, that the suppression of Arianism in Gaul was almost entirely the work of Hilary. He continued actively engaged in these and similar occupations till the time of his death, in the year 367.

The writings of Hilary are all controversial, except Works. his *Commentaries on the Psalms* and on the *Gospel of St. Matthew*. They consist of a Treatise on the *Trinity* in XII Books; three *Addresses to Constantius*; a Book on *Synods*, addressed to the Western Bishops when the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia were pending, and a *Tract against Auxentius, Bishop of Milan*. The II Books of *Fragments* are a series of extracts from Hilary's *History of the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia*, which is no longer extant in a complete state. These *Fragments* furnish a number of facts and documents not to be found elsewhere, and throw considerable light on the Ecclesiastical History

History. of that period. His *Commentaries on the Psalms* are chiefly borrowed from Origen, and are, consequently, a good deal infected with the spirit of allegory and mysticism. The *Commentaries on St. Matthew* are of a more plain and practical nature, but they are neither wholly free from fanciful interpretations nor from erroneous opinions.

Style. Hilary is not a writer of first-rate eminence, but he deserves a respectable rank among those of the second class. His learning and talents were considerable, and his style, though not always pure or perspicuous, is spirited, eloquent, and forcible. He indulges too much in the turgid declamation characteristic of the Gallie School of Rhetoricians, but he uniformly writes in a tone of honest warmth and sincerity, like a person fully persuaded of the truth and importance of what he says. If he appears occasionally too violent and acrimonious, we must consider that he believed the vital interests of Religion to be at stake, and that his adversaries did not use the power placed in their hands in such a manner as to be entitled to expect much forbearance from a man of Hilary's warm temperament.

Editions. Many editions of Hilary's Works were published during the XVth and XVIth centuries. The best and only complete one is the Benedictine, Paris, 1693, principally superintended by Father Constant. It was reprinted at Verona, 1730, 2 vols. folio.

Vide Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 213—215; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 64—79; Hieron. *De Scriptor. Eccl.* c. 100; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* tom. vii. Art. S. Hilair.

VICTORINUS.

DIED CIRCA A. D. 370.

Fabius Marius Victorinus, an African by birth, was an eminent Professor of Rhetoric at Rome, during the reign of Constantius. He was a great admirer of Plato, many of whose writings he translated into Latin. Being accidentally led to compare the doctrines of that Philosopher with the Holy Scriptures, he was convinced of the superior excellence and truth of Christianity, and became a convert in his old age. He kept the change of his sentiments secret for a time, but at last, by the persuasion of his friend Simplicianus, he was induced to be baptized, and to make open profession of his faith. In the year 362, when Julian published an Edict forbidding the Christians to teach Oratory, or any of the Liberal Sciences, Victorinus magnanimously chose rather to forego the emoluments of his profession, than to renounce or dissemble his principles. It is supposed that he died about A. D. 370.

Works. The only claim which Victorinus has to be ranked among Ecclesiastical writers, rests on a few controversial Tracts against the Arians and Manichæans, and some Poems on sacred subjects. None of these possess any great merit. His style is harsh, affected, and involved, and his fondness for the Dialectical subtleties of the School in which he was brought up, gives an air of studied obscurity to every thing that he says. It requires close and painful attention to comprehend his meaning, which is seldom of sufficient value to repay the reader for his trouble. His Poetry is of a very ordinary description, inferior even to his Prose.

Editions. Several of the Philosophical and Grammatical Works of Victorinus are still extant: his Theological Tracts are

inserted in the IVth volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. He wrote *Commentaries on some of St. Paul's Epistles*, which existed in manuscript in the XVIIth century. The disparaging terms in which Jerome speaks of them give us no cause to regret that they have never been printed.

Vide Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 228, 229; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 80, 81; Hieron. *De Scriptor. Eccl.* c. 101.

LUCIFER.

DIED CIRCA A. D. 371.

Lucifer was Bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, about the middle of the IVth century. Having distinguished himself by his zeal in the Trinitarian cause, he was deputed by Liberius, Bishop of Rome, to attend the Synod of Milan. He there defended the person and cause of Athanasius with great zeal and vehemence, and received the usual reward of the champions of Orthodoxy in those days, namely, banishment into Asia. The harsh treatment which he experienced during his exile, together with the natural violence of his temper, drew from him several polemical Tracts, still extant. They are chiefly directed against Constantius, and are written throughout with such virulence and want of decency, that we know not whether to wonder more at his audacity in addressing his Sovereign in such a strain, or at the forbearance of the latter in not subjecting him to the penalties of Treason. It appears that he was removed from Palestine into Upper Egypt, and the writers of that period speak of some other place of banishment which they do not specify. After the death of Constantius, he visited Antioch, and finding the rigid Catholics dissatisfied with the appointment of Meletius to that See on account of his supposed connection with the Arians, he took upon himself to ordain Paulinus, with the express view of setting Meletius aside. This hasty and ill-judged measure not only gave great offence to the more moderate Catholics, but caused a serious division between the Eastern and Western Bishops, and finally led to Lucifer's own separation from the Church. Irritated by the disapprobation which his conduct excited, and also by a Decree passed by the Synod of Alexandria readmitting those Bishops into the Church who had communicated with the Arians during the Persecution, he returned to Sardinia, and during the remainder of his life, obstinately refused to hold any intercourse with those who had ever shown any condescension or favour to the Heretics. He thus became the head of a small and obscure Sect of schismatics, who limited the true Church to their own narrow pale, and stigmatized the great Body of the Catholics as apostates from the Faith. He died about the year 371, and the Sect of Luciferians did not long survive him.

Lucifer was one of those sincere, wrong-headed men, whose zeal and courage would be respectable were they tempered with a little more charity and judgment. As a writer, he is entitled to little praise. His compositions are destitute of argument, method, and elegance, and are remarkable only for their violence and acrimony. He is indeed chiefly memorable for the mischief and dissension which he caused in the Church.

The Works of Lucifer were first collected and published by John Du Tillet, Bishop of Meaux, Paris, 1568, 8vo. They were afterwards inserted in the IVth volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

History. Vide Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 216; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 79, 80; Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. Art. *Lucifer*; Baronii *Annales* ad ann. 336

Tillet, Paris, 1539, 4to. Another edition was printed by Paulus Manutius, Rome, 1564, folio. They are also to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and in D'Aguirre's *Collectio Conciliorum Hispanorum*. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 234, 235; Dupin, *Cent.* iv. p. 81—85; Hieron. *De Scriptor. Eccles.* c. 106.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IVth Century.

PHCEBADIUS.

LATTER HALF OF IVTH CENTURY.

Phœbadius was a native of Aquitania, and became Bishop of Agen about the middle of the IVth century. In common with his Ecclesiastical brethren, he was involved in the all-absorbing vortex of the Arian controversy. He first entered the lists by writing an elaborate Refutation of the second Creed of Sirmium, which is still extant. In the year 359, he attended the Council of Rimini, where he exerted himself with great zeal and energy on behalf of the Nicene doctrines. When all the other Catholic Bishops had been prevailed upon by threats or artifice to assent to the Arian declaration of Faith, Phœbadius and Serratio, Bishop of Tongres, alone refused to comply. They at last, however, agreed to sign it, provided an explanatory clause were added; but finding that this clause had been nullified by a subsequent alteration, they disavowed their concurrence, as obtained by fraud and treachery. Jerome speaks of Phœbadius as living when he wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical authors, about A. D. 392; little, however, is known of his personal history during the latter part of his life.

The Tract against the Creed of Sirmium is the only Work of Phœbadius which has reached our times. It is written with some elegance and force, but does not display much genius or originality. Jerome professes his inability to give an account of this author's other Works, because he never read them. It is, therefore, most probable that they never attracted much attention.

This Treatise of Phœbadius was published by Beza, 1570; and by Pithou, Paris, 1666. It was afterwards inserted in the IVth volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 217, 218; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 85—87; Hieron. *De Scriptor. Eccles.* c. 106.

PACIANUS.

DIED CIRCA A. D. 390.

Pacianus was a Spaniard, and Bishop of Barcelona, about the time of Valentinian, or, as some authors think, towards the latter end of the reign of Gratian. Scarcely any thing is known of his public or private life, except that he had a son named Flavius Dexter, commander of the Prætorian cohorts in the time of Jerome, and on terms of intimacy with that Father. Pacian died at an advanced age, a little before the year 390, leaving behind him a high reputation for eloquence and sanctity.

Many of the Works of this author are lost; those which remain consist of an *Exhortation to Repentance*, a short *Treatise on Baptism* for the use of catechumens, and three *Epistles against the Errors of the Novatians*. These compositions give a favourable idea of the talents of the writer, and make us regret the loss of his other Works. His manner is animated, his arguments are well chosen and pointedly expressed, and he writes with a terseness and elegance seldom found in the Latin authors of the period in which he lived.

Pacian's Works were first collected and edited by Du

EPIPHANIUS.

DIED A. D. 403.

Epiphanius was a native of Palestine, and, as it is supposed, of Jewish extraction. In his early youth he narrowly escaped being seduced by some Egyptian Gnostics, but, having extricated himself from their snares, he adopted an ascetic course of life. This he pursued for a number of years, partly under the auspices of the celebrated Hilarion, and partly as the superintendent of a considerable Monastery near Eleuthropolis in Palestine. About the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was ordained Bishop of Salamis in the Isle of Cyprus, the duties of which office he appears to have discharged in a diligent and conscientious manner. The concluding years of his life were embittered by a series of unfortunate disputes, first with John, Bishop of Jerusalem, and afterwards with the illustrious Chrysostom, respecting the disciples of Origen, against whom Epiphanius had conceived a violent prejudice, so that he pursued them with a virulence and acrimony highly discreditably to his charity and his judgment. He died in the year 402 or 403, on his return from Constantinople to Cyprus, being about seventy years of age.

Credulous in the extreme, and rash in controversy, Style. he exposed himself to the attacks of his adversaries, and to the censure of sober-minded and impartial men. Violent in his temper, weak in style, and inconclusive in his reasoning, he did more injury than good to the Truths which he espoused. Nevertheless, much curious information may be obtained from his Work on Heresies, by a discriminating reader.

The best edition of Epiphanius is that published by the Jesuit Petavius, Paris, 1622, 2 vols. folio. It was reprinted at Cologne, 1692, 2 vols. fol.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 231—234; Dupin, *Cent.* iv. p. 234—240; Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. x. Art. S. *Epiphane*; Hieron. *De Scriptor. Eccles.* c. 114.

OPTATUS.

DIED UNDER VALENTINIAN.

Nothing whatever is recorded of the personal history of Optatus, except that he was Bishop of Milevi in Numidia, and that he died under the reign of the Emperor Valentinian. As an author, he is advantageously known by a Work against the schism of the Donatists, Addressed to Parmenianus, the Donatist Bishop of Carthage. It is divided into VII Books,* and furnishes the most elaborate and authentic account which we possess of the origin, progress, and opinions of that turbulent Sect. The author writes, indeed, like a partisan, and indulges too freely in declamation and invective;

* Jerome describes it as consisting only of VI Books; indeed, the VIth Book differs so materially from the others, both in style and sentiment, that there is strong reason to believe it has been added by some later writer.

Against the Donatists.

History. but, while he censures the violence and insubordination of his opponents, he does not dissemble that many arbitrary and unjustifiable severities were exercised upon them by the Civil authorities. His style is deficient in elegance, purity, and terseness, and he abounds in strained allegorical interpretations of Scripture, nor is his reasoning always of the most cogent and conclusive kind. But he writes with vivacity and force, and his Work abounds with valuable information respecting the state of the African Church and of Religion in general.

The best edition of Opatius is that superintended by Dupin, Doctor of the Sorbonne, Paris, 1700, folio. The reprint of 1702, though bearing the name of Paris on the title-page, was in reality executed at Amsterdam.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 234; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 87—97; Hieron. *De Scriptor. Eccles.* c. 120.

EPHREM SYRUS.

DIED CIRCA A. D. 378.

Ephrem was a native of Nisibis, but, as he passed the greatest part of his life at Edessa, the Metropolis of Osroëne, he is frequently called Ephrem of Edessa. His youth was spent in Monastic exercises and abstruse studies, in the latter of which he is said to have acquired great proficiency, without the aid of a teacher. He became, in process of time, Deacon of the Church of Edessa, but, that he might have more leisure for devout meditation and literary pursuits, he would never take any higher function. After maintaining, during many years, the highest reputation throughout the East for piety and genius, he died about A. D. 378.

Ephrem was the most laborious and voluminous writer of his time. Besides a copious *Commentary* on all the Books of the Old and New Testament, and a multitude of *Homilies* and *Sermons*, he is said to have written twelve thousand metrical compositions. Many of his Works are still extant in the original Syriac, and a considerable number in Greek and Arabic versions. The most valuable and important of his productions which we possess, is his *Commentary on the Books of the Old Testament*. He had, indeed, no pretensions to the varied erudition and critical skill of Jerome, but he is in general a judicious and rational expositor, with clear views of the literal sense of the sacred text. He was also well acquainted with the Geography, History, and Antiquities of Eastern Nations. The remainder of his Syriac compositions are chiefly metrical, i. a division into lines of a certain number of syllables, without attention to rhythm, may be allowed to constitute metre. Some of those pieces are devotional Hymns, others are controversial, written to counteract the prevailing Heresies of the time. They contain some valuable and curious matter; but though they raised his fame very high among his Countrymen, they seem to us more creditable to his diligence and piety than to his poetical genius. Indeed, if his talent for Poetry had been of a higher description, it would have been difficult to display it to advantage in the prosaic and unpoetical language in which he wrote.

Many Greek Homilies and Tracts bearing the name of Ephrem are still extant. Some are written in a strain of simple and fervent piety, by no means unworthy of the author to whom they are attributed. There is reason to suspect that the greater part of them have been interpolated by Translators, and that some are altogether spurious.

The only good edition of the Works of Ephrem is that published at Rome 1743, by Stephen Enodius Assemani, 6 vols. fol. Its greatest defect is, (and it is indeed a very great one,) that the Latin version of the Syriac text is so unfaithful as to be almost useless.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 235—235, and vol. ii. Appen. il. p. 19—24; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 115—120; Assemani, *Biblioth. Orientalis*, vol. i. p. 25, *et seq.*

BASIL OF CESAREA.

BORN CIRCA A. D. 328. DIED A. D. 378.

Basil, a native of Cappadocia, or as some authors think of Pontus, was born about A. D. 328, of highly respectable Christian parents, who spared no pains in his instruction in every elegant and useful branch of learning. He studied successively under the best masters of Antioch, Cesarea, Constantinople, and Athens, where he acquired a proficiency both in Sacred and Profane Literature unrivalled by any of his contemporaries, except his friend Gregory Nazianzen. The afflicted state of the Church during the Arian Persecution induced him to retire, shortly after his ordination, to a solitary spot in his native Province. The fame of his piety and austerities attracting a number of devout persons to the place, he drew up a body of laws for the regulation of the Society so formed, and thus became the founder of Monasticism in Pontus and the neighbouring Provinces. Towards the end of the year 369, he was appointed Bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, where he speedily showed that his talents for business of the most arduous kind were not inferior to his other qualifications. After governing his Diocese in the most able and exemplary manner eight years, he died A. D. 378.

Basil was unquestionably one of the most eminent men of his time. To a capacious and powerful mind, richly stored with original conceptions and acquired knowledge, he united great activity, presence of mind, and moral courage, and he was neither disheartened by difficulties, nor intimidated by dangers. In a variety of arduous contests, and most trying circumstances, he universally acquitted himself with dignity and firmness, and even when unsuccessful, he maintained the respectability of his character and station.

As a writer, Basil is distinguished by a noble and majestic gravity, and by striking and original thoughts expressed in pure and elevated language. If he does not equal Gregory Nazianzen in his occasional bursts of sublimity and pathos, he has the taste and discretion to avoid his faults: he is copious without redundancy, and eloquent without being declamatory. His expository, his homiletical, and his moral Works are all excellent in their way; and we have, moreover, upwards of four hundred of his Letters, which are models of epistolary style, and replete with valuable information respecting the History of the eventful times in which he lived.

The best edition of the Works of Basil is the Benedictine, superintended by Garnier, Paris, 1721, 1730, 3 vols. fol. All those which preceded are incomplete and badly arranged.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 233—243; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 122—159; Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. ix. Art. S. Basil.

Commentary on the Scriptures.

Metrical compositions.

Works a Style.

Edition

GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSUS.

DIED A. D. 389.

An insignificant village in Cappadocia, Nazianzum, or Diocæsarea, had the honour of being the birthplace of this preeminent Divine of the IVth century, preeminent alike in every branch of Learning and in every Christian excellence.

The date of his birth has been the subject of much controversy, but is now important only as it involves the question of Episcopal celibacy in the early Ages. It is clear from a passage in his own Works,* that his father had entered on Episcopal functions prior to A. D. 326, the best attested date of the birth of this celebrated son. Yet Suidas and some Romish Writers have so antedated it as to save a Christian Bishop, what they considered, the *disgrace* of having produced the most exemplary Christian of the Age. Tillemont, with candour worthy of imitation, has refuted the error and exposed the motive.

From Gregory's own account it appears that his parents were orthodox and pious; though his father, in early life, had been tainted with the Hypsistarian heresy. From their tuition, he departed first for Cæsarea in Cappadocia, then for Palestine, afterwards for Alexandria, and subsequently for Athens; where he perfected himself in scholastic accomplishments, and entered into the closest friendship with Basil, the future Archbishop of Cæsarea: a friendship the pleasures and pains of which he has exquisitely described in his Letters, and in his Poem on his own life.

Gregory Nazianzen would have quitted Athens with his friend in 355, had he not been detained by the solicitations of the scholars to remain there as Teacher of Rhetoric. In the following year, however, his ardour for literary fame yielding to filial affection, he returned to his father, and assisted him in the management of his patrimony. Some writers defer his reception into the Church by Baptism to this period; none place it later.

An interval of five or six years having been spent in domestic duties, or in studious retirement with Basil, he was ordained Priest by his father in 361 or 362. His notions, however, of the importance of the Priestly office and of his own inadequacy, led him to a second retirement from society—a retirement again passed in the company of Basil, whom he then assisted in drawing up his *Ascetic Rules*. But the commands of his father, backed by the voice of his Countrymen, soon recalled him to Nazianzum, and enlisted him in the active discharge of his Ministerial functions.

His first effort as a Minister was as successful as it was important. His father, in obedience to the general edict of Constantius, but in opposition to his own pure doctrine, as was afterwards allowed by his opponents, had signed the Arian formulæ of Ariminum.† A Schism in his Church followed; which was healed by his son, before, in accordance with the practice of the Age, it became a subject of dispute and disgrace to Christianity in general. The succeeding six or seven years

were spent by Gregory unobtrusively in assisting his father in his pastoral duties; a mode of life most congenial to his disposition, but eventually disturbed by his dearest friend about 370.

Basil, at that time Bishop of Cæsarea, had to contend for the integrity of his Metropolitan jurisdiction over Cappadocia, against Anthemius, Bishop of Tyana, who asserted that, as a Civil division of that Province had taken place, an Ecclesiastical one ought to follow. In order to bring the matter to issue, Basil created a See within the disputed district. The place selected was Sasima; than which, if Gregory Nazianzen's description of it be correct,* a more inhospitable spot cannot be conceived: and here Basil resolved that his friend Gregory should be Bishop. The latter, urged by his father, reluctantly consented to be consecrated, and the ceremony was performed at Cæsarea; but the forcible seizure of his new Church by Anthemius afforded him a pretext for deserting it, which he eagerly embraced; and in so doing he was justified by the XVIIIth Canon of the Council of Antioch.

This affair so offended Gregory, that his friendship with Basil was all but finally extinguished. A reconciliation, however, must have taken place within two years, as, at the end of that interval, we find Basil his sympathetic visitor in affliction. Yet many years afterwards, the wound to his feelings, *ἡνερξέντος ὡσαύτι νεοῦ*, "festered as though it were new;" and he complains of it in his Poem on his own life, in a style of sarcasm and invective, not less foreign from, than unbecoming to, his character. This is the more inexplicable, as in his Funeral Oration over Basil he not only alludes to it without bitterness, but ascribes this breach of friendship (as he still terms it) to Basil's preference of "things heavenly" to "things destructible," *ἀσθενέων*; and in one of his Epitaphs he lavishes the most unqualified and affectionate praise on him.†

After a few months' solitude, being now a Bishop, he undertook the subordinate charge of his father's See at Nazianzum, in which capacity he distinguished himself by calming the inhabitants in a revolt, and by averting their punishment. On his father's death, in 374, he continued, for a short time, in the charge of that Church; but he denies any regular appointment to it, although such appointment is supported by the authority of Sozomen, Socrates, Theodoretus, and Hieronymus. It is certain, however, that he was subsequently expelled from Constantiople on the plea of his being Bishop of the former See. He now withdrew to Seleucia, where he remained till invited to Constantinople, for the purpose of defending pure Christianity against the predominant influence of the Arians.

Here, in a private room, known by the name of *Anastasia*, which was shortly to be changed into a magnificent Temple, and before a small and persecuted assembly, which was rapidly to increase to a dominant

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IVth Century.

A. D. 378.

* In his Poem de *Vita sua*, Gregory introduces his father speaking to him thus:

*Ὁρῶν πατρὸς λαμπροτάτης βίης,
Ὁρῶ βέλτε ἑστίον ἡμῶν.*

† The *Rimmi* of Tillemont and other writers.

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*Στασίς τις ἔστω ἡ πλεοναχία
τῶν κατωτέρων, ἡ ἐχθρὸς εἰς ἡμῶν ἡδὴ
Ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλων, ἀλλῶν λαμπρῶν,
ἀσθενῶν, ἀσθενῶν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
κίον ἐν ἑστίῳ, καὶ φίλῳ, ἐν ἀμείνῳ,
θεῷ, ἀσθενῶν, ἀσθενῶν, ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς ἐν,
καὶ τὸ ἑνὸς ἐν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ,
ἄλλα ταῦτα ἐν τούτῳ λαμπρῶν.*

Greg. Naz. *Carmen de vita sua*.

† Gibbon has employed this complaint of Gregory as a charge of pride and base envy against Basil. The facts do not bear him out. The whole affair is utterly inexplicable.

History.

Church, he advocated the cause of the true Christian Faith with Athenian eloquence,* and with Christian fortitude and meekness.

The plan pursued by him in his difficult task, remains a brilliant example to all those who may at any time be called on to confirm, Truth and dissipate Error. He exhorted true believers to beware of bewildering themselves with reasonings on things incomprehensible to Human nature, lest they should be lost in heretical fancies; he insisted on the absurdity of attempting to reduce to a "trade and an art," the great and invisible mysteries of God; and while he taught that God should ever be in their hearts, he deprecated unreasonable disquisitions on His nature, observing that such discussions are not appropriate before all companies, or in all places, nor within the province of all understandings. On the other hand, he abstained from violent and contumelious language, and especially from personalities towards his adversaries; contending, that to imitate the gentleness and meekness of Christ, is among the surest tokens of a defender of the true Christian Faith. Yet did he not by any means compromise Truth; on the contrary, he possessed himself of the errors of the Heretics by occasionally listening to their preachers, in order that he might the more effectually refute them; laying down for his rule—neither to repel them by harshness nor elate them by concession.

Yet in spite of this moderation, the more attractive on account of its singularity in those times, and supported by the most conciliatory personal bearing, Gregory Nazianzen, or rather the cause which he defended, was not to triumph without a fearful struggle nor without the contaminating aid of the secular arm.

Instigated by a report that Gregory Nazianzen was a Tritheist, animated also by a partiality for the Arian Bishop Demophilus, the rabble of Constantinople, of each sex and of every sect, headed by some furious Monks, attacked Gregory and his congregation while celebrating our Saviour's Baptism in the *Anastasia*. The weapons usual to a mob were abundantly employed, many of the Catholics were dreadfully beaten, some nearly stoned to death, and one, who appears to have been Theodorus, afterwards Bishop of Tyana, was left for dead in the streets. Gregory himself, after a narrow escape, was thrown into prison, but speedily released. Drunkenness and obscene dances closed the disgusting spectacle.

The subsequent conduct of Gregory in relation to this affair is too exemplary to be passed over in silence. Theodorus, incensed at the outrage and his own sufferings, resolved to demand justice on the perpetrators at the hands of Theodosius, a demand not likely to be refused by that Anti-Arian Prince. But Gregory, hearing of his intention, wrote to him to the following effect: that it was not surprising that Theodorus should demand justice, considering the enormity of the offence, and that punishment indeed might prevent its recurrence; but that it was better to give an example of long suffering which might make bad men really good, while punishment would only restrain them, through fear, from crime. "Let us," says this genuine Christian, "let us overcome them by gentleness and win them by piety; let their

punishment be found in their own consciences, not in our resentment. Dry not up the fig-tree that may yet bear fruit; condemn it not as useless, since an able husbandman may yet restore it to vigour; let us not ruin a glorious and important work on account of a circumstance that may have been a device of the Devil."

His infant Church was soon to be troubled by internal disorders, more dangerous and infinitely more difficult of remedy than external violence. A dispute at Antioch concerning Paulinus and Meletius, rival claimants to that See, extended to Constantinople, and was warmly taken up with opposite views by Gregory Nazianzen's congregation. His *XIVth Oration*, in which he applies himself to the cure of this Schism, contains some ever-to-be-remembered rules of toleration. He even contends that minor points of doctrine should be sunk in peace, if unanimity prevails in those more important. In this spirit he condemned the error of the Apollinarians, yet did not withhold from communicating with them.

This danger avoided, another and more important one followed. Maximus, by birth an Egyptian, a Cynic Philosopher by profession, an Apollinarian in doctrine, and in practice infamous, came to Constantinople under the pretence of a pious desire for Gregory's instruction, but, in fact, with the purpose of defeating his claims to the Metropolitan Chair. Having deceived Gregory, and being assisted by seven Egyptian Bishops* in the first place, and subsequently by others sent by Peter of Alexandria, Maximus was clandestinely consecrated in the Church of Sophia; the ceremony took place in the night, and was further disgraced by the hired attendance of rude Egyptian sailors. This measure provoked general disgust, even among the Heretics, most of whom admired the eloquence and loved the character of Gregory Nazianzen, though they might not admit the validity of his arguments.

A proposal on his part to retire from Constantinople, was effectually opposed for a time, and his refusal to be placed in the Metropolitan chair was followed by complaints almost amounting to invectives. Ill health, however, or agitation of mind, compelled a temporary retirement and suspension of his duties. The term of his absence must have been short, as we find him again preaching in Constantinople before the entrance of Theodosius. In the mean time, his adversary Maximus, driven from Constantinople, and rejected by the Italian Bishops and by Theodosius, returned to Egypt.

Shortly afterwards, the Arian Bishop Demophilus was deposed, and Gregory placed in his stead, at the command and with the personal assistance of the same Prince. This event, the death blow to Arian ascendancy, took place amidst the execrations of one party, and the joyful acclamations of the other; public security was ensured by the presence of the military, and the judicious interference of Gregory.†

In the following year his appointment was confirmed

* Ammon, Apammon, Harpocrus, Stippas, Rhodon, Anubis, and Hermaphrodite. A question whether these persons were Bishops has been mooted. Bollandus and Hermant assert that they were so. Vallade is of the contrary opinion. Tillemont doubts. The first two writers contend that one mission only came over from Egypt on this occasion; an opinion refuted by a passage in Gregory Nazianzen's Poem on his life.

† The offensive features of this scene are highly finished by the hand of Gibbon, while those of a gratifying cast are totally overlooked.

* On this subject we have a singular proof of the tendency to inaccuracy induced by the love of the marvellous. Tillemont, the great admirer of Gregory Nazianzen's eloquence, tries to enhance the miraculous effect of his discourses against the Arians, by describing him in this instance, and this only, as a man *d'un parler rude et champestre*.

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Century.

A. D.
381.

History. by a Council of 150 Bishops, convened by Theodosius at Constantinople; yet this very Council, a few weeks afterwards, urged his deposition, and accepted his resignation.

Of the causes of this anomalous transaction, or the motives of the agents, it is difficult to give a satisfactory account. That Gregory Nazianzen, careless of worldly honour and riches, harassed by infirmity of body and excessive mental exertion, disappointed in his hope of allaying Schism in the Eastern Churches, finding himself in his Metropolitan character a subject of further dispute, and estimating Christian unity above all things—that he should sacrifice Ecclesiastical dignity, influence, and wealth, to what he considered the peace of the Church, is not to be wondered at.* But that those who summoned him from retirement to defend the pure Faith, and those who, in establishing him in the Chair of Constantinople, acknowledged him as the successful champion of that Faith, should rejoice at his resignation, or seek to depose him, must be laid to the account of levity, jealousy, or envy.

The only facts transmitted to us are these. A Schism, likely to affect the whole Church, (as has been mentioned), had arisen on the relative claims of Meletius and Paulinus to the See of Antioch. It had been checked, not healed, by an understanding that the rivals should be equally received, and that the survivor should be sole Bishop. Meletius died while President of the Council of which we are speaking. Gregory Nazianzen succeeded him in the Council, and wished to enforce the stipulation that Paulinus should be unmolested at Antioch. He failed; the Schism increased: and Gregory finding himself unequal to check it, offered to resign the situation, the healing influence of which he had overrated. Immediately on this, followed the accession to the Council of some Macedonian and Egyptian Bishops. These persons impugned the validity of Gregory's Metropolitan appointment, on the ground, that he was already Bishop of Nazianzum, and that translation was forbidden by the decrees of the Council of Antioch. This motive has been generally ascribed, even by Gregory himself, to jealousy in the Egyptian Church of the Eastern Bishops who had principally promoted his elevation. A more natural cause may be found in the intrigues of Maximus, whose return in discomfiture to Alexandria has been already mentioned. Be this as it may, Gregory's resignation was received with pleasure by the Council, and accepted by Theodosius.

He returned to Nazianzum, and in the following year undertook the Episcopal duties there, having previously visited Cæsarea for the purpose of delivering his celebrated Funeral Oration over Basil. In 383 he resigned them to Eulalius, whose appointment he had himself procured. The six remaining years of his life were occupied in literary and devotional pursuits. In 389 he sank beneath the complication of bodily disease and mental anxiety. Of his death we have no particulars; but we learn that his corpse was laid by the side of his father's. Many centuries afterwards the tomb was opened, and his supposed remains removed to Constantinople by order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

As a writer, Gregory Nazianzen, though sometimes diffuse, was always eloquent, and often sublime. Hieronymus terms his style τὸ ἱερὸπαιδικόν, while others

compare it to Polemon's; and one of his admirers observes, "that the epithet μεγαλοψήφιος, applied by Gregory Nazianzen to the Prophet Isaiah, is not inapplicable to himself." As a Divine he so far outstripped his Age, that he was entitled δὲ θεολόγος καὶ θεόφιλος; and a difference from his doctrine was identified with Heresy. A dutiful son, a faithful friend, and universally beneficent, he would have been a model for society, had he not been too sensitive, and, perhaps, too ascetic. Humble, though full of energy; despising worldly advantages unless he could apply them to the advancement of Religion; untainted by immorality, forgiving injuries,* and indefatigable in his Ministry, he may be accounted the most exemplary, as well as the most able, Christian, on record, in the IVth century.

The genuine Works of Gregory Nazianzen are his Editions. Orations, in number about 47, Epistles 240, and a vast number of Poems. Nineteen of his Poems were first discovered in 1690 by Jacob Tollius, a German, who published them in 1696 in his *Insignia Itinerarii Italici*. One hundred and forty Epitaphs were afterwards discovered by Muratori, and were published by him, in 1709, in his *Anecdota Græca*. The first edition, a very bad and a very rare one, of the great body of his Works is that of Basle, 1550. The next in time, and the first in merit, (as a whole,) appeared at Paris in 1609, under the care of Jacobus Billius; but even in this there are many typographical errors. This was republished in 1630, with all the old, and some additional errors. In 1690, the *Editio Princeps* was reprinted *verbatim* in beautiful type at Cologne. An edition was prepared by the Benedictines; but the 1st Volume only has appeared. It contains his *Orations* and *Letters*, and is unrivalled as far as it goes. The MS. of the 11d Volume is in existence, and for sale. The purchase and publication of it would be worthy of either of our Universities. In England, R. Montagu, the friend of Sir Henry Saville, editor of St. Chrysostom, published two of Gregory's *Orations*, entitled *In Julianum Invectivæ Duæ*, Etowæ in Collegio Regali, 1610; and a copy of his *Apologetics* was edited by E. S. Thirlby, and published at Cambridge in 1712.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 246—249; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 159—176; Tillemont, vol. ix. Art. *Grégoire de Nazianze*; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. vii. p. 508, & seq.

GREGORIUS, NYSSENUS.

BORN A. D. 330.

Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, and brother of Basil of Cæsarea, was born in 330 or 331. He was educated in all the refined learning of his Age, and pursued the Science of Rhetoric so eagerly, that he brought on himself, after he had been appointed Reader, a strong remonstrance on the subject from Nazianzen.

He married a lady named Theodosia, as much distinguished as himself for birth and piety. As this marriage cannot be disputed, some Romish writers affirm that

* A striking instance of his forgiving disposition occurred during his short Episcopate at Constantinople. The Arians, in their rage at his appointment, proposed his assassination, and a young man was found to undertake the crime. On entering Gregory's apartment he repented, confessed, and was not only forgiven by Gregory, but received into his intimate friendship.

History. after Gregorius Nyssenus had been promoted to the Episcopate it was virtually nullified, by total absence of conjugal intimacy. In support of this fable, Tillemont cites a passage from Nazianzen, where Theodosia is called Nyssenus's sister instead of his wife. But this passage is almost immediately succeeded by the following one. Applying the word *ἄνηρ* to Theodosia, Nazianzen thus explains himself: *ἐμὴν γὰρ ἀνῆρα τὴν κατὰ θεοῦ ἡρώσαν· ἐκείνη κρίτων ἢ πνευματικῆς συγγενείας τῆς σαρκινῆς.** This casuistry in Tillemont is the more remarkable, as we have seen his candour, on the same point of celibacy, in the life of Nazianzen.

In 372, Gregory was consecrated Bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, and as such became the victim of the Arian Persecution under Valens. An Imperial Edict banished him in 376: but on the death of Valens, and the accession of Gratian, in 378, he was restored to his Church. In the same year, being deputed by the Council of Antioch to visit the Eastern Churches, which were sorely afflicted by the Arians, he travelled through Arabia to Jerusalem. His opinion of the state of these Churches appears, from his own writings, to have been most unfavourable. Of his success in reforming any of them we have not any knowledge; but that he totally failed at Jerusalem he himself informs us. The most important result of his journey was his consequent declaration of the inutility and disadvantage of pilgrimages, a declaration decisive on the erroneous practice, in that respect, of the Romish Church. In 381, he attended the great Council at Constantinople, where he first produced his celebrated Work against the Arian Eunomius. He is also supposed to have been the author of the Creed then drawn up, but known under the name of the Nicene Creed. The remainder of his life was distinguished only by a quarrel with Helladius, his Metropolitan, a person of no learning and little piety, who grossly insulted him: the issue of the dispute is not known. The date of his death may be placed towards the end of the IVth century.

Style. As the text of this Father's Works is supposed to have been much interpolated by the Heretics, no decided opinion can be formed on his style. Dupin has denounced it as affected, declamatory, allegorical, and Philosophical rather than Theological. But he says, at the same time, that it resembles Aristotle's, and therefore he is clearly wrong. Other critics have admired it as inferior only to those of Basil, Nazianzen, and Chrysostom. Photius, speaking of his Work against Eunomius, thus describes it: *τὴν μὲν ῥῆσιν, οἱ τὴν ἄλλων ῥήτορων, λαμπροί, καὶ ἥτονός ὡς αὐτοσχεῖον.*

Gregory of Nyssa appears in his youth to have been more attached to the world than was the custom with the great Divines of those times. As a Bishop he was a zealous defender of the true Faith. His ability is proved by his being chosen to reform the Arabian Churches, as is his piety by the patient firmness with which he endured persecution.

The Works of Gregory of Nyssa do not admit of exact classification; yet they may be generally divided into *Homilies, Orations, and Letters*. His XII Books against Eunomius are his best Work. Some critics have made XIII, either by dividing one into two or by

adding a spurious one. His spurious Works are, two *Orations on the Creation of Man*; a *Letter on the Trinity*; another on the difference between the *Substance and the Hypostasis*; and VIII Books on *Philosophy*. These last were written by Nemesius.

The earlier editions of this Father's Works are extremely defective, no individual one containing more than a few detached Treatises. The edition published by Morel, with the notes of Fronton le Duc, Paris, 1699, 2 vols. fol., though much fuller than any preceding one, wants the 1st Book against Eunomius, and the Greek text of several of the moral *Orations*, which were first published by Gretsen, in 1618, as an appendix to the Paris-edition of St. Basil. The edition of 1638, though more complete than that of 1602, is carelessly executed, and abounds with typographical errors.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 244—246; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 176—183; Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. viii. p. 144, *et seq.*

AMBROSIIUS.

BORN A. D. 340. DIED A. D. 397.

The three ancient Cities of Arles, Treves, and Lyons dispute the honour of having given birth to this bold defender of the Faith. The date also of his birth is uncertain. Dupin and Tillemont place it in 340.* Baronius and Cave in 333.

His father, Prefect of Gaul, having died while Ambrose was yet a child, he was removed by his mother to Rome, where his education was highly finished.† As a Pleader in the Prætorian Court he attracted the attention of Anicius Probus, Prefect of Italy, and was appointed by him, first a Member of his Council, and then Governor, with Consular powers, of Insubria, Æmylia, and Liguria. He performed the duties of this office for five years, residing always at Milan. But at the end of that period, A. D. 374, he was unanimously called on to succeed Auxentius in the Episcopal chair of that city. Vain was every attempt in his power to avoid the unexpected honour: he was baptized, (for as yet he was only a Catechumen,) and consecrated amidst the acclamations of the people, and with the sanction, if not in the presence, of the Emperor Valentinian I.

That this abrupt transition from secular to holy office, from an imperfect state of outward Christianity to the highest dignity of the Christian Church, was contrary both to the custom and Canons of the Church, cannot be denied. But the assent of all parties, especially of the Bishops, proves beyond doubt the fitness, if not the necessity of the election: *Οὐδ' ἔργον* and *Οὐκ ἄνθος* are the terms applied to it by Sozomen and Theodoretus.‡

To supply his deficiency in Theological learning, he took to himself a learned Presbyter of Rome, by name

* 340 is the most probable date. For Ambrose appears to have been quite young when appointed to govern a Province, which government he retained only for five years, yet it was not till A. D. 374 that he resigned it.

† A remarkable anecdote, partaking of true legendary spirit, and paralleled, as every reader will call to mind, in Profane Literature, is related of him by all writers of his life. A swarm of bees, it is said, settled on his face while he was sleeping in a cradle, and crept in and out of his mouth without hurting him.

* *Nax. Ep.* 95. This Letter was written by Nazianzen to Gregory of Nyssa to comfort him on the death of Theodosia.

Very. Simplicianus,* as his instructor. To remove the interfering burden of worldly cares, he gave his money to the poor, his estates to his sister and to the Church, and the management of his household to his brother Satyrus. He immediately undertook the duty of preaching, confessing that he taught others what he himself had scarcely learned; and within two years from his consecration he commenced his written labours by a *Treatise on Paradise*†.

In A. D. 377 he fled into Illyricum, from fear of the invading Goths, and thence visited Rome; but soon returned to his Diocese on the defeat of the Barbarians by Frigeridus. On this occasion, preferring practical charity to Ecclesiastical pomp, he sold the Church plate and employed the proceeds in the ransom of prisoners. In the mean time, the arts of the Arians, aided by the power of Justina, widow of Valentinian, threatened all the Italian Churches. But Ambrose having first suppressed them at Milan, defeated them at Sirmium by consecrating a true Catholic Bishop there, in open opposition to the Empress, and completed his victory (though not a decisive one) by the deposition from their respective Sees, of Secundianus and Paulinus;‡ the principal leaders of the Arians in Italy.

A. D. 353. The political talent, so early evinced by Ambrose, was now to be exercised in the preservation of public peace, and the defence of youth and justice. Maximus had been proclaimed Emperor in Britain, had compassed the death of Gratian, overrun Gaul, and with a powerful host was separated from Italy only by the Alps. Justina, alarmed for the Italian dominions and the safety of her child Valentinian II., implored Ambrose to undertake an embassy to Maximus, and to avert his design on Italy. He did so. As his success is a proof of his Political skill, so his regard for the dignity of his sacred office is shown by his refusal to admit to communion the unrepenting murderer of Gratian, though he himself was in the grasp of the Tyrant. On his return, his eloquence and wisdom were as necessary as they were effectual in suppressing an attempt, by Symmachus, to reestablish Heathenism at Milan, at that time the seat of the young Emperor's Court.

A. D. 353. But neither eloquence nor wisdom unsupported by Truth and personal courage, would have boric him through his approaching trial. Justina, still devoted to Arianism, and provoked by the boldness of Ambrose, had recourse to every intrigue and all the violence that despotism could command, in favour of her favourite Heresy. Plans were laid for the abduction of Ambrose, and even for his assassination; some Churches were forcibly seized by the military—heavy fines were levied on the refractory—and the Emperor's authority was exhausted in denunciations against all who called in question the decrees of the Arian Council of Ariminum. But Ambrose, always alert and firm, and supported by popular feeling, resisted every attempt; and, after two years' unremitted persecution, obtained a complete triumph; though, according to some writers, not without the interposition of miracles, §

* Simplicianus, though older than himself, succeeded him in his Diocese.

† Cave says de *Virginibus*. This Work, however, appears not to have been written till A. D. 378, and to have been preceded by those on *Paradise*, *Cris and Abel*, and *Tobias*. Tillemont.

‡ At a Council held in Aquileia.

§ St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, Paulinus, A less wonderful, but not less effectual interposition, may be found in a Letter from Maximus to Valentinian, threatening him with invasion if he continued to

In the following year he undertook a second embassy to Maximus. His object was, as before, to prevent an invasion of Italy: but the issue was far different; for he not only utterly failed, but was received with haughty coldness, and dismissed with insult. On his return he visited Aquileia, but his object in doing so is not known.

His unbending spirit next led him into a hazardous conflict with Theodosius, then master of the Western Provinces, and resident at Milan. Some Monks, provoked by the Jews, burned a Synagogue at Leontopolis, and Theodosius ordered that it should be rebuilt at the expense of the offending party. Ambrose, indignant that Christian funds should be employed on the erection of an unchristian Temple, remonstrated against the Emperor's order. The Emperor, however, thinking that destroyers were liable to the cost of their destruction, and that all persons, of whatever Religion, had claim to Civil protection of their property, was not willing to rescind the offensive order. Ambrose preached against Theodosius in his presence, and publicly refused communion to him unless he altogether countermanded the measure—an alternative immediately agreed to by Theodosius. About the same time he endeavoured to procure for the Clergy immunity from the Imperial impost, but it does not appear that he succeeded.

In 389, a frightful and unjust massacre having been committed at Thessalonica by the orders of Theodosius, Ambrose wrote to him, and informed him that he would not be admitted to the communion of any of the divine offices until he would sincerely and publicly repent. Theodosius, on his return to Milan, presented himself at the Church, but Ambrose refused him entrance, and rebuked him with great boldness and severity. For eight months the Emperor submitted with grief to the humiliating ban; nor did Ambrose then remove it without wresting from him a law, that all warrants affecting life or forfeiture of estates, should be kept back thirty days after they were signed, in order for their deliberate reconsideration. This done, Ambrose absolved his Imperial penitent, but kept in reserve a finishing stroke of humiliation: for when Theodosius went within the rails protecting the altar, as was the custom with the Emperors, to receive the communion, the stern Prelate sent a Deacon to order him to stand without, among the people, "*for though the Purple made men Emperors, it did not make them Priests.*" Theodosius apologized and obeyed!

In 392, Valentinian, being at Vienne, sent for Ambrose to baptize him; but secretly had the Bishop crossed the Alps, when he found that his journey was useless, for Valentinian had been murdered. Having returned to Milan, he visited Bononia, Faventia, and Florence; or, perhaps, he fled to those places on account of the approach of Eugenius. On the defeat and death of that usurper, he returned to Milan, having passed through Aquileia for the purpose of interceding with Theodosius in favour of the conquered rebels. On the accession of Honorius, his zeal for the privileges of the Church was again roused in defence of some culprits who had sought refuge in the sanctuary. His remaining years were undisturbed, excepting by his vigilant inspection of all the Churches under his jurisdiction. In 397 he died, and such was the admiration

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IVth Century.

A. D. 388.

A. D. 389.

A. D. 397.

persecute the Catholics. Tillemont has in vain attempted to invalidate the authenticity of this Letter, in opposition to Theodoritus and Sozomen.

History.

in which he was held, that his funeral was attended by Jews and Gentiles, as well as by Christians; many of whom sought to touch his corpse as a preservative against the assaults of the Evil One. His posthumous reappearance is also stoutly contended for: and the following example of it is the most extraordinary on record. On the removal of the remains of two saints to Milan, Ambrose, some months after his death, appeared to a blind man of Dalmatia; and predicting the day on which the Saints' remains would arrive, desired him to be present at their coming, in which case he would recover his sight. Baronius and Tillemont relate the circumstance, and add that the blind man recovered.

The true character of Ambrose cannot be drawn without offence either to custom or to Truth; all Ecclesiastical Historians, Ancient or Modern, Romish or Protestant, having, without any exception known to us,* agreed in unqualified praise of it. That he was, rigidly virtuous, exemplary in all Spiritual functions, orthodox in doctrine, and sincerely pious, cannot be denied. Neither does it admit of doubt that he was in his own time, the main prop, and was so considered by his contemporaries, of the true Catholic Faith in the Western Church. But that his boldness in defence of the Faith verged upon arrogance, and his preservation of discipline on ostentation, has been sufficiently shown by his treatment of Theodosius, in the affairs of the Jewish Synagogue, and the massacre at Thessalonica. His interference, too, with Civil concerns, and his excitement of the Secular authority to suppress Heathenism, may, in conjunction with his haughty bearing to the Emperor and his assumption of miraculous power, be considered by some persons as the first sparks of that Italian fire, the fatal effects of which are not within our present range as Historians.

In passing this judgment, we should not conceal that the violence of the times, the fury of the Arians, and the insolence of the Heathen military, was such as could not have been surmounted by a spirit less bold and haughty than that of Ambrose. Nor should it be forgotten, that his Equestrian birth and early habits of Consular command, were bad teachers of the meekness and humility, which we are too apt to expect as mere matter of course in Bishops, who lived in times and nations incapable of estimating these virtues.

Style.

As a writer, Ambrose was more indefatigable than learned; yet more learned than original. Suddenly and unexpectedly called from Civil to Ecclesiastical office, he preferred the matured maxims of the Greek Fathers to his own crude lucubrations; and in this he showed good sense and modesty. His style, though incorrect, is pleasing, and, though not always clear, abounds with point. He was a composer of Hymns, and is understood to have been the first who introduced regular choral music into the Christian Church.

Editions.

The Works of Ambrose have been frequently printed, but the earlier editions are very incomplete, and most of them carelessly and inaccurately executed. Coster's edition, (Basle, 1555,) and Gillo's, (Paris, 1568,) are esteemed the most correct of those published in the XVIIth century. A magnificent edition was printed at Rome in six volumes, folio, 1579—1587, under the auspices of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.; but it is of

little value in a critical point of view, the editors having taken many unwarrantable liberties with the text. The Benedictine edition (Paris, 1686—1690, 2 vols. fol.) is much superior to all which precede, being, in fact, the only complete and faithful one which has hitherto appeared.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 261—265; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 198—234; Tillemont, vol. x. Art. *S. Ambroise*.

HILARIUS THE DEACON.

FLOURISHED A. D. 354—384.

Hilary was a native of Sardinia, and a Deacon of the Roman Church, during the Pontificate of Liberius. After enduring persecution and exile for the orthodox Faith with great constancy, he became a Luciferian. He carried the exclusive system of his master so far as to insist upon rebaptizing all who had received Heretical baptism; whence he was sarcastically called by St. Jerome, *Deuotionis Orbis*. It is now generally agreed that the *Questions in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, usually published together with St. Augustine's Works, and the *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles*, commonly attributed to St. Ambrose, are in reality the productions of Hilary. The *Questions* are of little value; the *Commentary*, without being remarkable for erudition or acumen, is a plain, literal, and tolerably faithful exposition of St. Paul's meaning.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 217; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 189.

DAMASUS.

A. D. 366—384.

We have already treated of the character of Damasus,* and of the extraordinary circumstances attending his elevation to the Pontificate. As a writer he is only known by a few Epistles and some short Poems on Religious subjects. They show him not to have been destitute of ability, but display no great depth of erudition or Theological knowledge. An edition of his Works was published by Ubaldini, Rome, 1638, 4to., and reprinted at Paris, 1652, 8vo.

The *Liber Pontificalis*, or Biographical account of the earlier Popes of Rome, attributed to Damasus, is now universally admitted to be spurious. It was, nevertheless, long looked upon as an authentic document, and thus it became the means of introducing much confusion and error into the History of the Church.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 230; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 121; Hieron. *De Script. Eccl.* c. 103.

DIDYMUS.

A. D. 370—392.

Didymus was a native of Alexandria, where he long exercised the office of a public teacher, with the highest reputation. Jerome and Rufinus were among the number of his pupils. Though blind almost from his infancy, he made an extraordinary proficiency in nearly every department of Literature, sacred and profane. He was a zealous Trinitarian, and at the same time a

* The strictures of Hieronymus on his style and plagiarism do not form an exception; as they were incidental, and form no part of a history of Ambrose's life.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IVth Century.

History. warm admirer of Origen, with some of whose errors he is said to have been infected. He wrote an infinite number of books, particularly *Commentaries on the Old and New Testament*; but none of them have reached us, except a short *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, another *against the Manicheans*, and some brief *Annotations on the Canonical Epistles*, of which the Latin versions are still extant. The first *Treatise* was translated by Jerome, and is usually printed together with his *Works*; the latter two are in Canisius's *Lectiones Antiquæ*, and the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. They are clearly and methodically written, and show that the author was an able and dexterous reasoner, and by no means deficient in penetration.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 253; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 103; Hieron. *De Script. Eccles.* c. 109.

MACARIUS.

There were at least two eminent Egyptian solitaries of this name, who lived during the latter part of the IVth century, and concerning whose austerities and miracles many strange and incredible stories are related. A number of Greek *Homilies* and *Discourses* are extant, bearing the name of Macarius; but it is not easy to ascertain with precision by whom they were written. They are certainly ancient, and have every appearance of being the productions of some ascetic author of the

IVth or Vth century. They contain many devout sentiments, simply and beautifully expressed, but blended with many unscriptural notions, and a great deal of allegory and mysticism.

The *Works* attributed to Macarius were collected and published by Pritius, Leipsic, 1698, 8vo. A second edition was printed at the same place, 1714.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 256; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 55—58; Tillemont, vol. viii. Art. *Macaire*.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IVth Century.

PHILASTRIUS.

A. D. 386.

Philastrius, Bishop of Brescia, was the contemporary and friend of Ambrose, whom he actively assisted in opposing and suppressing Arianism in the West. He wrote a *Work on Heresies*, still extant, which does not give a favourable idea either of his talents or his acquirements. His knowledge of his subject is extremely limited, his reasonings are contemptible, and he betrays throughout an unwarrantable eagerness to magnify errors of the most harmless description into dangerous Heresies; he is a writer of no authority, and only calculated to mislead those who rely on his statements.

The best edition of the *Work* of Philastrius is that published by Fabricius, Hamburg, 1721, 8vo.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i. p. 276; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv. p. 193.

GREEK WRITERS.

EUSEBIUS.
ATHANASIUS.
CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.
EPIPHANIUS.
BASIL.
GREGORY NAZIANZEN.
GREGORY OF NYSSA.
MACARIUS.

SYRIAC WRITER.

EPHREM.

LATIN WRITERS

ARNOBIVS.
LACTANTIUS.
COMMODIANUS.
JUVENCUS.
JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.
HILARY.
LUCIFER.
PHEBADIUS.
VICTORINUS.
OPTATUS.
PACIAN.
AMBROSE.
HILARY.
DAMASUS.
PHILASTRIUS.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LIV.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

HERESIES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

History.

Many of the Sects of earlier birth continued to retain their vigour during the IVth century, and others arose which, unhappily, struck yet more permanent roots than their predecessors. The severe laws enacted against the Manicheans, compelled them to assume other names, by which they concealed themselves for a time, but could not ultimately escape the vigilance of their enemies. Of the chief Heresies which date their origin in this century, the first which demands notice is that of

Two important reasons were urged by the Numidian Prelates to justify this violent measure; first, that Felix of Aptungus, the chief of the Bishops who assisted at the consecration, was a *traditor*, or one who in the time of Persecution had apostatized from the Christian Faith; secondly, that Cæcilian, in the subordinate office of a Deacon, had displayed harshness, and even cruelty, towards the Christian Confessors and Martyrs in the time of Persecution.

Heresies of the IVth Century.

THE DONATISTS.

Origin.
A. D.
315.

Persecution had scarcely ceased in the Western Church, and it still raged in the East, when this new and dangerous faction arose in Africa. On the death of Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, a Council of neighbouring Clergy and Laity was convoked, for the appointment of a successor. The assembly was less numerously attended than usual, through the management of Botrus and Cæsius, two Presbyters, who aspired to the vacant dignity. Both these competitors, however, were disappointed, and the election fell on Cæcilian the Deacon. All the forms essential to the canonical appointment of a Bishop were observed, and Cæcilian had confessedly the suffrage of the whole Church. Nevertheless the two defeated candidates protested against the validity of the election, on the ground that the subsequent consecration of Cæcilian was performed without the concurrence of the Numidian Bishops. They were joined in their opposition by Lucilla, a rich and powerful lady, who had been reprimanded formerly by Cæcilian for her superstitious practices, but who was too haughty to submit to Ecclesiastical censures.* Animated by the representations of Botrus and Cæsius, and swayed, it is said, by the bribery of Lucilla, the Bishops of Numidia, assembling at Carthage, summoned Cæcilian before them. Secundus, Bishop of Tigisis, and the Numidian Primate presided in the assembly, and Cæcilian refusing to submit to its judgment, was declared unworthy of the Episcopal office, and formally deposed. Seventy Prelates concurred in the deposition, and with the same unanimity they elected, in the place of the degraded Prelate, Majorinus, a domestic of Lucilla.

Cæcilian chosen Bishop of Carthage.

Cæcilian deposed.

If, however, Cæcilian had been consecrated by a *traditor*, it is equally certain that a number of the Bishops who undertook to depose him, were liable to the same imputation. No one was more active in the affair than Donatus, Bishop of Casa Nigra, who had always been known as a schismatic, and a man of vehement and unruly temper. From him, according to the best authorities, the faction of the Donatists derived its name; for this disgrace has been divided between Donatus, Bishop of Casa Nigra, and Donatus, the successor of Majorinus in the See of Carthage. Of a question of such trivial importance, the probable solution may be offered, that the Donatists were so called from both.*

Name of Donatists where derived.

The deposition of Cæcilian was far from obtaining general acquiescence. He had a considerable number of adherents, and the sentence of the Numidian Bishops was brought before Constantine the Great, with a view to its revision and reversal. No sooner had that Emperor professed Christianity, than he exercised a supreme power in Ecclesiastical matters, and the appeal of Cæcilian was accepted by Constantine. He referred the decision of the question to Melchades, Bishop of Rome, assisted by Retiens, Maternus, and Marinus, three Bishops of Gaul. Three days were consumed in the investigation, and the result was favourable to Cæcilian. He was entirely and honourably acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge, and the Synod decreed that he should be reinstated in the dignity of which he had been unjustly deprived.

A. D. 313. Cæcilian reinstated in a Synod at Rome.

Such a decree, it may be supposed, was received with disgust and indignation by the Donatists with the Bishop of Casa Nigra at their head. The small number of Bishops associated with Melchades, excited in a particular manner their reproaches, and even their contempt. They looked upon the decision of seventy

* Schisma ipsius illo tempore confusa mulieris tranquillitas peperit; ambigua nutriti; avaritia roborevit. Optat. Hist. lib. i. c. 19.

* See Valesius, de Schismate Donatistarum, commonly appended to Euseb. Eccles. Hist. This Tract relates the progress of the Heresy till the Council of Nice, A. D. 325.

History.

Nomidian Prelates as infinitely more weighty than that pronounced by the Bishops at Rome, who, besides their inferiority in point of numbers, were unacquainted with African affairs. Constantine, willing to remove these complaints, ordered a second and a far more numerous Council to meet at Arles, composed of Bishops from various Provinces, from Italy, Gaul, Germany, and Spain.

A. D.
314.
The decrees
confirmed
by a Synod
at Arles.
A. D.
316.
And by the
Emperor
Constantine
at Milan.

While the Council was sitting at Arles, an inquiry was instituted in Africa, under Ælian the Proconsul, concerning the accusations brought against Aptungus, the Prelate by whom Cæcilian had been consecrated, and these were decided to be without foundation. At Arles, likewise, the Donatists were defeated, but they renewed their efforts by appealing to the personal decision of the Emperor. Constantine examined the whole affair at Milan in the presence of the contending parties, and confirmed the decrees which the two preceding Councils had pronounced.

Nothing remained to the discomfited Donatists but to load the Emperor with the bitterest reproaches, and the most unfounded accusations of interested partiality towards Cæcilian. Constantine, incensed at their conduct, deprived them of their Churches, and sent their factious Bishops into banishment. He carried his resentment so far as to put some of them to death; a proceeding which aggravated their discontent into actual rebellion.

The Circumcellions.

The consequent commotions gave rise to a formidable confederacy of ruffians, distinguished as a branch of the Donatist faction, and known by the name of Circumcellions. They were a mere banditti, who valued their own lives as little as those of their neighbours, and were remarkable for committing suicide in their frenzy. This sanguinary and fearless Sect filled Africa with slaughter and rapine, and perpetrated the most wanton acts of cruelty against the followers of Cæcilian. It daily acquired strength, and seemed to threaten a Civil war, till Constantine, having tried every mode of accommodation, abolished the laws which had been enacted against the Donatists, and allowed the people a full liberty of adhering to that party which they preferred.

But the flame of discord burst forth with renewed fury after the death of Constantine; and his son Constans, to whom Africa was allotted in the division of the Empire, found it necessary to have recourse to arms. Donatus, the successor of Majorinus, surnamed most inappropriately the Great, opposed all attempts at reconciliation, and the Circumcellions continued to extend their power by assassinations and massacres, executed with the most unrelenting fury. Their lawless and bloody career was at length stopped by Macarius, a General of Constans. A battle took place at Baguina, in which the Donatists were defeated; a great number saved themselves by flight, and, except a few who submitted, the remainder were slaughtered or made prisoners. The captives were punished with the utmost severity, numbers were sent into banishment, and among the exiles was Donatus himself, the chief author of the schismatical rebellion.

It is impossible to vindicate the rigorous treatment shown towards the Donatists under the Government of Constans, however atrocious might have been their conduct. Optatus, the Catholic Historian, and a firm defender of Orthodoxy, though he imputes the sufferings of the Sect principally to its own malignancy,

confesses that the proceedings against it were too severe to admit of excuse.

During thirteen years the Donatists remained under persecution, but with the accession of Julian a more favourable prospect was opened to their view. The exiles were permitted to return to their Country, and the Sect exercised its worship without molestation. This lenity infused vigour into the expiring faction, and in a short time the larger part of the Province of Africa submitted to its discipline, or rather to its despotism. In Numidia its predominance was decided, and four hundred Bishops acknowledged the superiority of the Donatist Primate.

Before we speak of the tenets of the Donatists, it is necessary to premise that there were several divisions of the Sect. The Circumcellions have been already mentioned, and they ought to be considered as the military force of the faction, which by its practices demonstrated the erroneous opinions of the speculative Donatists. The Circumcellions strengthened the cause, but there were other intestine dissensions which weakened it. A fourth part of the Donatist Prelates followed the standard of Maximian, and a large Body was distinguished by the name of Rogatians.

The tenets of the Donatists were conformable to those of the Catholic Church, according to the acknowledgment of their adversaries, and the testimony of their most active and able opponent, Augustin, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Hippo.* They differed from the Church only concerning a matter of fact, namely, whether Cæcilian had been legally consecrated. But the denial of this legality led them into many practical errors. They asserted that the Apostolical succession throughout Christendom was interrupted; that all the Bishops of Europe and Asia were infected by the contagion of guilt or schism; and that the privileges of the Christian Church were confined exclusively to themselves. This erroneous and rigid theory was supported by a correspondent conduct. They pronounced the sacred rites and institutions of all other Christians to be devoid of virtue and efficacy. They not only rebaptized their proselytes, but obliged those who had been already ordained Ministers of the Gospel, to be ordained a second time. Bishops and infants were alike submitted to the disgrace of a public penance before admission into their communion. If they obtained possession of a Church which had been used by their Catholic adversaries, they purified the unhallowed Temple with jealous care. They burned the altar, melted the consecrated plate, and cast the Holy Eucharist to the dogs, with all possible ignominy.

Among the other public and private labours of Augustin, his opposition to the Donatists cannot be passed over in silence. It is notorious that they had a peculiar malice against the pastors of the Catholic Church, and that this malice vented itself in open violence. Augustin himself was several times waylaid by these miserable men, and on one occasion escaped an ambush which they had placed for him, only through the mistake of his guide, by whom he was led into a different road from that which he had intended to travel. An excuse, though not a justification, may be offered for the measures of severity against these

* See his *Letters* to the Donatists, especially *Letts.* 48, 50, 61, 127.

Heresies of the IVth Century.

A. D.
362.

Divisions of the Donatists

Their tenets.

Conduct of Augustin towards the Donatists.

History. factious Heretics, of which he was the advocate and the adviser. On account of their enormities, the Imperial Court issued several edicts for the imposition of fines on the Donatists, and the infliction of banishment on their Bishops. These edicts Augustin vindicated in his writings, and strenuously urged the justice and expediency of repressing the Donatists by the Civil sword. But candour requires the Historian to state, that Donatism received its death-blow rather from the charitable persuasions and powerful arguments of Augustin, than from the penal laws of the Imperial Court. The Sect gradually dwindled into insignificance, and as its extension was partial, its duration was not permanent.*

THE ARIANS.

Branches.

SEMI-ARIANS—ACACIANS—EUNOMIANS—EXOCON-
TIANI—BULIANI—SPHATHYRIANS.

Arian.

Whether we consider the number, learning, and influence of its adherents, or the speciousness and subtlety of its tenets, the Arian Heresy claims a more distinguished rank than any other in the History of Heterodoxy. It began to disturb and divide the Church soon after the conversion of Constantine, and who, even in the present Age, can assign the period of its suppression?

Account of Arian.

Its author Arius was first a Deacon, and afterwards a Presbyter in the Church of Alexandria, and Libya was the Province of his birth, as it was the birth-place of Sabellius.† He was first known as a partisan of Meletius, an Egyptian Bishop, who had created a schism in the Church but without any corruption of doctrine. His adherence to the Meletian party was of short continuance, for he was reconciled to Peter, the Bishop of Alexandria, and was by that Prelate ordained a Deacon. But his pertinacity in allowing the validity of Meletian Baptism drew on him the censure of Peter, and he was again expelled from the communion of the Catholic Church.‡

Peter, soon after the expulsion of Arius, suffered martyrdom in the Dioclesian Persecution, and was succeeded in the See of Alexandria by Achillas. To the new Bishop, Arius offered such a satisfactory explanation of his conduct, that he was advanced to the rank of a Presbyter. The Episcopate of Achillas was of short duration, and soon after the conversion of Constantine, Alexander was promoted to the important station, contrary, it is alleged, to the expectation of Arius, who aspired to the dignity.§

The erudition, the eloquence, and the morals of Arius have commanded the reluctant acknowledgment of his powerful and implacable adversaries. But Historians have differed as to his motives, whether his Heresy originated in a sincere conviction of the truth of his opinions, or in personal resentment against his Bishop. It is equally undecided, whether the beginning of the contro-

versy should be attributed to Arius or to Alexander. Yet all accounts agree that the temper of Alexander was cool and cautious; and therefore it may be presumed, that unless Arius had given some provocation by the boldness and activity with which he disseminated his peculiar tenets, the Bishop of Alexandria would not have formally and authoritatively condemned them, neither would he have dogmatically promulgated his own opinions on a subject so abstruse as that of the Blessed Trinity.*

In an Assembly of the Presbyters, Alexander maintained, among other things, that the Son was not only of the same eminence and dignity, but of the same essence with the Father.† This assertion was censured by Arius as being an approximation to Sabellianism. He eagerly espoused the opposite extreme, and said, "If the Father begot the Son, the begotten had a beginning of existence; hence it is evident, that there was a time when he was not."‡ Many of the assembled Clergy sided with the Presbyter in opposition to the Bishop; and no sooner were the opinions of Arius divulged than they found in Egypt and the neighbouring Provinces a multitude of converts.

But Alexander, seated in the chair of authority, instituted a solemn and public investigation of the controversy. Having already exhibited himself as a disputant, he now assumed the office of a judge. He convened a Synod at Alexandria, in which the doctrines of Arius were condemned, and the Heretic himself, with nine of his adherents, were expelled from the communion of the Church.§

The sentence of the Alexandrian Synod was received by Arius with an unshaken mind. He retired into Palestine, and from this retreat wrote letters to the most eminent men of his times, in defence of his conduct. So great was his success, that he could reckon among his immediate followers, two Bishops of Egypt, seven Presbyters, and twelve Deacons. A majority of Asiatic Bishops soon declared in his favour, and among these Eusebius of Nicomedia, a man distinguished for his influence.¶ On the other hand, Alexander, in repeated Epistles and public appeals, maintained the justice of the proceedings against his refractory and contumacious Presbyter.¶

The Emperor Constantine at first regarded this controversy as a matter of no Political or Religious importance, and contented himself with an attempt to suppress it, by recommending to both parties mutual concession. He wrote to both Alexander and Arius, and after censuring each, advised a reconciliation. He also employed the mediation of Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, who ineffectually laboured to promote peace between the disputants.**

When the Emperor saw that his admonitions and remonstrances were unavailing, and that the commotions too frequently the consequence of Theological disputes were spreading throughout the Empire, he adopted other methods, and the famous Council of Nice

* The principal writers on the Heresy of the Donatists are Optatus, Bishop of Milevi, whose copious History was written against Parmenian, one of their Bishops; Hen. Valeius, *Disert. de Schism. Donatistarum*; and Long, in a curious Tract, *Hist. of the Donatists*, 1677.

† A description of the figure and manners of Arius is given by Epiphanius, *Heret. 69*.

‡ Socrat. *lib. i. c. 6*.

§ According to the principal Arian Historian, he declined the Episcopal throne. Philostorgius, *lib. i. c. 3*.

* Socrum, *lib. i. c. 15*. Socrat. *lib. i. c. 5*.

† *Quicquid est Veritatis, non est alienum deum Verum*. Theodoret, *lib. i. c. 11*.

‡ Socrat. *lib. i. c. 5*.

§ Socrum, *lib. i. c. 15*.

¶ The *Epistle* of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia, representing his own opinions and conduct, is preserved by Theodoret, *lib. i. c. 3*.

** Socrum, *lib. i. c. 15*.

•• Euseb. *Vit. Constant. lib. ii. c. 64—72*.

Heretic of the IVth Century.

A. D. 318.

to A. D. 324.

Character of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria.

Is opposed by Arius.

Arius is condemned in a Synod at Alexandria.

Progress of Arianism.

Conduct of Constantine.

Council of Nice.

A. D. 325.

History. met in obedience to his command. The Bishops assembled from all parts of the Christian world at Nice, in Bithynia, and their number, according to the testimony of Athanasius, who was present, amounted to three hundred and eighteen. They were transported to the place of meeting in public conveyances, at the Emperor's expense, and were maintained at his cost; and to add dignity to the proceedings, Constantine himself was present.*

High, but not more than merited, praise has been bestowed on the temper of Constantine at this Council.† He exhorted the venerable Fathers to peace and unanimity; and a number of mutual accusations having been presented to him, he consigned them to the fire, protesting that he had not read one of them. After this magnanimous action, he gave permission for immediate deliberation. The doctrines of Arius were minutely canvassed, and the disputable propositions contained in his writings were argued with great warmth. Constantine acted as moderator, and endeavoured to bring the parties to some agreement, but his endeavours were vain. After several keen debates, the Orthodox party expressed its collective opinion on the controversy in the following manner. The different passages of Scripture which attest the Divinity of the Son of God having been selected, a conclusion was drawn, that these passages taken together amounted to a proof that the Son was of THE SAME SUBSTANCE with the Father; and the epithet *ὁμοούσιος*, derived from the Platonic School, was adopted into the Nicene Confession.‡

Eusebius of Nicomedia, the great patron of the Arians, wrote a Letter to the Council in which he censured the notion that the Son was uncreated; and the Arians drew up a written Confession of their Faith. Both these documents were pronounced by the Council to be Heretical. Hosius of Corduba was appointed to draw up a Creed, which in substance is the same as that which at this day is called the *Nicene Creed*. It soon received the sanction of the Council, and of Constantine himself, who declared that such as refused to comply with its decrees, must prepare themselves for immediate exile.

Arius was deposed, excommunicated, and forbidden from entering Alexandria. The minority who were attached to Arianism, at first refused to subscribe the Nicene Confession, but being persuaded by Constantia, the Emperor's sister, and a patroness of Arius, they at length consented. But by the insertion of a single letter,§ the Arians reserved to themselves their own sense, subscribing that the Son is *ὁμοιούσιος*, not of the same but of a similar essence with the Father.¶ There were two, however, out of twenty-two Arian Bishops who would not join in this act of duplicity. These were

Secundus of Ptolemais, and Theonas of Marmarica, the former of whom bluntly reproved the courtly Eusebius of Nicomedia for his dishonesty. The Arian Prelate did not escape by his compliance; for three months after the dissolution of the Council, he was banished by the Imperial order, for secretly attempting to support the Arian cause.

The See of Alexandria was vacated by the death of Alexander, within a few months after his return from the Nicene Council, and the integrity as well as the abilities of the famous Athanasius, pointed him out as the proper successor. At that time he was not above twenty-eight years of age, and he sat forty-six years in the Episcopal chair of Alexandria. His whole Episcopate was a combat with Arianism, conducted with unremitting zeal, but with unequal success.

Three years had scarcely elapsed since the Council of Nice, before Constantine, prevailed upon by his favourite sister Constantia, discovered some sentiments of indulgence towards the Sect which he had proscribed. It was suggested to him that Arius and his friends were unjustly treated, and Constantia on her death-bed implored that their sentence might be mitigated or reversed. Constantine complied with a request thus solemnly preferred; he recalled Arius from exile, repealed the laws which had been enacted against his followers, and restored Eusebius of Nicomedia to the Episcopal throne from which he had been ignominiously degraded.*

An Epistle from Eusebius to Athanasius, demanded rather than solicited the readmission of Arius into the communion of the Church, and restoration to his former rank. But the Bishop of Alexandria, firm in his purpose, and deaf to the most powerful entreaties, perseveringly refused. The Arians, determined on the ruin of their opponents, procured the deposition and banishment of the three principal leaders of the Catholics, Eustathius of Antioch, Paul of Constantinople, and above all, Athanasius. A Synod was convened at Tyre, by the Emperor's command, not to examine the speculative principles, but the moral crimes of the Bishop of Alexandria. He was accused of rebellion, cruelty, unchastity, and even murder. Notwithstanding the most convincing proofs of his innocence, his enemies prevailed; he sought safety in flight, and by a judicial sentence he was degraded from his Bishopric. In vain did he appeal to Constantine, and solicit a fair trial; his inveterate enemy, Eusebius of Nicomedia, infused the most unfounded calumnies into the mind of the Emperor, and Athanasius was banished to Treves in Gaul.†

Elated with success, Arius returned to Alexandria; but the fidelity of the people to the principles and person of their exiled Bishop was shown by a refusal to receive the Heresiarch into his place among the Presbyters. Constantine commanded him to repair to Constantinople, but its Bishop, Alexander, hesitated to receive him as a sound member of the Catholic Church. Constantine again, previously to his admission, required him to prove his Orthodoxy by subscription to the Nicene Decrees, confirmed by an oath;‡ and Arius readily agreed to the requisition. In the mean time, Alexander, prostrate before the altar, and attended only by Macarius, a Presbyter belonging to Athanasius,

Heresies of the IVth Century.

Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria.

Constantine relents in favour of the Arians.

A. D. 328.

Athanasius refuses to restore Arius.

Synod of Tyre.

A. D. 335.

First banishment of Athanasius. Return of Arius.

* No part of the History of the Church has been written with such negligence, or passed over with such rapidity as the Council of Nice—Mosheim. The History of this Council was written by Macarius the Syrian, but his Work is lost. The accounts which the Eastern writers give of this Council have been collected by Remondet, *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, p. 69.

† Constantine is called the Political, Hosius of Corduba the Ecclesiastical, President of the Nicene Council. Spanheim, *Hist. Sac.* iv.

‡ Athanasius shows that this epithet is the discriminative mark of the Orthodox Faith, in contradistinction to Arianism, of which the grand tenet is, that the Son is *εἰσέροπος* τῷ πατρί. *Epist. de Nicen. Synod. Decretis*.

§ And that letter an Iota.

¶ This duplicity of the Arians is recorded by their own Historian, Philostorgius. See Cave, *Life of Athanasius*.

* Sozomen, lib. ii. c. 16. 27.

† Cave, *Life of Athanasius*.

‡ Secret, lib. i. c. 8.

History.

offered the most fervent supplications for guidance from Heaven in this difficult conjuncture. The Imperial mandate was delivered, commanding him to receive Arius into the Church on the next day; and the pious Bishop implored God, that if Arius was right, he himself might not live to see the day of contest, but that if his own Faith were true, Arius might suffer the just punishment of his profaneeness. The next day appeared to be a day of triumph for Arianism. Its chief partisans paraded the streets, with their leader in the midst, but when the procession approached the Forum of Constantine, a sudden terror, with a disorder of the intestines, seized Arius; he retired from the crowd, and expired in a manner which it has been disingenuously insinuated must be attributed either to poison or to a miracle.*

Death of Arius.

A. D. 336.

Death of Constantine.

A. D. 337.

Recall of Athanasius.

A. D. 338.

Synod of Antioch.

A. D. 341.

Athanasius withdraws to Rome.

A. D. 342.

What effect this awful event produced on the mind of Constantine does not appear, for he died shortly after. He was succeeded by his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans; the first of whom ruled in Spain and Gaul, the second in the East, and the third in Africa. Of the elder son little is known, but that little is laudable. He sent back Athanasius from his place of exile with every mark of respect, and declared that by so doing he only fulfilled the intentions of his father. Thus after a banishment of two years and four months,† the distinguished Bishop returned from Treves to Alexandria, where he was received with general acclamations.

The death of the younger Constantine exposed Athanasius to a second persecution; for Constantius, the Sovereign of the Eastern part of the Empire, provoked at the election of Paul to the See of Constantinople, took the Arian party under his protection.‡ Ninety Bishops of that Sect, instigated by the Nicomedian, Eusebius, and supported by the Emperor, assembled at Antioch, under the specious pretence of dedicating the Cathedral. They composed a Creed verging towards Arianism,§ and erected twenty-five Canons favourable to Orthodoxy. One of these Canons decided, with an appearance of equity, that any Bishop deprived by a Synod, should not resume his Episcopal functions till he had been absolved by the sentence of an equal Synod. The rule was immediately applied to the person against whom it was made; the degradation of Athanasius by a former Council of Tyre was confirmed; a stranger named Gregory was placed on the Episcopal throne of Alexandria; and Philagrius, the Egyptian Præfect, was instructed to support the usurper with the Civil and military powers of the Province.

Oppressed by this conspiracy of the Asiatic Prelates, Athanasius, though he wanted neither courage nor capacity to make a formidable resistance, withdrew from the place of contention to Rome. There he passed a considerable time,|| and assiduously devoted himself to

* Athanasius has recorded the death of Arius, but without attempting to stigmatize his memory. His account is confirmed by Sozomen and Socrates. Might not the secondary cause of the death of Arius be ascribed to mental agitation? The spot in which Arius met his death was memorable to posterity, and shown in the times of Socrates, lib. i. c. 8.

† *Ere dei sui pium corripit.* Theodoret, lib. xi. c. 1. Valerius maintains that the banishment of Athanasius to Treves lasted not quite two years.

‡ Socrat. lib. c. 2. Sozomen, lib. iii. c. 18.

§ There were not less than four formulæ promulgated by this Council. Sozomen, lib. iii. c. 5.

|| There are insuperable chronological difficulties respecting the residence of Athanasius at Rome. They are stated by Valerius, *Obvers. Oper. tom. ii. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1-5.*

the study of the Latin Language. He was thus qualified to negotiate with the Western Clergy, and Julius, the Roman Pontiff, was induced to protect and espouse his cause. Fifty Italian Bishops declared the innocence and the Orthodoxy of the persecuted Athanasius. During this his second exile, he was frequently admitted into the Imperial presence, and he exhorted Constans to emulate the glory of his Father by repudiating the errors of his Brother.

Heretics of the 17th Century.

By the joint order of the two Brothers, a Council met at Sardica, in Illyria, a City seated on the borders of their respective dominions. Its object was to promote union, but in effect it placed the two parties at a greater distance from each other than before. The doctrine of the Trinity was treated as a matter of speculation, and each party therefore retired unconvinced and unconciled. Hosius of Corduba, the venerable President of the Council of Nice, presided here also, and the cause of Athanasius and of Orthodoxy was once more triumphant. Constans declared his resolution of supporting Orthodoxy by the arms and treasure of Europe, and signified in a concise and peremptory Epistle to his Brother Constantine, his demand that Athanasius should be re-instated in the See of Alexandria.

Council of Sardica. A. D. 347.

The timely compliance of Constantine averted an appeal to arms, and the Emperor of the East condescended to sue for a reconciliation with the exiled Primate. Athanasius waited till he had received three successive Epistles, full of gracious assurances; and he then quitted Rome, and travelled to Antioch, in which City Constantius was at that time resident. The Emperor observed, that as Athanasius was to be put in possession of all the Egyptian Churches, he ought to leave one at Alexandria for the Arians. The Primate confessed the proposal to be just, on condition that the same indulgence should be granted to his own party at Antioch and the other Cities of the Empire. The Arians, however, sensible of their superior popularity, forbore to press the proposition.*

A triumphal procession graced the return of Athanasius to his own City, in which absence and persecution had endeared him to its inhabitants, and a number of his enemies retracted, and gave an honourable testimony to his Christian virtues. His authority was more firmly established than ever, and his fame was diffused throughout the whole Christian world.

Return of Athanasius to Alexandria. A. D. 349.

Though the tragical death of Constans deprived Athanasius of a powerful friend, yet a Civil war between his assassin and his only surviving Brother secured an interval of repose to the Church. Both the contending aspirants to the vacant Throne courted the friendship of the Alexandrian Primate, but unhappily Athanasius embraced the cause of Magnentius, the murderer of Constans. Constantius, however, was the victor, and on the first winter after his victory he resolved to consummate the ruin of a man, whom he hated or feared more than the vanquished Tyrant of Gaul.†

Death of Constans. A. D. 350.

The customary mode of convening a Synod was adopted by the Emperor, and two successive Councils met at Arles and Milan. They were held in the presence of the Emperor, who proposed to the Assembly at Milan an Arian Creed, which he recommended by the

Councils of Arles and Milan. A. D. 353.

* Socrat. lib. ii. c. 18. Sozomen, lib. iii. c. 19. Theodoret, lib. ii. c. 11, 12. Philostorgius, lib. iii. c. 12.

† Theodoret, lib. ii. c. 16. The Emperor declared that he was more desirous to subdue Athanasius, than he had been to vanquish Magnentius or Sylvanus.

History.
A. D.
355.

Second banishment of Athanasius.

Conciliation of Liberius and Hosius.

Death of Constantine.
A. D.
361.
Athanasius returns to his Bishopric.
A. D.
362.

argument, that God had declared in its favour, by the late victory conferred on himself. Several Bishops* had the courage to answer that the Nicene Faith had always been the Faith of the Church, and the People rejected the Creed which Constantius prescribed. But the condemnation of Athanasius was pressed with greater success; remonstrance was silenced by the alternative of obedience or exile; and the majority of the Bishops was compelled or seduced to subscribe an instrument deposing him from his Bishopric.

Again was Athanasius an outcast from Alexandria, and his expulsion was executed with a violence correspondent with its injustice. His place was usurped by the infamous George of Cappadocia; and the excellent Bishop, after exhibiting traits of heroism scarcely ever surpassed, found a retreat in the deserts of Thebais.† To enlarge on his dangerous and romantic adventures would far exceed the limits prescribed to us; but it is fit to mention, that even in his inaccessible retirement he carried on his opposition against the Arians. Adversity could neither change the Principles nor bend the spirit of Athanasius;‡

The persecution of Constantius was not confined to a single Prelate or a single Province; and some of its victims were destitute of the firmness of Athanasius. The resolution of Liberius and Hosius was subdued by the hardships of exile and imprisonment. The former purchased his release by some criminal compliances, for which he afterwards expressed a sincere contrition. The fall of the venerable Hosius is a remarkable instance of human infirmity, which awakens compassion rather than censure. He had suffered confinement for a year, joined with the infliction of corporal torture; he had reached the extraordinary age of 100 years, when both persuasion and violence were employed in extorting his reluctant signature to an Arian Confession of Faith: but neither menace nor entreaty could induce him to subscribe the condemnation of Athanasius.§

The fall of Liberius and Hosius reflected greater lustre on those Bishops whose fidelity remained unshaken, and the persecution of so many virtuous men excited the discontent of all Christians, except those who were blindly devoted to the Arian faction. On the death of Constantius, therefore, the strength and influence of the Arian party were considerably diminished. George of Alexandria, having been murdered by the Pagans of that City, Athanasius, in the following year, ventured to return openly to his Bishopric. The Arians were then obliged to hold their meetings in private houses, and the general voice of the People was in favour of the Athanasian and Nicene doctrine.

* Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, and Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli in Italy. Dionysius, Bishop of Milan, refused to subscribe an Anti-nicene Confession. Hosius of Corduba was detained a year at Sirnium by the Emperor's command. Hilary of Poitiers mentions with indignation the bribes offered to seduce the Members of the Council. He said of Constantius, *Nun dormi cordis, sed ventrem palpasti.* Hilary, *contra Constant.* c. 5. Liberius, Bishop of Rome, defended the Nicene doctrine at this Council.

† *Hinc jam toto orbe profugus Athanasius nec ullus ei tutus ad latendum supererat locus. Tribuni, Præfetti, Comites, exercitus quoque ad persequendum eum moventur Edictis Imperialibus; præmia delictibus proponuntur ei quia cum evasit, si id minus cepisset Athanasius delinqueret.* Rufin. lib. i. c. 16.

‡ *Cave, Life of Athanasius.*

§ The life of Hosius is contained in the Works of Tillemont, tom. vii.

Not long, however, was the Primate allowed to enjoy security. He had already suffered from the Christian Heresy of Constantius, he was now to suffer from the Pagan infidelity of Julian.* He was obliged, therefore, to leave Alexandria a third time; but he had no sooner heard of the death of Julian, than he suddenly reappeared, equally to the surprise and joy of his flock. A Letter from Jovian confirmed him in his office,† and the new Emperor having declared in favour of the Nicene doctrine, all the Western, with a considerable part of the Eastern Provinces alighted the Arian system.

The scene once more changed during the life of Athanasius, when Valentinian and his brother Valens were raised to the Empire. Valentinian adhered to the decrees of the Nicene Council, and hence the whole Arian Sect, with the exception of a few Churches, was extirpated in the West. Valens, on the other hand, favoured the Arians, and the Nicenians were exposed to many severe trials in the Eastern Provinces. At the solicitation of Eudoxius, Bishop of Constantinople, this Emperor issued a mandate, commanding that all the Bishops who had been deposed in the reign of Constantius should be expelled from their Churches. By virtue of this order, Tatian, the Governor of Alexandria, vainly attempted to drive Athanasius from that city; but the Primate voluntarily withdrew himself a fourth time, and found a place of concealment in the sepulchre of his father.‡ His last banishment was short, for Valens, dreading popular discontent, commanded him to be recalled, and no persuasion of the Arian party could induce the Emperor to offer any further molestation. Athanasius died at Alexandria in honour and peace,§ and with his death the early History of Arianism will properly terminate.

The hostility of the Arians to the Catholic doctrine would have been more dangerous to the Church if the Members of their Sect had not formed divisions among themselves. Not less than eighteen modifications of the Arian Creed are in existence; but the divisions of Arianism itself are reducible to three classes: 1. the genuine or primitive Arians; 2. the Semi-arians; 3. the Acacians, who are known under other appellations.

1. The tenets of pure Arianism, according to the representations of Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, and Epiphanius, together with the Historians Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, are these: Christ is God, but inferior to the Father, in regard to His divinity, substance, properties, and dignity. Christ is a creature, whose existence had a beginning, but He was created out of nothing, before the foundation of the World. Christ, of consequence, is God, by the will of the Father, not by nature, but by adoption, yet made after the express likeness of the Creator: Christ is, therefore, of a different essence from the Father; He is not coeternal with the Father, because He is begotten; He is not coequal nor consubstantial with the Father. The Holy Ghost is not God,

* "I order Athanasius to leave the city on the receipt of my Letter." Jul. Epist. 26. "That such an intriguer should preside over the people is dangerous, one who deserves not the name of a man." Jul. Epist. 51.

† Opera, Athanasii v. l. Bletiere, *Life of Jovian.*

‡ Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 12. Cave, *Life of Athanasius.*

§ Gregory of Nazianzen has praised Athanasius in a single sentence more forcibly than he could have done in a long and laboured panegyric, *Athenum laudem æquæ leuconia.* Op. tom. I.

Heretics of the 14th Century.

Withdraws a third time.

Returns on the death of Julian.

A. D.
363.

Valentinian and Valens.

Athanasius withdraws from Alexandria a fourth time.
A. D.
367.

His death.
A. D.
373.

Arian Sects.

Arian tenets

History. but a creature of the Son, inferior to the Son as well as the Father, but cooperating with both in the work of Creation.

Semi-arian tenets. 2. The Semi-arians, it is said, maintained the Son to be *ὁμοειδής*, i. e. similar to the Father in essence, not by nature but by a peculiar privilege.

Acacian tenets. 3. There were some who took a middle course, and contented themselves with asserting simply, that the Son is like to the Father, without any specification of properties or substance. The head of this Sect was Acacius, the successor of Eusebius in the See of Caesarea, but Acacius is said to have retracted this opinion, and to have subscribed the Catholic doctrine at the Synod of Antioch.

Eunomians. The Eunomians and Exoentians may be comprehended under the first class. Eunomius was a disciple of Aetius, a Deacon of the Church of Antioch, expelled on account of his Heresy, and whose followers were called Aetians. Exoentian is a synonyme of Arias, because the Arians maintained that Christ was created *ἐξ ἀκ' οὐρανό*, i. e. before the beginning of things.

Eusebius. Eusebius also, Bishop of Nicomedia, has given his name to a branch of the Arian Sect. The Semi-arians were also called Dulanian, because they affirmed that the Son was *ἐκ λου*, the servant of the Father; and Theodoret* has

Paathyrans noticed them under the denomination of Paathyrans. It is needless to enumerate more of these obscure modifications of the Arian and Semi-arian Heresy.

Nicene doctrine. The fundamental article of the opposite Nicene doctrine is the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. The Son not only proceeds from the Father, He is not only in the similitude of the Father, but also of the same essence. He is not a creature, for He existed before the foundation of the World. The Holy Ghost is not of the Son only, but of the Father and of the Son together. Athanasius has both asserted the Nicene doctrine, and ably defended it against objections. He has also carefully discriminated it, not only from Arianism, but from Tritheism and Sabellianism.

THE APOLLINARIANS.

Account of Apollinarian. It is erroneous to consider this Sect as a ramification of Arianism, although the Arian Heresy gave rise to it. Its author was Apollinaris the Younger, Bishop of Laodicea, a man of distinguished merit, and whose early life had been signalized by his services to the Christian Religion.† He had combated the infidelity of Porphyry, and attacked the Heresy of Arius; but by indulging too freely in Philosophical distinctions and subtleties, he was led to deny, in some measure, the humanity of Christ. He maintained that the body with which Christ was endowed, or which Christ assumed, had a sensitive, but not a rational soul, and that the Divine Nature performed the functions of Reason, supplying the place of the Intellectual Principle. From this hypothesis it followed that the Divine Nature in Christ was blended with the Human, and suffered with it the pains of crucifixion and death. Other errors have been charged on Apollinaris, but from the accusation of Sabellianism he has been vindicated. His doctrines were received in many of the Eastern Provinces, but as they were capable of different explanations, his followers were subdivided into various ramifications. The Apollinarian Heresy, at least in name, did not maintain its ground

long, but sank under the united force of authority and argument. Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, may be ranked in the same class with Apollinaris, or, at least, the difference between them is too trivial to be ascertained. **Heresies of the IVth Century.**

PHOTINIANS.

Photinus was Bishop of Sirmium, a man of learning, and possessed of considerable influence.* His opinions concerning the Deity were equally repugnant to the Catholic and Arian systems. He asserted that Christ was a mere man, that He derived his beginning at His birth; that then a certain emanation, or Divine ray, descended upon Him, styled the *Word*; that on account of the union of the Divine Word with His human Nature, Jesus was called the Son of God, or God himself; and that the Holy Ghost was not a distinct person, but a celestial virtue proceeding from the Divinity. The opinions of Photinus were condemned by the Councils of Antioch and Milan, and in consequence he was degraded from his Episcopal dignity, and died in exile. **His tenets.**

THE MACEDONIANS.

Macedonius was Bishop of Constantinople, and a celebrated Semi-arian teacher, but through the influence of the Eunomians, he was sent into exile, in which he formed the Sect of the Macedonians, or Pneumatomachians. He considered the Holy Ghost as a Divine energy diffused throughout the Universe, and not as a person distinct from the Father and the Son.† The opinions of Macedonius were condemned in a General Council at Constantinople, which completed that which the Council of Nice had left imperfect, and fixed in a full and determinate manner the doctrine of Three Persons in one God. **Account of Macedonius.**

THE PRISCILLIANISTS.

This Sect, which seems to have combined in one all the most pernicious Heresies of former times, first appeared in the reign of Gratian, and the Country in which it chiefly flourished was Spain. It had been transported thither by a person named Marc of Memphis in Egypt, but his converts were not numerous. In process of time they increased, and comprehended many persons of distinguished learning. Of these, Priscilian, a laic, a man endowed with great eloquence and erudition, was at the head, and ultimately gave his name to the whole Sect.‡ He was afterwards Bishop of Abila, but was accused by several Bishops of Spain of the most dangerous opinions. Idacius and Ithucius, the one an aged Presbyter, the other Bishop of Sessuba, in consequence of a sentence pronounced against Priscilian and some of his followers, at a Synod convened at Saragossa, obtained from the Emperor Gratian a rescript of banishment against the Priscillianists and their Chief. They were restored to their Country, however, some time after by an edict of the same Prince, though their tenets were too corrupt to procure them favour and popularity. **Origin of the Priscillianists.**

On the death of Gratian, Maximus, who had procured the assassination of that Emperor, and had usurped the Government of Gaul, was courted both by

* Theodoret, *Heret. Fab. lib. iv. c. 4.*

† Socrat. lib. xi. c. 46. Epiphani. *Heret. 76.*

• Socrat. lib. xi. c. 18. Epiphani. *Heret. 71.* Sozomen. lib. iv. c. 6.

† Epiphani. *Heret. 74.* Augustin. *de Heret. c. 52.*

‡ Sulp. Sever. *Hist. lib. ii. c. 49.*

History. the Priscillianists and their enemies. The usurper entered the City of Treves, where Ithacius earnestly solicited him to suppress the odious Heresy while the Heresiarch himself boldly appealed to his judgment and his feelings. Maximus willingly accepted the office of deciding the controversy.

The conduct of Ithacius was not approved by many of those who condemned the erroneous tenets of Priscillian. Martin, Bishop of Tours, strongly reprehended Ithacius for bringing the Priscillian Heretics as criminals before a Civil Tribunal, and earnestly implored Maximus not to imbrue his hands in the blood of these unhappy men. Martin persevered with such pious zeal in opposing the tenets of Priscillian, that his supplications for mercy towards the Heretics, had the effect which they deserved. The usurper promised that he would not take their lives.

It is to be lamented that a resolution founded on wisdom and humanity was not maintained. Two Bishops, Magnus and Rufus, prevailed on Maximus to summon Priscillian and some of his followers before a Court in which Euodius, the Prefect of Treves, presided. They were found guilty, but were remanded by Euodius to prison, and their final sentence was referred to Maximus. In the issue, Priscillian, with four other leaders of his Sect, were put to death, and some others, who escaped extreme punishment, were banished.*

The agents who procured the infliction of so sanguinary a punishment were regarded with the utmost abhorrence, and the Heresy of Priscillian was rather promoted than extinguished by it. Priscillian himself was honoured as a martyr, and Martin of Tours, though strongly opposed to his doctrines, testified equal abhorrence of the party of Ithacius who had procured his condemnation.

Their tenets. A fair statement of the Priscillian doctrines has not been given by Sulpitius Severus, who has minutely related the History of this Heresy. It appears, however, that the difference between the Priscillianists and the Manicheans was inconsiderable. The former denied the reality of Christ's birth and incarnation, maintained that

the visible Universe was the production of some Evil Principle, and considered human bodies as prisons formed by the author of Evil to enslave celestial minds. Their rule of life was severe, and the accusations against them of lasciviousness and intemperance are destitute of evidence and authority. The charge of dissimulation has however some foundation, though exaggerated into an open vindication of a correspondent practice of perjury and falsehood.*

Heresies of the IVth Century.

OF THE INFERIOR SECTS OF THE IVth CENTURY.

ARDÆANS—MESSALIANS, OR EUCHITES—ANTIDICOMARIANITES—COLLYRIDIANIS.

A few minor Sects deserve to be enumerated, but a detail of their History or their doctrines is unnecessary. The ARDÆANS, so named from their founder Ardeus, were remarkable for celebrating Easter according to the practice of the Jews in contradiction to the Council of Nice,† and they are said to have attributed a human form to the Deity. The MESSALIANS, or EUCHITES, were a sort of Mystics, and derived their second name from their continual habit of prayer,‡ by which they imagined the Evil Demon, who dwelt in the Human Mind, was expelled, so that the pure Mind, returning to God, might be united to his Divine Essence. The ANTIDICOMARIANITES and the COLLYRIDIANIS maintained opposite doctrines concerning the Virgin Mary. The former asserted that the Virgin did not preserve her immaculate state after the birth of Christ; the latter worshipped her as a Goddess by libations and sacrifices. They derived their name from the oblations of cakes (*collyridæ*) which they made to the object of their adoration.§ and they enrolled numerous women among their adherents.

Ardeans.

Messalians or Euchites

Antidicomarianites and Collyridians.

* Modern authors who have written concerning the Priscillianists are Beausobre, in his *History of the Manicheans*; Simon de Vries, *Dissert. de Priscillianistis*; Girvelli *Histor. Priscillianist. Chronologia*.

† Epiphanius. *Harres.* 70.

‡ Ibid. 80.

§ Ibid. 78, 79.

* Sulp. Sever. *Hist. Dial. 3. de Vitâ Martinij* c. 15.

DONATISTS.
ARIANS.
APOLLINARIANS.
PHOTINIANS.
MACEDONIANS.
PRISCILLIANISTS.
ARDÆANS.
MESSALIANS, OR EUCHITES.
ANTIDICOMARIANITES.
COLLYRIDIANIS.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LV.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, FROM THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS TO THE REIGN OF PHOCAS.

FROM A. D. 395 TO A. D. 610.

History. After the death of Theodosius, the Roman Empire, as we have before seen, was divided into two distinct sovereignties, of which the one comprehended the Eastern, the other the Western Provinces. Honorius, who governed the Western Empire, fixed the seat of his Government at Ravenna, while his brother Arcadius reigned at Constantinople.

From A. D. 395. to A. D. 610. Honorius, whose virtues would have graced a private station, consigned the reins of Government to his Ministers, who followed the policy of Theodosius in protecting the Church, in extirpating the remains of Idolatry, and in supporting Orthodoxy against the Donatists and all other Heretics. The benign influence of Christianity, even when it had declined from its primitive purity, was visible in a number of Imperial Edicts, abolishing the impure and savage rites of Paganism, and providing for the destitute and the miserable. One of these humane laws has been particularly eulogized, which directed the Judges to examine into the state of Prisons on every Lord's day, and to inquire into the wants of the criminals confined within them.*

A. D. 395.

Roman Empire divided.

A. D. 409.

The Christian Religion accused as the cause of the fall of the Roman Empire.

But the weakness of Honorius gave advantage to the Barbarians of the North, and the Goths, under the command of Alaric, laid waste the fairest Provinces of Italy, and carried their devastations to Rome itself. The plunder of the Imperial City, and the consequent miseries inflicted on the Empire, gave an occasion for calumniating Christianity. The Pagans accused the new Religion as the cause of the declension of the Empire; and this argument, which has been used speciously, though not successfully, in the present times, was originally employed with no little force. So weighty did it then appear, so eagerly was it received, that it called forth the indefatigable pen of Augustin, and occasioned his celebrated Treatise *De Civitate Dei*.

The Barbarian conquerors of the Western Empire pretended to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperors who resided at Constantinople, but that supremacy was the mere shadow of power. In the Countries which they conquered, the invaders ruled with despotic authority, and particularly in Gaul, where the Franks established a Monarchy on the ruins of the Roman Empire. This warlike nation first passed the Rhine under the conduct of Pharamond, and his successors advanced gradually in their conquests, until Clovis completed

them, and became the founder of the French Monarchy. That Prince, whose signal bravery was stained by cruelty, perfidy, and ambition, is said to have been converted to the Christian Faith partly through the influence of his Queen Clotilda, partly in consequence of a decisive triumph gained by him over the *Alemanni*, at a village called *Tolbiacum*. Finding himself in the greatest extremity, and his whole army in danger of destruction, he solemnly engaged himself by a vow, to worship Christ as his God if victory decided in his favour. The *Alemanni* were defeated, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, after having been instructed by Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, in the doctrines of the Gospel, received Baptism in that city. The conversion of Clovis forms an era in the History of the Franks, and was accompanied by an unusual number of not altogether veracious prodigies.*

The German nations, by whom the Western Empire was dismembered, in process of time were converted to Christianity, but at different periods. Some of them had embraced it before their incursion, others after having established their independent Kingdoms. The Goths, the Vandals, the Sueves, the Huns, and the *Alemanni*, all yielded to the established Religion of the Roman Empire.

Christianity in the Vth century extended itself even into the British Isles. Palladius, who had been ordained Bishop of Scotland, was sent by Celestine, the Roman Pontiff, into Ireland, to propagate the Christian Religion among its rude inhabitants.† Death soon terminated his labours, but Celestine found a successor, likewise of Scottish birth, whose name Ireland has gratefully acknowledged. Patric was born near Dunbarton. His first visit to Ireland was as a captive, his second as a missionary. His early labours among the Irish were so unsuccessful, that he returned to Gaul in disappointment, though not in despair. From Gaul he proceeded to Rome, where the authority and advice of Celestine confirmed his wavering resolution. Revisiting the Country which he quitted without hope, he renewed his missionary labours, and so complete was his success, that he is still regarded as the Apostle of the Irish nation. The number and importance of his pious

Of the Christian Church, &c.

From A. D. 395. to A. D. 610.

Of the German nations.

Of the Irish. A. D. 432.

A. D. 420.
Conversion of the Franks.

* Milner, *History of the Church of Christ*, vol. ii. ch. xi.

* They are related by Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franco.* lib. xii. c. 30, 31.

† Archbishop Usher, in his *Antiquities of the British Church*, contends that Palladius was not the first Bishop of the Irish Church.

History. exploits, are undoubted proofs of his courage, of his perseverance, and of his dexterity. He is said to have taught the Irish the use of Letters, and after having brought over great numbers from barbarism and superstition to civilization and Christianity, he fixed a Metropolitan See at Armagh, which has ever since continued to be the seat of the Irish Primacy.*

The History of the Western Church during the Vth century is distinguished both by the extension and the persecution of the Christian Religion; but the History of the Eastern Church is remarkable for its persecutions only. During the reign of Theodosius the Younger, the son and successor of Arcadius, a grievous Persecution of the Christians took place in Persia. The calamity was occasioned by the indiscreet zeal of a Christian Bishop named Audas, who destroyed one of the native Temples.†

Isdegerdes, the Persian Monarch, on the complaint of the Magi, commanded Audas to repair the injury by rebuilding the edifice which he had wantonly demolished. Audas refused compliance with this reasonable command, and Isdegerdes, on a principle of retaliatory justice, ordered all the Christian Churches within his dominions to be razed. Thus the misconduct of one Christian Bishop laid the foundation of a Persecution against Christianity, which continued with little intermission during a period of thirty years. Isdegerdes began it, and his son and successor Varanes, inflamed by the Magi, pursued it with unrelenting cruelty.

The afflicted Christians implored the aid of Theodosius, and their entreaties were seconded by the humane interference of Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople. A war ensued, in which Theodosius had a decisive superiority, as far as the honour of Christianity is concerned. An action of Acacius, Bishop of Amida, in the course of this war, fully compensated the rash conduct of Audas. The Romans had taken seven thousand prisoners, whom they refused to release, though the wretched captives were perishing by famine. Acacius, touched with their distress, assembled his Clergy, and persuaded them to sell the consecrated vessels for the redemption of their captive enemies. The prisoners were ransomed, and the Persian King returned his grateful acknowledgments to the Christian Bishop.‡

The reign of Theodosius was of uncommon length, though he died at the age of forty-nine. The feebleness of his Government was strengthened by the wisdom of his sister Pulcheria, who maintained an ascendancy over the Emperor during his life, and at his death remained sole mistress of the Eastern Empire. For political reasons she gave herself in marriage to Marcian, whom she made Emperor, and who, like herself, was an example of Christian piety. The preservation of Orthodoxy, the encouragement of good morals, and the suppression of Idolatry, were the objects of his government.

During the Vth century, the external condition of the Eastern Church was on the whole prosperous; and in the century which succeeded, the zeal of the Bishops of Constantinople, seconded by the protection and influence of the Emperors, contributed greatly to the extension of Christianity. The Greek Historians have preserved the names of several obscure Tribes living on the borders of the Euxine Sea, which were brought at

least to a nominal profession of their Faith in Christ. Under the reign of Justinian, the Heruli, and the Eruli who dwelt beyond the Danube, the Alani, the Lazi, and Zani, with other Barbarous nations, are said to have renounced the rites of Paganism, and to have submitted to Christian Baptism.* The people of Ethiopia and Arabia, whose names are more celebrated, but whose Geographical boundaries are undefined, were invited, by a solemn embassy from the Emperor Justin, to form a Political as well as a Religious union.†

In the Western Church, the conversion of Pagan nations was carried on with similar success. Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, was so distinguished by his zeal, that he has obtained the appellation of The Apostle of the Gauls. But the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, attempted by Augustin, merits a larger and more distinct account than is consistent with the present general view, and it will be inserted with more propriety in a Disquisition on the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy and Church.

In making a transition from the external to the internal History, the attention is called in the first place to the state of Literature. In almost all the great cities of the divided Empire, schools were erected, and schools are truly said to be the seminaries of the Church; Rome and Constantinople each boasted of institutions worthy of the two first Cities of the civilized world. But the incursion of the Barbarous nations, though it did not destroy, yet it materially injured, these excellent establishments. Wherever these hordes extended their conquests, ignorance and superstition followed their steps, so that towards the conclusion of the Vth century the Sciences were almost extinguished, and that system, which was generally called the Seven Liberal Arts,§ was calculated to perplex the memory rather than to improve the judgment. To the Monastic establishments alone we are indebted for the preservation of all the ancient authors, either sacred or profane, which escaped the savage fury of Gothic ignorance. The fate of Learning was less deplorable among the Greeks and Orientals than in the Provinces of the West; and in the Schools of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Edessa, Poetry, Philosophy, and the other Liberal Arts, occupied a place in the education of youth. Platonism was adopted by many of the Christian Doctors, and this circumstance diminished the credit of the Pagan Schools.

The doctrine of the Church during these two centuries must be collected from its established Formularies, from its Acts and Canons promulgated in its Councils, and from the writings of its Orthodox Fathers. Many points of Religion were more clearly explained, and many of its doctrines stated with greater accuracy, than they had been in the preceding Ages. Controversies were multiplied, and controversy brings with it this advantage, that disputants find it necessary to state their tenets with precision. The sum of Christian doctrine was the same in these Ages with that which is now professed in the purest of the Reformed Churches, the Church of England. The authority of the Holy Writings of Scriptures, as a sufficient rule in matters of controversy, Augustin in defence of the Scriptures set forth by Augustin, in his Treatises against the

Of the Christian Church, &c.

From A. D. 365. to A. D. 610.

State of learning.

Doctrine of the Church.

Writings of Scriptures, as a sufficient rule in matters of controversy, Augustin in defence of the Scriptures set forth by Augustin, in his Treatises against the

* *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. lib. Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. i.

† The Pyrenea, a Temple dedicated to Iser. Theodoret, *Ecc.* lib. vi. c. 22. Bayle, *Ibid.* vol. i. Art. *Abbas*.

‡ *Sacrat. Ecc. Hist.* lib. vii. c. 22.

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• Procopius, de *Bello Gothico*, lib. iv. c. 3.

† Procopius, de *Bello Persico*, lib. i. c. 20.

‡ Spanheim, *Ecc. Hist.* sec. v.

§ These seven liberal Arts were Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy.

History.

From
A. D.
365.
to
A. D.
610.

Multiplication
of spurious writ-
ings.

Arians, Pelagians, and Donatists.* Though in his enumeration of the Canonical Scriptures, he inserted those Books which are by Protestants styled Apocryphal, yet he did not assign to them an equal value or authority with the Inspired Writings.† Tradition he did not entirely reject, but he laid down sound criteria, by which Apostolical tradition might be distinguished from that which was novel and corrupt.‡

To the corruption of the Holy Scriptures and the multiplication of spurious writings in this Age, may be traced the departure from sound doctrine and Christian purity which fearfully increased. A rule borrowed from the Roman Law, which referred all matters of a doubtful nature to the decision of the aged lawyers, was adopted by Christian Councils. According to this procedure, Reason and Common Sense were excluded from the determination of every question, and that was approved and admitted as Truth which appeared such to the greatest number, or had been sanctioned by a majority of suffrages in preceding times. This absurd imitation of the Roman Law in matters of Religious controversy, was a fruitful source of spurious productions. Many audacious impostors were hence encouraged to publish their own pernicious writings under the names of the Apostles, and even of Christ himself, in order that they might have authorities to oppose to authorities in defence of their respective opinions. Such was the extent of this practice, that it is said to have engaged Gelasius, the Roman Pontiff, to convoke a Council composed of seventy Bishops of the Latin Church, in which Assembly a decree passed depriving a multitude of those apocryphal books of their pretended authority. The decree, attributed to Gelasius, labours under the same stigma with the books which it condemns; since learned men have not scrupled to assert that it was not a real enactment of the Pontiff, but of some impostor usurping his name.§

Decree of
Gelasius.
A. D.
494.

Corruption
of Christi-
anity.

When the purity of the Sacred Oracles had once been polluted by the admixture of spurious and Heretical writings, the corruption of Christian doctrine advanced with a rapid pace. Abuses were multiplied, and in the place of practical piety was substituted a furious zeal for superstitious rites. The sum of Christian morality was made to consist in the worship of Images and Saints, and the adoration of Relics. Even those who enforced the duties of Christianity by exhibiting examples of piety and virtue in the lives of the Saints, executed their task in a manner calculated to mislead rather than to instruct. The models proposed for imitation were ignorant fanatics, who offered violence to Reason and Nature, and disgraced the Religion which their lives professed to follow and to recommend.

Contro-
versy con-
cerning the
system of
Origen.

Of the Heresies which arose at this time a separate account will be given, but under the present head of Christian doctrine, the controversy concerning the system of Origen will most properly find a place. Though the errors of that great man had been condemned by repeated Synods and Councils, yet they were regarded by many, and especially by the Monks, with the highest veneration. In the West, Bellarm translated the Works of Origen into the Latin Language; in the East, Theo-

dore, of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, defended Origenism with more than common vehemence. The question was at length brought before Justinian, who in a verbose edict, addressed to Minnas, Patriarch of Constantinople, passed a severe condemnation on the doctrines of Origen, and commanded their suppression.*

But the effects of this edict were rendered nugatory by a controversy which shortly arose. The Emperor Justinian had a stronger animosity against a branch of the Monophysites, called Acephali, than against the disciples of Origen, and, strange to say, consulted about the means of accomplishing his design with Theodore, who was both a Monophysite and an Origenist. The artful Prelate considered this a favourable opportunity for indirectly promoting the opinions of Origen, without injuring the cause of the Acephali. He persuaded the Emperor that the latter would gladly return to the bosom of the Church on the following reasonable conditions: that the decision of the Council of Chalcedon, in which Theodore of Mopsustia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, had been pronounced Orthodox, should be expunged; and that the writings of those three Prelates, known by the appellation of the *Three Chapters*,† should be condemned and prohibited. As the writings now specified had a manifest tendency towards the errors of the Nestorians, the Emperor willingly listened to this advice, and issued an edict condemning the Chapters, yet without prejudice to the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. This edict was strongly opposed both by the African and the Western Bishops, and, above all, by Vigilius, the Roman Pontiff. But Vigilius, being summoned by Justinian to Constantinople, at last yielded, and joined in a condemnation of the *Three Chapters*. The Bishops of Africa and Illyricum resented this conduct, and obliged the vacillating Pontiff to retract a second time, and the retraction of Vigilius instigated Justinian to summon at Constantinople the Vth Ecumenical or General Council.

Of the
Christian
Church, &c.

From
A. D.
365.
to
A. D.
610.

The *Three
Chapters*.

Fifth Gen-
eral Coun-
cil.

A. D.
553.
Condemna-
tion of the
*Three
Chapters*.

The decisions of this Assembly were favourable to the wishes of the Emperor, for the *Three Chapters* were declared to be Heretical and impious. The decree was enacted chiefly by the Bishops of the East, but among the few Western Bishops, Vigilius was present, refused his assent, and, for his contumacy, was condemned to exile. He was not permitted to return till he had declared his approbation of the decree of the Council; and changing his side (for to call it his opinion would be absurd) a fourth time, he pronounced the *Three Chapters* to be execrable blasphemies. His successors in the Pontifical chair steadily maintained the last profession of assent to the decree of the Vth General Council, which Vigilius had been compelled to express. But the Western Bishops, unawed by the authority of the Roman Pontiffs, or the Emperors, persisted in their dissent from the Council of Constantinople.

Having taken this summary view of the doctrine, we proceed to consider the discipline of the Church, and during the period under consideration many important changes took place in its polity. The power of the superior Order of Bishops gradually increased, and the office and dignity of Patriarch was first acknowledged.

Polity of
the Church

* Augustin, *de Unitate Ecclesie*, c. 3. l. 16.

† Augustin, *de Doctr. Christ.* lib. xi. c. 8.

‡ *De Doctr. Christ.* lib. xi. c. 10. Chrysostom, Cyril, Theodoret, and other Greek Writers, make a distinction between the *và apocrypha*, or the *àv àpòφa*, and the *và pteripara*, or the *εξαρφα*.

§ Pearson, *Fundic. Inq.* part i. c. 4.

* Harduin, *Concilio*, tom. iii. p. 243.

† For a copious and authentic account of the *Three Chapters*, the reader is referred to Harduin, *Concil. tom. iii. p. 283—287*. Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 38. Barnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, liv. x. c. 6. Dupin, *Biblioth.* tom. v.

History. In the preceding century, the Council of Constantinople, in consideration of the privileges of the Imperial City, had conferred on its Bishops a preeminence among the rulers of the Christian Church, yet, at first, five Sees were acknowledged by the Eastern Christians to be Patriarchal. These were Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.* In this century, the Bishops of Constantinople extended their views of supremacy, for, by a Canon of a Council holden at Chalcedon, it was resolved that the same rights and honours which had been conferred on the Bishops of Rome were due to the Bishops of Constantinople, because the two cities were alike Imperial. The same Council confirmed to the Bishop of Constantinople the government of the Provinces of Asia, Thrace, and Pontus.

Increasing power of the Bishops of Rome. Leo the Great, a vigorous assertor of the rights of the Roman See, opposed with vehemence these decrees, and was seconded in his opposition by several other Prelates. He was supported, though not by cooperation or concert, by the Bishops of those cities to which the Patriarchal dignity was annexed. Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, or rather of Ælia, attempted to withdraw himself and his Church from the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Casarea, and aspired at a rank in Christendom, which the Mother of the Jewish Church demanded. Encouraged by the protection of Theodosius the Younger, this ambitious Prelate not only assumed the dignity of Patriarch of all Palestine, but invaded the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Antioch.

None of the Patriarchs gained so much by these contentions as did the Bishop of Rome. A variety of circumstances contributed to the augmentation of his power. The Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch frequently applied to the Roman Pontiff for succour against the aggressions of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the inferior Bishops appealed in the same manner when oppressed by their superiors of Alexandria and Antioch. By accepting this mediation, and by protecting the appellants alternately, the Bishops of Rome imperceptibly established the Supremacy of the Roman See.

Content between the Bishops of Rome and of Constantinople. Between the Bishops of Rome and of Constantinople, who divided the spiritual Empire of Christendom, the contest for superiority was long, and the issue doubtful. The Bishop of Constantinople not only claimed an undisputed sovereignty over all the Bishops of the East, but maintained that his Church was in no way inferior to that of Rome. The Roman Pontiffs, on the other hand, strenuously resisted this pretension, and asserted their preeminence over the Church of Constantinople. Both the contending parties relied on the prerogatives of ancient and modern Rome; the spiritual Governor of

the latter could not bear a superior, and the former would not tolerate an equal.

After many years of dissembled friendship, or of remitted hostility, the enmity of these two aspirants to spiritual dominion was brought to an open rupture. John, Bishop of Constantinople, surnamed the *Faster*, on account of his extraordinary abstinence and austerity, assembled, by his own authority, a Council in the Imperial city of the East, to inquire into an accusation preferred against Gregory, the Patriarch of Antioch. On that occasion, he assumed the title of Ecumenical, or Universal Bishop. Pelagius II., who at that time filled the See of Rome, sent forth a strong protest against the unwarrantable assumption, and his successor, Gregory the Great, resisted it with greater vehemence, though not with greater success. This celebrated Pontiff addressed Letters to the Emperor, and to such other persons as he judged likely to cooperate in his opposition; but his efforts were ineffectual, and the Constantinopolitan Patriarchs persisted in styling themselves Ecumenical.*

Gregory adhered to his purpose with a tenacity suitable to his character, and succeeded so far as to create a considerable party among the Clergy, who favoured his cause. In the West he gained a decisive triumph, but in the East, his arrogance and ambition were met by scorn, except by those who were at enmity with the Bishop of Constantinople. But in the plenitude of his indignation, he unwarily uttered sentiments which have been carefully recorded, and quoted against his successors in the Papal Chair, in their aim at universal spiritual sovereignty. "I speak it confidently," he says, "that whosoever calls himself Universal Priest, or desires to be so called, in the pride of his heart, he foreruns Antichrist."†

The disputes about preeminence between the two Patriarchs proceeded to such an extremity, that it laid the foundation of the Schism between the Greek and Latin Churches. It is generally agreed that the Tyrant Phocas, who ascended the Imperial Throne by the murder of the Emperor Mauritius, deprived the Bishop of Constantinople of his ancient title of Ecumenical, and bestowed it exclusively on Boniface III., the Roman Pontiff. The fact has been adopted by Ecclesiastical Historians, on the authority of Baronius alone, and has therefore been questioned by many modern writers. But it has been received without hesitation by most of the Protestant commentators on the Apocalypse, for the purpose of establishing a synchronism between the rise of the Papal and Mohammedan power.

Of the Christian Church, &c.

From A. D. 365. to A. D. 610.

A. D. 577.

A. D. 590. to A. D. 610.

Grant of the Emperor Phocas to Boniface III.

* *Greg. Epist. lib. iv. c. 5. 7. Temp. Helvet. tom. iv.*

† *Egyp. Admonit. deo quod quisquis se Universalium Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in schisma et Antichristum præcurrit. lib. vi. Epist. 30. See Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy Suppos. v. p. 123. Ed. 1693.*

* The Oriental Historians mention a sixth, viz. the Bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. *Mich. Le Quin, Orient Christianus, tom. ii. p. 110.*

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LVI.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE Vth AND Vith CENTURIES.

V. CENT.—CHRYSOSTOM.

AUGUSTIN.
JEROM.
CYRIL.
ISIDORE.
THEODORET.
SOCRATES.
SOZOMEN.
CASSIAN.
LEO I. THE GREAT.
HILARY.
PROSPER.
PRIMASIVS.
BASIL OF SELEUCIA.
THEODOTIS OF ANCYRA.
GELASIVS.
THEODONE OF MOPSUESTA.
PALLADIUS.

VI. CENT.—PROCOPIUS.

MAXENTIVS.
THEODORE OF BYZANTIUM.
JOHN OF CONSTANTINOPLE.
EULOGIVS.
LEONTIVS.
ANASTASIVS.
GREGORY I. THE GREAT.
GREGORY OF TOURS.
CESARIUS.
FULGENTIUS.
EUNODIVS.
BOETHIVS.
CASSIODORIS.

History.

Following the plan already adopted, of briefly noticing the Works of inconsiderable writers, and of giving Biographical notices only of the most eminent, the catalogue will begin with that ornament of the Greek Church

CHRYSOSTOM.*

A. D. 354—407.

Birth of
Chrysostom

At Antioch, that city in which "the disciples were first called Christians," was this eloquent expositor of Christian doctrine born. His parents were persons of no mean rank, but having lost his father soon after his birth, the superintendence of his education devolved solely on his mother. Through her, he was instructed in the rudiments of Christianity, but having a natural inclination to the study of Oratory, he was placed under the tuition of that great master of the Art, Libanius of Antioch. Even at this period he gave indications of his peculiar talent, and of his future greatness; for Libanius being asked which of his disciples would be capable of succeeding him in his School, replied, "John, if the Christians had not stolen him from us."

His educa-
tion.

Having pleaded in the Forum for a short time, he relinquished his secular pursuits, and devoted himself with undistracted assiduity to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Under the care of Diodorus, afterwards Bishop of Tarsus, he was taught to investigate the

literal sense of the Sacred Writings, in opposition to the fanciful interpretations of the School of Origen. Notwithstanding the entreaties of his excellent mother, he lived for a long time in Monastic seclusion, but was at length promoted to the office of a Presbyter by Flavian, Bishop of Antioch. In a rebellion which broke out at Antioch, under the reign of the younger Theodosius, Chrysostom conspicuously showed his prudence and his piety. The populace had contemptuously thrown down the statues of Theodosius and his consort Flaccilla, but their audacity soon gave place to fear, and they deprecated in the most submissive manner the Imperial resentment. Flavian the Bishop, though oppressed by age and infirmities, undertook a journey to Constantinople, to plead with Theodosius in behalf of the deluded people, and Libanius the Sophist followed his example. Chrysostom continuing at Antioch, endeavoured to turn these temporal calamities to the spiritual edification of the people. From a consideration of the severe proceedings of the Imperial Tribunal, and the fruitless intercessions of relatives in behalf of their husbands and fathers, he took occasion to inculcate the awful solemnity of the great Day of Judgment, when no solicitation can arrest the arm of Divine Justice.

It was not until he had attained the middle age of life, and till his long tried abilities fully justified the promotion, that Chrysostom was appointed Bishop of Constantinople. The appointment was made by the Emperor Arcadius, in consequence of the recommendation of Eutropius, Chamberlain of the Imperial household. The newly elected Prelate immediately

Ecclesiastical Writers of the Vth and Vith Centuries.
He is considered a Presbyter of Antioch.

Appointed Bishop of Constantinople.

A. D.
357.

* This biographical account of Chrysostom is extracted chiefly from Cave's *Life of that Father*.

History. applied himself to the reformation of his Diocese. A visible improvement of manners, in a city which had long suffered by Religious contention, and in which relaxation of discipline was followed by corruption of morals, was the result of his labours. Those who had thronged the Public Shows, were attracted by the eloquence of Chrysostom to the Church. So great were the crowds, that the Preacher was obliged to abandon his usual station, on the steps of the altar, and to place himself in the middle of the Church, in the Reader's desk, in order that he might be more generally heard.

His dislike to the Novatians. "The common people heard him gladly," and Heretics were reclaimed by his preaching, but the Clergy, indolent and corrupt, felt reproved by his zeal, and the wealthy, offended at the plainness of his remonstrances against their vices, were not less incensed than the Clergy. Chrysostom, however, persevered, nor did he confine his labours to the Imperial City. He visited the neighbouring Provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, and prevailed on the Clergy under his authority to do the same, thus attempting to spread the Gospel among Barbarous nations.

It was on a point of discipline which Chrysostom endeavoured to restore in its primitive strictness, that his enemies were enabled to attack him with most prospect of success. During the negligent administration of his predecessor Nectarius, the Lord's Supper was indiscriminately administered even to the most profligate and profane, no other rules for their admission being prescribed than such as they voluntarily imposed on themselves. In times of greater purity, and more wholesome discipline, a Presbyter had been appointed whose special office it was to receive the confession of penitents, and by his authority they were admitted to the Holy Table. It was not in the power of Chrysostom to revive this office, but he supplied the defect by his exhortations. He energetically inculcated on his hearers the duty of repentance, and then recommended their attendance on the Lord's Supper. His expressions were wrested from their true meaning by two classes of men of opposite characters: the Novatians, who still maintained their favourite point of rejecting from the communion all whom they termed *lapsed*; and the dissolute, who accused him of giving a license to sin. Chrysostom incurred the censure of both; he was publicly accused by some profligate Bishops, and Sisinnius, a Novatian Prelate in Constantinople, attacked him in a Treatise with uncommon severity.

Is attacked by Sisinnius a Novatian Bishop. Various circumstances concurred to strengthen these accusations, and to occasion the temporal ruin of the Bishop of Constantinople. A Synod convened under the management of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, a man who disgraced the Episcopal Order, but who was supported by the Empress Eudoxia, passed a sentence of condemnation on Chrysostom. Seeing the probable effect of the storm which was gathering around him, the injured Prelate called together a few Bishops who still adhered to him, and delivered to them an impressive address. He earnestly exhorted them not to desert their charge, on account of the danger which threatened himself. "I am ready," he said, "to be offered up like St. Paul, and the time of my departure is at hand. I am prepared to quit this troublesome life, but by your constancy, you will find mercy at the hand of God. Only remember me in your prayers." The Assembly

being touched sensibly by this address, he besought his brethren to moderate their grief, and reminded them of the lessons which he had constantly inculcated in his Homilies. When Eulysius, Bishop of Apamia, suggested that if they kept their Churches, they should be compelled to communicate with Heretics. "Communicate you may," returned Chrysostom, "that you make not a schism in the Church, but subscribe not the decrees, for I am conscious that I have not deserved deposition."

Not satisfied with this solemn declaration of his innocence, Chrysostom refused to acknowledge the authority of the Tribunal which sat in judgment on him; but his enemies deposed him for contumacy, and in order to support their views, accused him before the Emperor Arcadius of Treason. The people of Constantinople, however, who entertained a high veneration for their Bishop, insisted that the cause should be heard before more impartial judges; and so strong was the popular feeling in his favour, that Chrysostom, fearing an insurrection, delivered himself up secretly to the officer who came to execute the Imperial warrant against him. He was conveyed immediately to a port in the Black Sea.

No sooner was the intelligence of the banishment of Chrysostom made public, than the whole city was filled with indignation. Public clamour was loud against the Emperor, who had thus weakly given up so bright an ornament of the Christian Church to the malice of Eudoxia and Theophilus. The tumult increased to such a degree of violence, that Eudoxia herself, terrified at the danger, implored the Emperor to revoke the sentence of banishment, and even wrote to Chrysostom a letter couched in terms of respect and expressive of contrition.

The people of Constantinople saw with the most lively emotions of joy the return of their beloved Pastor to his Bishopric, but the season of triumph was of short duration. Soon after his restoration, a silver statue of the Empress was erected in the street before the great Church of St. Sophia, and was solemnly dedicated with Pagan rites. Chrysostom, impatient of this act of profanation, reprehended it from the pulpit, and began his sermon as follows: "Now, again, Herodias reigns, and is vexed, again she daunces, again she desires John's head in a charger." Such imprudence could not fail of gratifying his enemies, and they turned it to their advantage. The resentment of Eudoxia was unbounded, and Arcadius, overcome by importunity, again commanded the Bishop's deposition. He was not only deposed, but committed to prison, and his friends and followers were scattered, and even put to death. Edicts were issued, commanding all persons to renounce communion with him, and three thousand of his catechumens, who had assembled in the fields to keep the Festival of Easter, were rudely dispersed by the Emperor himself at the head of a military force. At last Chrysostom received a mandate to leave the city, and he was obliged to relinquish the government of his Diocese to Arsacius, the brother of Nectarius. He had earnestly recommended his flock to communicate with the Bishop who might be chosen in his room, but the advice was disregarded. They refused to submit, formed separate assemblies, and were severely persecuted under the name of Joannites.

Chrysostom himself was conveyed to Cucusus in Armenia, an uncultivated Country, infested by robbers, and disgracefully known as the spot in which Paul, a

Ecclesiastical Writers of the Vth and Vith Centuries.

He is deposed.

Is removed from Constantinople.

Is restored.

He provokes the resentment of the Empress Eudoxia.

A. D. 404. Leaves his See.

He is banished to Cucusus.

History. former Bishop of Constantinople, had been murdered. His journey to this desolate region was attended with many hardships, though his sufferings were alleviated by the sympathy and kind offices of his numerous friends. At Cucusus he experienced a treatment, which neither himself, his friends, nor his enemies, had reason to expect. He preached frequently to the people, who heard him with reverence; by the liberality of a female disciple, Olympias, who faithfully adhered to his fortunes, and who had been banished to Nicomedia for her devotedness to his cause, he was supplied with money, and wealth in the hands of Chrysostom was used only as an instrument of beneficence. He relieved the poor who were suffering under a grievous famine, and he redeemed many captives who had been taken by the Isaurian robbers. He projected a plan for converting the Pagans of Phœnicia, and he contributed large sums for the erection of churches, and the support of missionaries.

But the implacable enmity which had condemned him to banishment, pursued him even to the inhospitable climate of Isauria. His enemies, beholding with jealous malignity the respect shown to his virtues and his misfortunes, procured an order for his removal to Pityus, on the extreme shore of the Black Sea. In his way thither, he was brought to an Oratory of Basiliscus, who had suffered martyrdom in the Persecution of Dioclesian. Here he entreated to rest, but the indulgence was refused by his guards. Nature, however, was exhausted, he had not proceeded far before his conductors were compelled to return with him to the desired Oratory. Here he received the Lord's Supper, uttered his last prayer, and, having concluded with his usual doxology, "Glory be to God for all events," tranquilly expired.

His death.
A. D.
407.

His Works.

This great man, however, "though dead, yet speaketh" by his Works. As an expositor of Scripture, though he adopted the views of Origen, he is judicious and energetic. As a preacher he was eminently useful, because he was practical; and though his discourses were directed against the prevailing vices of his own Age, and of the city in which he presided, yet they may be read with advantage even in these later times. As a devotional writer he was not less excellent than as a preacher; and the beautiful Collect which concludes the daily service of the Church of England, is a proof that he was endowed in a peculiar manner with "the gift of prayer." In parennetic theology his rank is deservedly high, and his Treatise *De Sacerdotio* must excite in young minds a serious awe of the danger of misarrying in an office of so awful importance, and cannot fail to check the levity and presumption of any which would undertake it without due preparation.

The best edition of the complete Works of Chrysostom is that published by Montfaucon in eleven volumes folio. But it would be an unpardonable omission in an English Divine to pass over the edition projected by Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and superintended by the "ever memorable" John Hales, Greek Professor in that University.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i.; Dupin, *Biblioth. Cent.* iv.; Spaulding, *Hist. Christ.* sec. iv. and v.

AUGUSTIN.*

A. D. 354—430.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the Vth and Vith Centuries.

Birth of Augustin.

This great master of polemics was born in the city of Tagasta, in Numidia, of respectable parentage. His father, Patricius, continued a Pagan till nearly the time of his death; his mother, Monea, was renowned for Christian piety. Augustin in his *Confessions* accuses himself of a natural indolence, and says, that he improved in Learning only through necessity. He had an aversion from Greek Literature, though it is by no means to be inferred, that he never attained the knowledge of the Greek language. In the neighbouring city of Madaura, he received the first rudiments of education, and he devoted himself to the study of Oratory. His father, with a spirit above his circumstances, determined to send Augustin, then in his seventeenth year, to the famous School at Carthage. There he continued to cultivate his favourite study, till in the course of his reading he met with the *Horatians* of Cicero. This Treatise effected a remarkable change in his views, and renouncing the fantastic hope of gaining reputation by eloquence, he felt an ardent desire after wisdom. Though at this time unacquainted with the Apostolical admonition, "Take heed, lest any man spoil you through Philosophy and vain deceit," yet he resolved to seek wisdom, not by ranging himself under any particular Sect, but by making an impartial search wherever it might be found. In this investigation he did not overlook the Holy Scriptures, but at first he read them without delight. "My pride," he says, "was disgusted with their manner, and my penetration could not enter into their meaning."

His education.

In this situation he fell in with the Manichees, men who were always talking of Truth, and yet formed the most absurd opinions on the works of Nature and the dispensations of Providence. Augustin was seduced by these Heretics, partly through their subtle and captious questions concerning the Origin of Evil, partly through their blasphemies against the holy men recorded in the Old Testament. During the space of nine years, "deceived and deceiving," he lived, infatuated with the Manichean follies, and even a believer in the dotages of Astrology.

Embrace of Manichæism.

The loss of a beloved friend after his return from Carthage to his native city, first staggered his confidence in the opinions which he had embraced. In the violence of early sorrow, he quitted Tagasta, and again returned to Carthage. Here some circumstances connected with a Manichean Bishop named Faustus, who had come to that city, contributed to strengthen his doubts concerning the soundness of the whole system; but he still remained a Manichean, because he despaired of finding a better road to Truth.

From Carthage he was induced to go to Rome, still a disciple of Manichæism. The Manichees were divided into two classes, the hearers or novices, and the elect. Augustin belonged to the latter; but at Rome his attachment to his Sect was considerably weakened, and he began to entertain a secret predilection for the Academic Philosophy. Some unexpected disappointments at Rome, or some expected advantages at Milan in his capacity of Teacher of Rhetoric, led him thither.

He settles at Rome.

* This biographical account is extracted principally from his own *Confessions*.

History. His Bishop, Ambrose, received the new Professor with paternal affection, and Augustin was gradually brought to attend to his doctrine. The possibility of finding Truth in the Church of Christ appeared, and he began to consider how he might convict Manichæism of falsehood. In conclusion, he determined to remain a catechumen in the Church, till he saw his way more clearly.

The state of his mind was now somewhat altered, and, ashamed of his former delusions, he became exceedingly sceptical. His most intimate associates were Alypius and Nebridius, the former of whom had studied under him at Tagasta and at Carthage, and the latter had left a paternal estate in the vicinity of that city for the pleasure and instruction of Augustin's society. The arguments of Nebridius seem to have cleared his mind entirely of Manichæism and of Astrology, and he was prepared, by his renunciation of those pernicious errors, to approach the oracles of Divine Truth.

And notices them. With eagerness, tempered by awe, he took up the Inspired Volume, and particularly the writings of St. Paul. He read, and Truth flashed irresistibly on his mind. Deeply affected, he went to Simplician, the spiritual father of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and opened his Religious state. Simplician confirmed his resolution by relating a similar conversion in Victorinus, a Roman Rhetorician.

Augustin now resolved to relinquish his employment of teaching, not abruptly but gradually; and he wrote to Ambrose, with a request that the Bishop would point out those parts of the Sacred Writings which were the best preparation for Baptism. Ambrose called his attention to the Prophecies of Isaiah, but to Augustin the other and plainer parts of Scripture seemed preferable.

Receives Christian Baptism at Milan. Returns to Africa. At Milan, Augustin received the sacred rite of Baptism together with his friend Alypius and his son Adeodatus. In company with Eudodius, a Milanese citizen, and a Christian convert, Augustin with his son and friend determined to return to Africa. At the mouth of the Tiber, his mother, who had been the faithful companion of his travels, who had witnessed his spiritual conflicts, who had supported him in the hour of despair by her counsel and by her prayers, expired. Not long before her death she said, "Son, I have now no delight in life. One thing only, your conversion, was an object for which I wished to live. That is granted. What do I here?"

Returns to Hippo. Augustin, after his return to Africa, lived on his own estate for almost three years in a state of retirement, but at the solicitation of a person of some consequence in Hippo, who requested his instructions, he removed to that city. Valerius was its Bishop, a man of great piety, but on account of his slender acquaintance with the Latin tongue unfit for the situation in which he was placed. Augustin, through the urgent desires of the people, and in compliance with the earnest wishes of Valerius, was ordained a Presbyter. In this station his ministry was highly useful, in the edification of the Faithful, and the confutation of Heretics. Fortunatus, the great leader of the Manichæes, was obliged to leave Hippo in confusion, when he found himself, by the unanimous suffrage of the audience, vanquished in a conference with Augustin.

Valerius, solicitous to preserve so invaluable an accession to his Church, procured the election of Augustin as coadjutor to himself. Augustin, after having long

resisted, at length accepted the Episcopal office, the duties of which he fulfilled alone, after the decease of Valerius. His activity increased with his elevation. To his indefatigable zeal in preaching, he added the laborious employment of hearing causes, and in their examination and decision he often spent the whole day. In attendance on Councils he was punctual, and in them he distinguished himself in the defence both of Christian doctrine and discipline. His dress, furniture, and diet were moderated between the extremes of luxury and penuriousness. He was "a lover of hospitality," and during meals encouraged reading or useful conversation; but he had a strong aversion to detraction and slander, and he caused a distich* to be inscribed on his Table, intimating that whoever attacked the characters of the absent should be excluded. He was conscientiously attentive to the wants of the Poor, and relieved them out of the revenues of the Church or the oblations of the Faithful.

A short time before his death, he was employed in the revision and correction of his Works, and the fruits of his labour were his *Retractions*, which were intended to give to the World his last and matured opinions. It pleased God, however, that he should not depart without passing through a cloud of temporal affliction, and thus his hope of immortality was quickened by a bitter taste of the evils of this life. Genseric, King of the Vandals, invaded Africa, and ravaged it with all the horrors of uncivilized warfare. Augustin was compelled to witness, in addition to the usual desolation, the destruction of the Christian Churches, and the persecution of their Pastors. Count Boniface, one of the greatest Roman heroes of those times, undertook the defence of Hippo against the Barbarians, and bravely protracted its capture for fourteen months, when, with the rest of Africa, it fell under the power of the Vandals.

But Augustin was taken away before the consummation of this calamity. While he mourned under the disasters of the times in company with Posidienus and several Bishops who had fled for shelter to Hippo, he told them that his earnest prayer had been offered to God, that his servants might be rescued from the siege, or that they might be endued with patience to bear the approaching evil, or that himself might be removed to another world. In the third month of the siege his last wish was granted; he was seized with a fever which ended in his dissolution, having lived seventy-six years, forty of which he had been a Presbyter or a Bishop. It was his common saying, that a Christian should never cease to repent even to the hour of his death, and he caused the Penitential Psalms of David to be inscribed on the wall in his last sickness. He left no Will, for he had neither money nor lands; his only earthly possession was his Library, which he bequeathed to the Church.

With the polemical life of Augustin the present His Works. Chapter has no concern, since it will be brought under consideration, in treating of the Heresies to which he was opposed. The same remark may be applied to his controversial writings. Of his practical writings, that volume which is best known to the English reader is his *Meditations*, though doubts have been entertained of its

Ecclesiastical Writers of the Vth and Vith Centuries.

He is elected Bishop of Hippo. His conduct in his Bishopric.

Invasion of Genseric.

Death of Augustin. A. D. 430.

* *Quisquis amat dictis abstantium radere vitam
Hanc mentem vetitam, novetur erac ubi.*

Poind. Vit. August.

History. genuineness. His Sermons are far inferior to his other compositions in learning and eloquence; but they were addressed to the people, and not to the literati. They are plain and simple, but weighty and serious.

The editions of Augustin's detached Treatises are too numerous to be inserted here; but an accurate and splendid edition of his whole Works was published by the Benedictines.

Posidenus, *Vita Augustini*; Augustin, *Confessiones*; Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. iv. and v.; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i.

JEROM.*

A. D. 331—420.

His birth and education.

This renowned Monk and celebrated Father of the Latin Church was born under the reign of the Emperor Constantine, at Stridon,† a town on the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia. So obscure, however, was this place, that Geographers have not determined whether or not it ought to be considered as a part of Italy. From the care bestowed on his education, it is certain that he was born of an opulent family. He was sent to Rome, and there acquired the graces of the Latin Tongue, and he was in his infancy instructed in the rudiments of the Christian Faith. After his Baptism at Rome, he travelled into France in company with Bonosus, a fellow-student. He passed his time in study, or in conversation with learned men, and thence returning into Italy, he determined to follow the profession of a Monk, a term which at that time did not convey the modern idea of the word. It meant only the life of a private, recluse Christian, but unfettered by rules and vows. Such a life suited the contemplative temper of Jerom. He was, however, ordained a Presbyter, but would not accept any higher ecclesiastical dignity.

Embraces a monastic life.

Resides at Rome

Not less than four years were passed by him in the deserts of Syria, where his application to study was intense, and by the assistance of a Jew, who visited him clandestinely, he acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue, to which he added the dialects of Syria and Chalken. On his return to Rome, he cultivated the society of Paula, (an illustrious descendant of the Pauli, so famous in Roman story,) Marcella, and other opulent ladies. By the advice and assistance of Jerom, a Monastery was formed, and the conventual life became fashionable at Rome. But his temper being highly choleric and imperious, could not patiently bear the spleen and calumny by which he was attacked. Unjust aspersions against his character provoked him to an acrimonious and uncharitable recrimination. He retired again to the East, followed by several of his female admirers. Bethlehem was selected as the residence of his old age, where Paula erected four Monasteries, three for women, over which she presided, and one for men, in which Jerom passed the remainder of his life, occasionally enjoying the society of his learned friends. Paula died after having lived twenty years in the Monastery and Jerom after he had reached the unusual term of ninety-one years.

Retires from Rome and settles in Palestine.

His death.

His Works.

His writings are voluminous, but not particularly in-

structive; his learning was considerable, but ill-digested, and his piety was debased by superstition. His *Commentaria on the Holy Scriptures* and his *Epistles* are the most esteemed of his Works. The Benedictines have published an edition of the Works of this Father in five folio volumes. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* vol. i.; Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. iv.

Eccelesiastical Writers of the Vth and VIth Centuries.

CYRIL.

A. D. 413—444.

The biography of Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, will be comprised under the Nestorian Heresy. His Works, in six folio volumes, were published by Aubert at Paris, in the year 1639. Dupin, *Biblioth.* vol. iv.; Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. v.

ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM.

DIED A. D. 431.

This writer was a Monk of Pelusium in Egypt, and he conferred honour on the monastic life. He lived in the practice of serious piety, and he appears to have known the world much better, and to have been more useful in the Church, than might have been expected from a Recluse. He was the disciple and the vindicator of Chrysostom. His Works consist of V Books of *Epistles*. They are admirably written, and are to be recommended equally for the solidity of the matter, and the elegance of the style. They have been published in a folio volume by the Jesuit Scott at Paris in 1638. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. v.

THEODORET.

FLOURISHED FROM A. D. 423 TO 451.

SOCRATES.—SOZOMEN.

These three contemporary writers continued the History of the Church from the point at which the Work of Eusebius ended. Socrates is a judicious writer, remarkable for his candour towards the Novatians, and for his general impartiality. Sozomen is inferior to Socrates in judgment, and is favourable to a monastic life. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, was an eloquent and a copious writer in other Works besides his History. In consequence of his supposed attachment to the Nestorian errors, he was condemned by the Synod of Ephesus, but was restored at the IVth General Council held at Chalcedon. The Works of Theodoret were edited by the Jesuit Sismond, in four folio volumes, and a fifth was added by Garnier. The Histories of Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates, added to that of Eusebius, form three folio volumes. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. v.

CASSIAN.

DIED CIRCA A. D. 410.

This writer, who has been styled the founder of the Semi-pelagian School, was a disciple of Chrysostom. He spent the latter part of his life at Marseilles, and probably quitted Constantinople at the time at which his master was banished from it. He asserted an inward Grace, subject to freedom of the will, and that the first conversion of the soul to God is merely an effect

* The life of Jerom has been written by Erasmus, and is prefixed to Jerom's Works.

† Or Strigona.

History. of its free choice. The followers of Augustin allowed that Semipelagianism found in Cassian a powerful defender, and that his learning and morals were unquestionable. The Works of Cassian were published at Frankfort in 1722, with a Commentary by Alardus Gazau. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. v.

OTHER WRITERS OF THE Vth CENTURY.

Leo I., surnamed the Great, is at the head of the writers in the Latin Church in this Century, but his talents were chiefly applied to the extension of the Pontifical authority. Hilary, Bishop of Arles, famous for his quarrel with Leo, was a man of eloquence and humble piety. Prosper, a layman, and Primasius, an African Bishop, are recorded as the disciples of Augustin. Among the Greek writers may be enumerated Basil of Seleucia, Theodotus of Ancyra, Gelasius of Cyzicum, Theodore of Mopsuesta, and Palladius, the Biographer of Chrysostom.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE VIth CENTURY.

The catalogue of this Century is rather numerous than interesting, and in vain shall we seek in it for a Chrysostom, an Augustin, or a Jerom. The most celebrated Greek and Oriental Writers were Procopius of Gaza, a Professor of Oratory, and a useful Commentator on Scripture; Maxentius, a Monk and a Presbyter of Antioch, an opponent of the Nestorians and Acephali; Theodorus of Byzantium, a writer on Ecclesiastical History; John, Patriarch of Constantinople, surnamed the Faster, remembered chiefly for his *Penitential*; Eulogius of Antioch, Leontius of Byzantium, and Anastasius of Sinai, all of them controversial writers.

The Latin writers are more worthy of a distinct notice; and among them, on account of his station, the precedence is due to

GREGORY I. THE GREAT.

A. D. 544—604.

Gregory was born in Rome of a Patrician Family, about the year 544. He early distinguished himself by his great powers of memory, and his acquirements in Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and Civil Law. In the Languages he was not equally versed, for he was wholly

unacquainted even with Greek. Having filled the office of Prefect of Rome, he retired to a Monastery of his own foundation, but not long after was appointed by Pope Pelagius II. to many honourable public stations, especially that of Nuncio and Secretary. On the death of that Pontiff in 590, Gregory most reluctantly ascended the Papal Throne, which he filled with consummate ability. Among other points of Ecclesiastical Reform, his attention was much devoted to Church Music; and it is to him that we are indebted for simplifying the characters and language of that Art by introducing a notation by the first seven letters of the alphabet. The name of Gregory is celebrated in English History from his mission for the conversion of our Islands. Notwithstanding the great aversion from Letters with which he has been, perhaps unjustly, taxed, (for Brucker has accused him of burning the Palatine Library, which among other treasures contained the entire History of Livy,) no Pope has written so largely. His chief Works are *Letters*, of which there are more than 800. A *Commentary on Job*, a *Pastoral*, or *Treatise on Pastoral Duties*, *Homilies*, and *Dialogues*. The genuineness of the last-named Work is doubted; it is a storehouse of pseudo-miracles and marvels, and once enjoyed very great popularity. A splendid edition of his Works was published at Paris in 1705, in four volumes folio, by St. Marthe, a Benedictine Monk. *Acta Sanct.* tom. ii. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. vi.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the Vth and VIth Centuries.

GREGORY, BISHOP OF TOURS.

This Prelate is esteemed the father of Gallic History; his writings discover considerable diligence, but little judgment. Levity and credulity are the characteristics of his *Annals of the Franks*, his *Miracles*, or *Lives of the Saints*, and of his other writings. The best edition of his Works is by Don Ruinart, 1699, folio.

OTHER LATIN WRITERS.

It is sufficient to enumerate without comment, Cæsarius of Arles, a moral writer; Fulgentius, Bishop of Rusipina, a noted Polemic; Eunodius, Bishop of Pavia, an author both in prose and verse; and at the close of the list, Boethius and Cassiodorus, the former of whom is conspicuous as an Orator and Philosopher as well as a Divine.

HISTORY

CHAPTER LVII. OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

HERESIES OF THE Vth AND VIth CENTURIES.

NESTORIANS.	
EUTYCHIANS, OR MONOPHYTES.	
ACEPHALI.	} BRANCHES OF EUTYCHIANISM.
ANTHROPOMORPHITES.	
BARSAMORPHITES.	
ESSAIANISTS.	
JACOBITES.	
SEVERITES.	
MARONITES.	
AGNOITE.	
ARMINIANS.	
EGYPTIANS OR COPTS.	
PELAGIANS.	
SEMIPELAGIANS.	
PREDESTINARIANS.	

History. In the beginning of the Vth Century, the Donatists were defeated by the writings of Augustin, and the Arians, oppressed by the Imperial edicts, were compelled to seek refuge among those Barbarous nations who overturned the Western Empire. Under this depression of two dangerous Heresies, a new Sect, the cause of a fatal division in the Church, arose, known by the name of

NESTORIANS.

Account of Nestorius. Nestorius was a native of Germanicia, a Monk of Antioch, and a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuesta.* After the peaceable and mild usurpation of the Episcopal throne of Chrysostom by Atticus, and the short and turbulent Patriarchate of Sisinnius, the factions of the Clergy and People were appeased by the choice which the Emperor made of a successor. Theodosius selected a stranger, and Nestorius was indebted for his elevation to the austerity of his life, and the eloquence of his sermons. But the first Homily which he delivered before his Imperial patron, evinced that humility and charity were not among the number of his virtues. His accession to the See of Constantinople was marked by a fierce persecution of the Arians; he discovered one of their secret conventicles, attacked it by force, and burned it to the ground. Rigid was the commencement of his Episcopal career, fierce was his zeal against every kind and degree of Heresy, till the sword of persecution which he had so recklessly wielded against others was turned against himself.

Educated in the Syrian school, Nestorius had been early taught to repudiate the confusion of the Human with the Divine nature of Christ. The Heresy of Apollinaris had blended these two natures; for he maintained that the Man Christ was not endowed with a Human soul, but that the Divine spirit was substituted in its place. The Syrian Doctors, in order that they might avoid the errors of Apollinaris, were careful in establishing a distinction between the Divine and Human nature in the Son of God. Nestorius, who had adopted the sentiments of the teachers of his own Country, was a violent enemy of the Apollinarian Heresy, and the ruin of that Sect was the first object of his government. He therefore strenuously enforced the Syrian doctrine in his own discourses, and strictly enjoined his disciples to discriminate accurately between the actions and passions of the Son of God, and those of the Son of Man.

From the pulpit at Constantinople, the Presbyter **His Here** Anastasius, a friend of Nestorius, and his successor in the Patriarchate, repeatedly declaimed against the use of the title of Mother of God, bestowed on the Virgin Mary.* It was a term, he asserted, unknown to the Apostles, unauthorized by the Church, and adopted by the followers of Apollinaris in their controversy with the Arians. He, at the same time, proposed it as his opinion, that the Virgin Mary ought to be styled the Mother of Christ, rather than the Mother of God, since the Divinity can neither be born nor die. Nestorius applauded these sentiments, and reechoed them.

A vigorous opposition was soon begun against the Patriarch and his Presbyter, by some Monks of Con-

* For an account of Nestorius see Socrat, *Hist. lib. vii. c. 29.*
342.

* Basnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. I. p. 505.

History. —stantinople, who maintained that the Son of Mary was God incarnate; they excited the populace against Nestorius, but without much effect. On the contrary, the Monks of Egypt, after having perused the Discourses of Nestorius, were converted to his opinions, and accordingly ceased to call the Virgin the Mother of God.

Cyrl, Bishop of Alexandria. —The individual who at this time presided in the See of Alexandria was Cyrl, a Prebte who had been trained in the Alexandrian School. Under this discipline, he inclined rather to the sentiments of Apollinaris, than to the opposite extremity, at which his antagonists had taken their position. His early life had been passed in Monastic austerity, and in an indefatigable application to Scholastic Theology; but his natural disposition fitted him for the tumults of Cities and Synods. By the voice of the people he had been seated on the Patriarchal throne of Alexandria, and the prize was not unworthy of his ambition. At a distance from the Court, and at the head of an immense Capital, he enjoyed the influence and authority of a Civil magistrate.*

His character. —Cyrl opened his Patriarchal reign in the same manner as Nestorius, by the persecution of Heresy; and he began by oppressing the Novatians. He interdicted their Religious worship, and confiscated their sacred vessels. But his wrath was directed not only against Christian Heretics, he expelled from Alexandria the Jews; and the inhuman murder of Hypatia, a Female Heathen Philosopher, who taught at Alexandria, will leave an indelible stain on his character,† if we admit the charge brought against him by Demasius, that he was privy to the intention, and stimulated the fury of the zealots, who tore her to pieces in the streets.

Cyrcus, Nestorian. —As soon as the opinions of Nestorius were known to Cyrl, his pride and ambition prompted him to interfere. The successor of Athanasius thought it suitable to his station and character to encounter a second Arius. After a short correspondence between the rival Patriarchs, and after having engaged on his side Celestine the Roman Pontiff, Cyrl assembled a Synod at Alexandria, and denounced the Heretical opinions of the Byzantine by not less than twelve anathemata. Celestine, meantime, at the head of an Italian Synod, condemned not only the opinions of Nestorius, but degraded the Heretic from his Episcopal dignity, and left the execution of the sentence to the Alexandrian Patriarch.

Nestorianis appointed by the Emperor. —Nestorius, undaunted by this rash proceeding, reported on his adversary the charge of Heresy, charged him with the Apollinarian errors, and loaded him with the same number of censures as had been levelled against himself. The Emperor Arcadius was equally indisposed with the Patriarch of Constantinople to obey the sentence of an Italian Bishop, and a Synod of the Catholic Church was unanimously demanded as the sole remedy which could decide this unintelligible controversy. Theodosius called a Council at Ephesus, which is known in the annals of the Church as the IIIrd General Council;‡

1st Council of Ephesus. —The Festival of Pentecost was chosen for the time of meeting. Both Nestorius and Cyrl were summoned in their capacity of Metropolitan, and though, contrary to fairness, Cyrl presided, yet Nestorius appeared not as a criminal, but as a judge. Impatient of delay, Cyrl proposed to examine and determine the matters in debate before the arrival of the Patriarch of Antioch and the

Eastern Bishops; but Nestorius objected against this proceeding as irregular and unjust. The Trial, however, was begun; sixty-eight Bishops out of probably less than three hundred, defended the cause of Nestorius by a modest and temperate protest, but they were excluded from the deliberations of their brethren. Candidian, in the name of the Emperor, requested a delay of four days, but this Magistrate was expelled from the Assembly with insult and outrage. The whole of this important transaction was concluded in a single day. Nestorius was convicted of blasphemy against the Divine majesty, was degraded from his Episcopal dignity, and ultimately sent into exile.*

On the fifth day after the promulgation of this sentence, the triumph of Cyrl was clouded by the arrival of the Eastern Bishops. With equal haste and violence the Oriental Synod, composed of fifty Bishops, with John, Patriarch of Antioch, at their head, degraded the Patriarch of Alexandria, and his creature Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, from their Episcopal honours, and described Cyrl as a monster born and educated for the destruction of the Church. They appointed without delay another Bishop of Ephesus, but by the vigilance of Memnon a strong garrison was stationed in the Cathedral; the troops under the command of Candidian vainly endeavoured to assault it, the place was impregnable, and the besiegers were repulsed with a severe loss.

The disputes between the Egyptian and Syrian Theologians reached the Imperial Court, and Theodosius tried every method to reconcile the controversialists. He summoned from each party eight deputies to a free conference in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, but he was compelled to dissolve the Assembly, and the deputies returned to their Provinces. After a long and equal contest, John of Antioch and Cyrl of Alexandria came to an agreement, and Cyrl was contented to receive from John certain *Articles of Faith*, in which particular phrases and expressions liable to misinterpretation were abandoned, and was brought to acknowledge, though with reluctance, a twofold nature in Christ.

The unfortunate Nestorius finding himself abandoned, thought it more honourable to abdicate his office than to be forcibly expelled from it, and his request that he might be allowed to withdraw to a life of privacy was granted. He was conducted from Ephesus to his old Monastery of Antioch, and after a short interval, the Patriarchate of Constantinople was filled successively by Maximian and Proclus. But in the retirement of a Monastery, Nestorius was not long permitted to find repose. After a residence of four years at Antioch, Theodosius signed an edict, proscribing his opinions, and consigning him to banishment; first at Tetra in Arabia, and at length in Oasis, one of the places metaphorically called Islands in the Libyan desert. While he was thus secluded, a wandering Tribe of the Blemmyes, or Nubians, invaded the place of his confinement; Nestorius fled from these Barbarians to the banks of the Nile, and this flight was punished as a new crime. Cyrl incited against him the Civil and Ecclesiastical powers of Egypt, by whom he was forcibly conveyed as far as the confines of Ethiopia. Yet his mind was unsubdued, he survived his implacable enemy, and his death alone prevented the Council of Chalcedon from restoring him to the communion of the Church, if not to his former honours.†

Heresies of the Vth and Vth Centuries.

Nestorius is condemned.

Opposition of the Orientals.

Compromise between Cyrl and John of Antioch.
A. D. 433.

Last days and death of Nestorius.

A. D. 451.

* Sozom. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 7.

† Suid. Lexicon. Art. Hypatia.

‡ Sozom. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. Evagr. Hist. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

* *Variorum Patrum Epistolæ ad Concil. Ephes. pertinentes* Louvain, 1682. Tillemont, *Ecclési. Mem.* tom. xiv.

† Evagr. lib. ii. c. 2.

History.
Extension of Nestorianism.

The persecution of Nestorius was far from stopping the progress of his opinions. They spread with rapidity through all the Oriental Provinces, and separate congregations were formed in decided hostility to the Council of Ephesus. The Persians opposed Cyril in the most vigorous manner, and charged him with confounding the two natures of Christ. But nothing tended so much to perpetuate the Nestorian doctrines, as their reception in the School of Edessa. In this School was educated Barsumas, afterwards Bishop of Niblis. This Prelate laboured with incredible assiduity to procure for the Nestorians a settlement in Persia, and his efforts were seconded by Maanes, Bishop of Ardasira. Barsumas not only persuaded Peroz, the Persian Monarch, to expel from his dominions such Christians as had adopted the opinions of the Greeks, but also engaged him to put the Nestorians in possession of the See of Seleucia, the principal seat of Ecclesiastical authority in Persia.*

Nestorian tenets.

The tenets of the Nestorians, as they were determined in several Seleucian Councils, are in substance these: 1. That in the Saviour of the world, there were two hypostases, or persons, of which the one was Divine, or the Eternal Word, and the other Human, or the Man Christ Jesus. 2. That these two hypostases had only one outward appearance. 3. That the union between the Son of God and the Son of Man was formed in the moment of the Virgin's conception, and was never to be dissolved. 4. That this union was not of nature or person, but of will and affection. 5. That Christ was to be carefully distinguished from God who dwelt in him as in a Temple. 6. That Mary was to be called the Mother of Christ, (*Χριστοτόκος*), and not the Mother of God. (*Θεοτόκος*.)

EUTYCHIANS.

Account of Eutyches.

One Heresy begets another, and the Heresy of Eutyches probably had never been known, if that of Nestorius had not previously subsisted. Its author was the Abbot, or archimandrite of a Convent at Constantinople. In the Council of Ephesus, he had signified himself in disputation against the errors of Nestorius; but in his old age he was himself proscribed as a Heretic. In exerting himself with undue vehemence against the Nestorian hypothesis, he taught that in Christ there was but one nature, namely, the Incarnate Word. The Byzantine Pontiff, scandalized at this doctrine, assembled a Synod in which Eutyches was condemned; but he made his appeal to a General Council, and his cause was vigorously espoused by his godson Chrysaphius. By the special summons of the Emperor, a second Council was convened at Ephesus. It was composed of ten Metropolitans and ten Bishops from each of the six Dioceses of the Eastern Empire, but the entire number was afterwards increased to one hundred and thirty-five. The Syrian Barsumas,† as the chief and representative of the Monks, was invited to sit and vote in the Assembly.‡

Eutyches is pronounced Orthodox.

But the influence of the Alexandrian Patriarch predominated in the II^d Council of Ephesus as well as in the Ist. The Orthodoxy of Eutyches was acknowledged without hesitation. "May those who divide Christ be

divided with the sword," was the charitable wish of the Ephesian Synod. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not without his adherents; but Dioscorus, the faithful imitator of the arrogance of Cyril, as well as his successor in the Patriarchate, triumphed on this occasion. Flavian, the Constantinopolitan Pontiff, by the decree of this Synod, was scourged in the most inhuman manner, and banished to Epipasa, a City of Lydia. Rightly did the Greeks denominate this Assembly *Σύνεσις Ἀγροπαιῶν*, a Synod of robbers.*

Hermies of the 1th and 2^d with Cos-turmes.

Constantinople.

At Ephesus, the Egyptian tenets prevailed, but the vanquished party engaged in their interest Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome. Flavian also had courage to remonstrate with the Emperor, and to demand that the decision of so important a matter should be referred to an Ecumenical Council. Leo seconded the request; but though Theodosius would not accede, his successor Marcian consented to the proposal. The Council of Chalcedon met, which is reckoned the IVth General Council.†

Council of Chalcedon.

A. D. 451.

Epistle of Leo.

Leo had already declared his creed in an *Epistle*, or rather volume, on the mystery of the Incarnation, but his condemnation of the Eutychian doctrine had been disregarded by the Council of Ephesus. But in the grand Council of Chalcedon Leo presided, and in consequence of his great influence, Dioscorus was condemned, deposed, and banished into Paphlagonia, the Acts of the Council of Ephesus were annulled, and the *Epistle* of Leo, having been subscribed by the Oriental Bishops, was received as a Rule of Faith. In the Western Churches this *Letter* was received with still more deference, for it was publicly read during the season of Advent. The Emperor Marcian supported the Roman Pontiff, and was prepared to enforce the edicts of the Chalcedonian Council by the sword.

Progress of the Eutychian doctrine.

Different were the sentiments of the Egyptian Theologians. Though they entertained contradictory opinions on many other questions, yet they concurred in opposing the Council of Chalcedon and the *Epistle* of Leo. On the death of the Emperor Marcian, the populace assembled tumultuously in Egypt, massacred Portierus, the successor of Dioscorus, and substituted in his place Timotheus Ælurus, a defender of the Monophysite or Eutychian doctrine. The triumph of the Chalcedonians was decided in the choice of a successor, but that triumph was of short duration. The See of Alexandria was finally filled by Mousus, a noted Eutychian.

Syria also and Armenia were theatres of Eutychian contention. The Abbot Barsumas, having been condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, chose Syria as the place of his residence, and diligently propagated his opinions. By the assistance of his disciple Samuel, he spread them among the Armenians.

The Patriarchal See of Antioch, as well as that of Theophasites. Alexandria, was filled by a Monophysite. Fullo, or, as he was more generally called, Peter the Fuller, having, after a violent opposition, been fixed there by the authority of the Emperor Zeno, excited a new discord, by attempting to form a Sect under the title of Theophasites. In the Hymn called *Trisagium*, after the words "O God most holy," he ordered the following phrase to be added, "who hast suffered for us on the cross;" and the addition was adopted by the Eastern Churches. His

* Spanheim, *Hist. Christ. sæc. v.*

† This person must be distinguished from Barsumas, Bishop of Niblis.

‡ *Concil. tom. iv. p. 1413.*

* Niceph. *Eccles. Hist. lib. xiv. c. 67.*

† This Council, by the summons of the Emperor, first assembled at Nice in Bithynia, and afterwards removed to Chalcedon. Its Acts are contained in *Concil. tom. iv. p. 761—2071.*

History. design was to impress on the people the Monophysite doctrine; but his adversaries charged him with maintaining the passion of the Godhead, and opprobriously called his adherents Theopaschites.*

Heretics of the Vth and Vth Centuries.
Account of Pelagius and Celestius.
 To put an end to this controversy, which during the space of thirty years had occasioned great disorders in Church and State, the Emperor Zeno, by the advice of Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, published the famous *Henoticon*, or *Decree of Union*. This decree contained a solemn anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, and all Heretics by whom Christ is either divided or confounded. The Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus were confirmed, but the IVth Council was annulled by the censure of all doctrines contrary to its decrees. Thus the friends and enemies of the last Council of Chalcedon were invited to a reconciliation; and both Mongus and Fullo subscribed the decree of Union.†

Eutychian sect. The distinguishing tenet of the Eutychian or Monophysite Sect was, that in Christ there was but one nature, that of the Incarnate Word. This tenet was modified by Barsuma, and having rejected the Eutychian definition, that the Human nature of Christ was absorbed by the Divine, he framed the following proposition,—That in the Son of God there was one nature, which, notwithstanding its unity, was double and compounded. The definition of Leo, which is still esteemed to be the Orthodox doctrine, is to this effect: That in Christ two distinct natures were united in one person, without any change, mixture, or confusion.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE EUTYCHIAN HERESY.

I. The term Monophysites has been already mentioned as synonymous with Eutychians. II. The Acephali. Certain Eutychians looking on the conduct of Mongus, Patriarch of Alexandria, as highly criminal, because he had subscribed the *Henoticon*, formed themselves into a new faction, under the title of Acephali, or headless, since by the submission of Mongus they were deprived of their Chief. III. Subdivisions of this branch took place into Anthropomorphites, Barsanumorphites, and Essaianists. IV. The Jacobites, who derived their name from James Baradeus or Zanzalus;‡ although the Sect affect to derive their origin from James the Apostle. V. The Severites, called from one Severus of Antioch. VI. Maronites, from Maron the founder; and Monothelites, because they asserted a unity of will. VII. Agnoetes, because they maintained that Christ was ignorant of the day of judgment. VIII. Arminians, who, by the instigation of Euthanasius, rejected the Council of Chalcedon, and who have always maintained the Monophysite or Eutychian doctrine. IX. Egyptians, or Copts, who long maintained the same doctrine, till the theological labours of Eulogius, and the diffusive charity of John, successively Patriarchs of Alexandria, brought them to the Orthodox Faith.

PELAGIANS.

Pelagius§ was a native of Wales, and was in his own

time called Brito. His associate Celestius, according to the testimony of Jerom, was an Irishman, or, according to the common phraseology, a Scot; though others assert that he was born in Campania in Italy. They were both laymen; the former by profession a Monk: the latter having in early life applied himself to the study of the Law, quitted it for a monastic life. Their morals and temperance, yet Augustin, more candid, bears testimony to the virtues of the Heresiarch. Augustin also frankly admits that the genius and capacity of Pelagius and Celestius were of the first order.

Pelagius had travelled from Monastery to Monastery through various parts of the Empire, and at length, with his companion, fixed his residence at Rome. Both of them enjoyed a high reputation, and not the least suspicion was attached to their Orthodoxy. According to the testimony of Isidore of Pelusium and Chrysostom, the Heretical opinions of Pelagius did not appear till he was far advanced in life. His peculiar notions were propagated at Rome, but under privacy and in disguise; for Augustin himself owned that his first works were so artfully composed as to deceive even his penetration. Pelagius was accustomed to insinuate his peculiar notions by proposing them under the modest form of queries, while Celestius, more open and daring, pursued a method which exposed him to detection.

On the approach of the Goths to Rome, the two friends were obliged to retire from that City, and went first into Sicily, whence they passed over to Africa. Pelagius was received at Hippo, in the absence of Augustin, but his stay was short; Augustin saw him once or twice at Carthage, but nothing material passed between them. Quitting Africa, Pelagius settled in Palestine, and there his writings attracted the notice and the censure of Jerom. Jerom wrote against him, calling on him to explain his doctrine of Grace more clearly, and not to conceal it under ambiguous expressions.*

In the mean time, Celestius, who remained in Africa, more openly discovered his sentiments, and made such undisguised attempts to propagate them in Carthage itself, that he was summoned to appear before a Synod, convened by Aurelius, Bishop of that City. He was accused of denying Original Sin, and when he was pressed with the practice of the Church in baptizing Infants before the commission of actual sin, he declared that Infants had no need of remission, and that their Baptism implied their sanctification in Christ, or admission into the Kingdom of Heaven. Celestius was condemned as a Heretic, and disappointed of his hope of rising in the Church, for he had obtained, or was about to obtain, the rank of Presbyter.

Under this censure, Celestius retired from Africa, and fixed himself once more in Sicily. Pelagius in the East had better success, since he enjoyed the friendship and protection of John, Bishop of Jerusalem. That Sicily. Prelate being attached to the doctrines of Origen, was naturally induced to countenance those of Pelagius, on account of the seeming conformity between the two systems. Under the favour of this powerful friend,

Heretics of the Vth and Vth Centuries.

Account of Pelagius and Celestius.

They settle at Rome.

A. D. 410.

They retire from Rome. Pelagius resides in Palestine.

And Celestius in Africa.

He is condemned by a Synod at Carthage.

A. D. 412.

Leaves Africa and settles in Sicily.

Pelagius makes a public profession of his Creed.

* Norris, *Lab. de uno ex Trinitate carne passu. Opera*, tom. iii.

† *Evangel. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 14.*

‡ *Benedict, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 133.*

§ In the Welch language *Meryn*, i. e. born near the sea. *Spanheim, Hist. Christ. sec. v. vi. vii.*

* It is impossible to obtain an impartial History of this Heresy, from the Works of Augustin and Jerom, the opponents of Pelagius himself, or those of Jansenius and Usher, the opponents of the Pelagian doctrines.

History.

Pelagius made a public profession of his Creed, and gained disciples in several places. Orosius, a Spanish Presbyter, scandalized at his conduct, was his public accuser, and he was summoned to answer the accusation before an Assembly of Bishops at Jerusalem, but was dismissed without censure. He was next cited before a Synod of fourteen Bishops of Palestine at Lydda, then called Diospolis. At this Synod, John of Jerusalem defended Pelagius with earnestness and eloquence, and the result was an acquittal of the accused Heretic.* He was pronounced uninfected with error, and received as a Christian brother. Pelagius wrote to Augustin an account of his acquittal, and more openly asserted his opinion against Original Sin.

A. D.
415.
Synod of
Diospolis.
Pelagius is
acquitted.

A. D.
416.
Council of
Carthage.

Epistle to
Innocent.

A Council having met at Carthage in the succeeding year, on various exigencies of the Church, Orosius brought the conduct of Pelagius before it. The Acts of the Synod of Diospolis were not formally produced, yet the information of Orosius was deemed a sufficient ground of proceeding. The Council transmitted to Innocent, the Roman Pontiff, its decision on the merits of the dispute. It was to this effect: that unless Pelagius and his followers explicitly rejected the opinions ascribed to them, they should be excommunicated. Another Synod, composed of Numidian Bishops, and assembled at Milevum, wrote also to Rome to the same purpose. Augustin and his two friends, Alypius, Bishop of Tagasta, and Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, wrote letters in their own names to Innocent, intimating that the Synod of Diospolis had probably been imposed on by the subtlety of Pelagius, and expressing a fear lest Rome itself, having been the place of his residence, should become the seat of his Heresy.

Innocent, in his answer, fully coincided in the views of the African Prelates, and in the same conditional manner condemned Pelagius and his adherents. But Innocent dying soon after, Zosimus succeeded to the Pontificate, and Cælestius, who had obtained the degree of Presbyter, visited Rome at the commencement of the new Pontiff's reign. Zosimus appears to have been gained over by the ambiguous and artful Confession of Faith which Cælestius had drawn up and presented. He was not less influenced by the letters and protestations of Pelagius. He therefore wrote to the African Prelates, declaring that unless he should hear more decisive proofs against Cælestius, he should receive him as a Christian brother.†

The Bishops of Africa, with Augustin at their head, were little affected by this declaration, and persevered in maintaining their former judgment. Zosimus at length yielded to the strength of their arguments, and Cælestius, fearing a trial, declined to submit to an examination. The Pontiff pronounced a severe condemnation against Pelagius and Cælestius, whom he had honoured by his approbation, and secured by his protection.

This public censure of Zosimus was succeeded by a number of edicts and anathemas. The Emperor Honorius passed a sentence of banishment on the followers of Pelagius in the same year in which Zosimus censured their doctrines. Cælestius retired to Constantinople, where his tenets were opposed by Atticus, the Bishop who denounced the Sect in Letters to Rome.

A. D.
418.
Pelagius
and Cæles-
tius cen-
sured by
Zosimus.

* Daniel, *Histoire de Concile de Diospolis*.

† Wall, in his *History of Infant Baptism*, gives a good account of the Pelagian controversy.

Pelagius, who was still in Palestine, complained of the treatment which he had received, and being there interrogated concerning the disputed points, answered with such art and ambiguity that he again imposed on his examiners, who explained in writing the result to Augustin. The indefatigable Bishop of Hippo wrote his *Treatise on Original Sin, and the Grace of Christ*, in which he detected and exposed the Pelagian artifices.

Notwithstanding the decree of the Emperor, Cælestius ventured again to show himself in Rome, and again drew on himself an edict of expulsion. The two Heresies were afterwards reduced to a state the most humiliating to ardent and aspiring minds, a state of obscurity. The British Islands were, it is certain, afterwards disturbed by the Pelagian doctrines, which were overcome by the skill and authority of Germanus. Hence it is probable that Cælestius accompanied Pelagius to those Countries; but this is no more than a probable supposition, for their fate is involved in obscurity.

The tenets of Pelagius, as charged upon him by the Council of Carthage, are comprised in the following particulars. I. That Adam had mortality in his nature, and whether he had sinned or not would certainly have died. II. That the consequences of Adam's sin were confined to his own person, and the rest of mankind were not involved in it. III. That the Law qualified men for the Kingdom of Heaven, and was founded on equal promises with the Gospel. IV. That before the coming of our Saviour, there were some men who lived without sin. V. That newly born infants are in the same condition with Adam before his Fall. VI. That the death and disobedience of Adam is not the necessary cause of death to all mankind, neither does the general Resurrection of the dead follow in virtue of our Saviour's Resurrection. VII. That if Man exert himself to the utmost, he may keep the Divine commands without difficulty, and preserve himself in a state of innocence. VIII. That unless rich men parted with their whole estates, their virtues would be of no avail, notwithstanding the advantage of their Baptism, neither could they be qualified for the Kingdom of Heaven. IX. That the Grace and assistance of God are not granted for the performance of every moral act; the liberty of the will and information in the points of duty being sufficient for this purpose. X. That the Grace of God is given in proportion to human merit. XI. That none can be called the Sons of God unless they are perfectly free from Sin. XII. That our victory over temptation is not gained by God's assistance, but by the liberty of the Will. These were the tenets ascribed to Pelagius, which, it is said, he recanted or explained away at the Synod of Diospolis.

SEMIPELAGIANS.

A more palatable modification of the doctrines of Pelagius was given by Cassian, a Monk, who came from the East into France, and erected a Monastery near Marseilles. Vitatius of Carthage, however, has been thought by some to be its author, who taught that our obedience to the Gospel was no otherwise the effect of Grace than that men cannot believe unless the Word be preached to them. Yet to Cassian is generally attributed the honour or disgrace of founding the Semi-pelagian School. In Gaul, the doctrines of Cassian spread with great rapidity, but they were combated by Prosper and Hilary. The Sect arose in the latter days of

Heretics of
the 4th and
5th Cen-
turies.

A. D.
420.

Their end
uncertain.

Cassian
Founder
of the Semi-
pelagian
Heresy
A. D.
430.

History. Augustin, and in opposition to it, this celebrated Father wrote his last two Books on *Predestination and the Gift of Perseverance*.

Semipelagianism. Many Divines have attempted to fix on a middle way between the errors of Pelagius and the opinions of Augustin. The leading principles of the Semipelagians have been thus stated. I. That God did not dispense his Grace to one more than another, in consequence of an absolute and eternal decree, but was willing to save all men, if they complied with the terms of the Gospel. II. That Christ died for all mankind. III. That the Grace purchased by Christ and necessary to salvation was offered to all men. IV. That Man before he received this Grace was capable of Faith and holy desires. V. That Man was born free, and was consequently capable of resisting the influences of Grace, or of complying with its suggestions.*

PREDESTINARIANS.

As there were some who attempted to define a middle way between Augustin and Pelagius, there were others who went beyond them to either extremity. Among those who might be termed Ultra-Augustinians were the Predestinarians. In the course of his controversy with Pelagius, Augustin had delivered his opinion concerning the necessity of Divine Grace to Human salvation, and the decrees of God with respect to the future condition of Man, in a manner not always consistent with himself or intelligible to others. Hence certain Monks of Adrumetum and others were led into a notion that "God not only predestinated the wicked to eternal punishment, but also to the guilt and transgression for which they were punished." Hence it followed, that all the good and evil actions of Men were determined

from eternity by a divine decree, and fixed by an invincible necessity.

Those who embraced this opinion were styled Predestinarians. Augustin exerted all his weight to prevent the dissemination of this doctrine, and in order to avoid the imputation of having favoured it, explained his sentiments with greater perspicuity. His efforts were seconded by the Councils of Arles and Lyons, in which the Predestinarian doctrine was publicly condemned. The existence of this Sect has been denied by many, and its invention regarded as an artifice of the Semipelagians.*

Heresies of the Vth and Vth Centuries.

Existence of this Sect denied.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

The Heresies of the Vth and Vth Centuries have been divided under two classes, those which regard the Incarnation, and those which relate to the extent of Divine Grace, and its interference with Human Liberty, and both continued to disturb the Peace of the Church during the Century which succeeded. In addition to the new Sects which arose within this period, it must be observed that many of those which had sprung up in the earlier Ages of the Church were far from being extirpated. The Manicheans were said to have gained such an influence in Persia, as to have corrupted the son of Cabades, the Monarch of that nation. The Arians were triumphant in several parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. They were secretly favoured by many of the Asiatic Bishops, and their cause was openly espoused by the Vandals in Africa, the Goths in Italy, and the Suevi in Gaul. The state of Christian Heresies, as well as of the Catholic Church, was materially changed by an event which we now proceed to describe—The Rise and Progress of the Mohammedan Power.

* Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sec. v.

* Mosheim, *Ecc. Hist. Cent. v. c. 5.*

BIOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER LVIII.

MOHAMMED.—RISE OF THE SARACEN OR MOHAMMEDAN POWER.

FROM A. D. 569 TO A. D. 632.

History.

From
A. D.
569.
to
A. D.
632.

From surveying the aspect of Europe at the settlement of the Barbarian Nations, and the gradual consolidation of those Kingdoms of the West which have given form to the modern polity of Christendom, our attention is naturally directed to observe, in the opposite quarter of the East, the sudden rise and tremendous growth of that astonishing power, which, at the distance of twelve centuries, is still reflected in the Civil and Religious Empire of Mohammedanism. For, the same controuling and permanent influence which has been impressed upon the History of Europe by the victorious immigrations of the Gothic Races, and their conversion to the Gospel of Truth, has been exercised on the fortunes of Asia by the overwhelming progress of the Saracens, and the fanatical impetuosity which they propagated with the sword. The overthrow of the Roman Empire proved not a more important vicissitude in the West than did the appearance of the Pseudo-prophet of the Moslems in the East; and since Christianity was already established before the Fall of the Empire, while Mohammedanism was entirely the birth and fruit of the occasion, the effects which were wrought on the Universe by the proselyting conquests of the Saracens were a far more stupendous Revolution in the Moral and Political State of Mankind, than the mere transition of Europe from the Roman to the Gothic constitution of Society. The one convulsion, so far from shaking, served only to strengthen the existing fabric of Christianity; the other swept equally before it the monuments and symbols both of Revelation and Idolatry, overthrow, wherever it penetrated, every earlier institution of human worship, and changed the religious as well as the social features of half the Countries of the known World. Nor is it the least singular circumstance in the spectacle of this mighty and enduring Revolution, that it originated in the daring imposture of one man; and the History of its creation and rise must be traced in the personal biography of Mohammed.*

The founder of that spurious Faith which has extended its dominion over so many of the fairest portions of the Globe, received his birth in an obscure region of Asia, in a dark Age, and among a fierce and barbarous People. The condition of ARABIA, a Country in several respects highly interesting by its association with the earliest scenes and events of Holy Writ, is for many centuries, both before and after the Christian Era, involved in the deepest obscurity. Of the annals of its People during the vast interval of Historical silence, little more is known than may be inferred from the permanence of that wild character among the roving Tribes of the Desert, which was first dimly traced by the finger of Prophecy, and is still stamped with the enduring impression of immemorial antiquity. In the Vth Century of Human Redemption, the sterile face of the great Peninsula, which on its Northern extremities is joined by Syria and Persia, and is bounded on other sides by the waters of the Euphrates, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea,* was still, as in past and subsequent Ages, thinly overspread by a Pastoral People, dwelling by hordes and in tents, and restlessly wandering with their sheep, camels, and horses, in search of the scanty spots of herbage and water which relieve the arid expanse of the Desert.

In every Age this peculiar People have presented the same lineaments of freedom and barbarism, the same aspect of personal and national independence, the same contrast of generous hospitality with fierce spoliation; and, divested of certain romantic embellishments, the image of ancient character has been faithfully preserved in the modern Arab. The Bedouene, (or man of the Desert,) like his forefathers through countless generations, is still brave and imaginative, but vindictive and rapacious; proud of the dignity of manhood, and not perhaps incapable of elevated emotions, but a ferocious enemy and a habitual robber. His intellectual qualities are strongly reflected in his physiognomy and mien; his eye is full of fire and vivacity; his speech at once voluble

Rise of the Mohammedan Power.
From
A. D.
569.
to
A. D.
632.
State of Arabia in the Vth Century.

Unchangeable character of its People.

Wandering Tribes of the Desert.

* In professing to offer a History of Mohammed, it is right to caution the reader that the original materials for the life of the false Prophet are few and most unsatisfactory. The earliest of his Muslim Biographers whose Work is extant, and the most judicious, is Ishmael Abulfeda, a Saracen Emir of Syria; but he lived so late as the XIVth Century, and he could do no more than collect those traditional particulars, which had been distorted and swollen by the superstitious exaggerations of seven hundred years. The Work of Abulfeda has been rendered accessible to the European reader by the Latin version of Gagnier. Al Jannabi, a Doctor of the Mosque, (an author also translated by Gagnier,) who lived still later, and

has been too often implicitly quoted by our compilers, is the mere echo of fables, and totally unworthy of credit. Yet such are the principal sources from which the numerous modern Lives of Mohammed are composed; but the best illustrations of the character of the Impostor are to be gathered from the *Koran*, in the English version, and the invaluable introduction and notes of Sale. In the following pages, the conclusions of our latest Historians, Gibbon and Mills, (*History of Mohammedanism*;) have been carefully compared with their authorities, and freely used, though without being always adopted.

* D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 208—230

Biography. and sententious; his countenance intelligent and penetrating; his deportment grave and manly; and his whole bearing expressive of that lofty spirit of freedom, which is the inheritance and generic attribute of his Race. The form of Government to which he submits is purely Patriarchal. The parent is the Chief of his family; and one family exercises the office of sovereignty over the whole Tribe. The order of lineal succession may be frequently violated by motives of partiality or the claims of merit; but the mutual bond of allegiance and protection between the Chieftain and his People is fixed and indissoluble.*

From A. D. 569. to A. D. 632.

Idolatrous divisions

The Tribes of Arabia, however, have not all been confined to the Pastoral condition. The Southern portion of the Peninsula, or Land of Yemen, which from its comparative fertility was distinguished, even so early as the Classical Ages, by the epithet of the *Happy Arabia*, has always invited its inhabitants to a life of agriculture and commerce. Its climate and soil are peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of the coffee-tree; its situation on the shores of the Indian Ocean promoted the importation of the gold, spices, and frankincense of the remoter East; and the belief of antiquity ascribed to the *Arabia Felix*, the native production of precious commodities, which were only poured through her bosom from the realms of India into the lap of Europe. The fixed occupations of its People, and the opulence of its trade, filled the maritime Province of the Happy Yemen with many more cities and towns than were found in the other parts of the Peninsula: but the coasts neither of the *Sandy* nor *Stony* regions which are comprised in its ancient triple division, were entirely destitute of permanent towns, which probably owed their origin to some temptation either of pasture or traffic; and in the midst of the *Sandy Arabia*, in particular, near the coast of the Red Sea, and at the distance from each other of about two hundred and fifty miles, arose the two principal cities of Mecca and Medina. Of these the former, which contained the CAABA, or most famous Temple of the ancient Arabian superstition, had been held in especial reverence by the Nation from a period even antecedent to the Christian Era, as the holiest seat of their idolatrous worship. While the position of Mecca on a sterile soil discouraged the occupations of agriculture, it was advantageously situated for purposes of trade; and its inhabitants were naturally attracted to commercial pursuits from the convenience with which they were enabled to interchange the commodities of Africa and India, by the transport of caravans across the desert Peninsula, from the neighbouring shore of the Red Sea to the coasts of the Persian Gulf. In like manner, their city intercepted midway the overland communication between the Indian Ocean and the Provinces of the Greek Empire; and, avoiding the dangerous navigation of the Red Sea, it was through Mecca that the rich imports of the Happy Arabia were exchanged at Damascus, for the manufactures and produce of Syria.†

Origins of the ancient laws.

These advantages added commercial wealth to the respect which the sacred city of Mecca commanded in the eyes of an idolatrous People. The Religion of the Arabs comprehended the adoration of the Sun, Moon,

and fixed Stars: but the Caaba was filled with Idols; and the grosser worship of fantastic Images and emblems disfigured this natural superstition of a Race who, during their wanderings through vast Deserts, in the deep stillness of night and under the clear and lucid firmament, contemplated the mysterious splendour, of the heavenly bodies. Nor were an imaginative People without a gleam of that pure and more sublime principle of Religion, which is involved in the existence of a future state; and some fancies of the Arabs about the transmigration of souls, as well as the custom of leaving a camel to perish on the grave of the master who might require his service in another world, attested their belief of a general resurrection.*

The political features of Arabia, since no records define the wildness of its internal barbarism, can only be inferred from their connection with the affairs of the more civilized Countries which bordered on the Peninsula. During the VIth Century, we find the Tribes of the Desert, under the general name of *Saraceni*, (from some unknown etymology,) engaged alternately in capricious alliance and desultory hostilities with the Eastern and Persian Empires. In the two great Provinces of the Stony and Sandy Arabia, they maintained the perpetual independence of their Nation, which is equally secured by the fierce character of the roving People and the insuperable difficulties of their Country. The active Tribes of the Desert harass the advance and mock the pursuit of an invader; the secret springs elude his search; and, in the barren and scorching sands, a foreign army would perish from heat, fatigue, want of food, and ignorance of the situation of water. The general extent of Arabia has, in fact, never been subjugated; and even the victories of Trajan, though exaggerated by his flatterers into the boast of conquest, did not extend his Empire beyond the most Northern parts of the Peninsula. But the more sedentary and enervated inhabitants of the Southern, or Happy Arabia, have frequently been subdued; and towards the close of the Age under our review, the Country of Yemen had been invaded by the naval power of the Persians, and reduced to a Province of their Empire.†

In the general anarchy and common independence of Supremacy the Arabs, there are, however, traces of something like a recognised superiority of Mecca; and the petty Chieftains and Tribes both of the cultivated country and the deserts, seem to have looked up to that city as the Capital of their Nation as well as the chief seat of their Religion. In its political aspect, Mecca presented the rude shape of a Republic, in which commerce had created an opulent and powerful aristocracy; while the simplicity of Arabian manners still retained the Patriarchal gradations of government. The Koreish, a Tribe who enjoyed the greatest estimation and honour among all the Arabian communities, had acquired, whether by force or fraud, or the free choice of their Countrymen, the office of guarding the sacred Temple of the Caaba; and with the religious, they secured the temporal supremacy in the Metropolis of Arabia. It was they who established the caravans between Syria and Yemen; to the Koreish was Mecca chiefly indebted for the opulence which flowed into her streets; and the noblest youth of a fiery Race blended a passion for warfare and the

Mohammed. From A. D. 569. to A. D. 632.

Their political condition.

governed by the Tribe of Koreish.

* Pocock, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, passim. Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 328—344. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, p. 315—385, &c. Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, sec. 1.

† Abulfeda, *Descriptio Arabiæ*, p. 10—40. Pocock, *Specimen Hist. Arab.* p. 125—128. Dillislelet, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 361—381.

* Pocock, p. 90—136, &c. Sale, *Prelim. Discourse*, sec. 1. † Sale, *ubi supra*. Pocock, p. 55—78, &c.

Biography. highest renown for warlike enterprise, with the itinerant occupations and substantial profits of a lucrative commerce.*

From
A. D.
569,
to
A. D.
632.

As to the Koreish was tacitly resigned by the other Tribes the spiritual and temporal dominion of Mecca, so in that Tribe itself was obedience rendered to the sway of one family; and the House of Hascem had long supplied a hereditary line of Pontiffs to the Caaba, and of merchant Princes to the Commonwealth. They claimed with their Tribe a direct descent from Ishmael, the son of Abraham, the earlier links of which, the Arabs themselves confess, are involved in obscurity; but which, notwithstanding the scepticism of a certain class of Historians, must be readily admitted by every believer in Revelation, and is, indeed, incontrovertibly confirmed, among other proofs, by identity of peculiar habits, by the testimony of very early writers, and by unbroken tradition. Their genealogy presents a long succession of illustrious ancestors; and for many generations the race of Hascem were the noblest of their Tribe and Country.†

Descent
and birth
of Moham-
med.

A. D.
569.

It was from this Princely stock of Arabia, that the victorious Author of the widely extended Faith to which he has given his name, derived his parentage and birth. When he first saw the light, his grandfather Abdi-Motaleb still held the guardianship of the Caaba, and exercised the temporal sovereignty of Mecca. The power or influence of the family, however, was probably weakened by a division of its patrimony among the numerous sons of Abdi-Motaleb; the share of Abdallah the youngest was small, and had remained unimproved by the usual pursuit of commerce; and the general circumstances of their House seemed to forbode a declension in the fortunes of the Hascemites. MOHAMMED, the only son of Abdallah, and Amina, a daughter of the noble Tribe of the Zaries, was born at Mecca about the five hundred and sixty-ninth year of the Christian Era.‡ His life dawned adversely and heavily: he was early deprived by death, first of both his parents, and then of his grandfather; his uncles were numerous, strong, and rapacious; and in the partition of their father's inheritance, five camels and a single female slave comprised all the possessions which they spared to the helplessness of the orphan. The guardianship of Mohammed, however, together with the supreme office of the Religion and State, devolved on Abu-Taleb, the eldest and most respectable of his uncles, who reared him in his house with kindness and care, and instructed his youth in the national Arts of warfare and trade. Mohammed was thus suffered to attend his uncle in his journeys to the Fairs of Syria, and fought by his side in the usual feuds of the Arabian Tribes: but his early manhood was consumed without distinction, until, in his twenty-fifth year, he received the appointment of factor to Kadijah, the noble widow

of a wealthy trader of Mecca, won her affections, and was shortly united to her in marriage.*

It is probable that this event, which had a sensible and immediate effect upon the temporal fortunes of Mohammed, was also remotely the cause which excited his spiritual pretensions. His marriage with Kadijah at once raised him to an equality with the most opulent merchants of Mecca, and enabled him to assert that hereditary consideration in his family and Tribe, which was due to his lineage, but had hitherto been denied to his poverty. In a lot of independence and leisure, he might nourish either the silent dreams of enthusiastic meditation, or the deep purposes of hypocritical ambition, which would have equally been dispelled and extinguished in a life of active and laborious penury. The conscious influence of his wealth and connections might encourage aspirations of fanaticism or fraud, which in neglect and indigence would never have been awakened. But ardent and expansive as was his imagination, bold and original as was his genius, the designs of the Fanatic or Impostor were slowly matured; and an interval of fifteen years† is reckoned between the date of his marriage and the first declaration of his pretended mission from Heaven.

The practices in which Mohammed is said to have consumed this long period, were such as may be ascribed indifferently to the dictates of a fervid enthusiasm, or a cool and calculating design of imposture. His deportment towards his fellow-citizens appeared to be regulated by a general spirit of courtesy and benevolence; his charities were extensive and bountiful; and his devotions to the idolatrous worship of the Caaba were performed with a regularity and strictness, which secured him the highest reputation for pious austerity. But at stated seasons he withdrew altogether from the world to fasting, meditation, and prayer, in the holy retreat of Mount Hara,‡ near Mecca; and these ascetic observances attracted the veneration of a rude and ignorant People, while they gradually sublimated his own mind into the exaltation of spiritual pride or of delusion. Some insight (which, however obtained, he unquestionably possessed) into the Sacred History of the Jews, and the text of a corrupted Christianity, led his acute intellect to discard the gross Idolatry of the Arabians; the influence which his apparent sanctity had acquired over his Countrymen was to be exercised in the inculcation of a purer Creed; and when he proclaimed himself a Prophet, the express object of his mission was to assert the Unity of the Godhead, and to restore the primitive Religion of Abraham and Ishmael.

The qualifications which he possessed for the promulgation of his doctrines, are best attested by the success of his audacious pretensions; and while we doubt the authenticity, we may admit the probable truth of the traditions,§ which attribute to him all those personal endowments, that were most likely to command the respect, and win the affections, of a barbarous but imaginative People—a handsome and noble figure, a dignified and engaging address, a fluent and persuasive eloquence. These advantages, the spontaneous gifts of Nature, were doubtless assisted by the accidents of birth and station: but it must greatly elevate the standard at

* Koran, c. 106, with Sale's notes on the Koreish. Abulfeda, *De vita Mohammedi*, c. 6. Pocock, p. 51. D'Herbelot, p. 361.

† Abulfeda, the first two chapters. Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet, traduite et complét de l'Alcoran, des traductions de la Somme, et des nouvelles sources Arabes, Introduction*, &c.

‡ Abulfeda, c. 1. The research and calculation of the learned and laborious Benedictines (*L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, p. 15) have imagined the correct date of Mohammed's birth to be a year later: but the hypothesis is without foundation; and we may echo the suspicion of Gibbon (c. 50.) that "while we refine our chronology, it is possible that the illiterate Prophet was ignorant of his own age."

* Abulfeda, c. 3—6. Gagnier, c. 4.

† Abulfeda, c. 7.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ See those collected in Gagnier, vol. ii. p. 266, &c.

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From
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His per-
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Biography. which we are to estimate the prodigious force of his inherent genius, when we call to mind that he was totally unassisted by artificial culture; and we learn with astonishment, that this destined founder of a new, wide-spreading, and enduring system of Religion, in which gross imposture was blended with sublime conceptions and benevolent morality, was an unlettered and ignorant Barbarian: that he had not even been taught either to read or write,* was entirely destitute of the practical experience of civilized life, and had never remotely surveyed its aspect, save during the brief and busy commotion of a Syrian Fair.†

His first converts. When his determination to assume the Prophetic office was matured, Mohammed was accompanied by his wife and household to the usual place of his solitary meditations. It has been well observed, that the conquests of the Impostor over his family were the most arduous which he ever effected: since he presented himself as a Prophet to those, who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man.‡ Yet there is the less reason to doubt the sincerity of their belief. His first converts were his wife Kadijah; his youthful cousin Ali, the son of his uncle Abu-Taleb; his friend Abu-Beker, a respectable and wealthy citizen of Mecca of mature age; and his slave Zeid. The last of these four might be actuated by the hope of freedom or the spirit of servility: but the profession of the other three is chargeable with no motive more suspicious than the credulity of affection. When Mohammed affirmed, that the Angel Gabriel had appeared to him in a nocturnal vision, and pronounced him the Apostle of God, Kadijah was the first to credit the tale, and in the sacred office of the Prophet to honour the beloved person of a husband; young Ali accepted the pretensions of his friend and relative with the fiery spirit of juvenile fanaticism; and Abu-Beker was strangely excited to employ the influence of a calm and temperate character, in increasing the number of proselytes to the cause which he had embraced. Immediately by his reasoning or persuasion, five of the principal men of Mecca were induced privately to allure the National Idolatry, and to declare their belief in the divine mission and doctrines of Mohammed; and their example was soon followed by the voluntary conversion of five other citizens.§

He publicly preaches in new Religion at Mecca. During three years, Mohammed was sufficiently occupied in the silent conversion, or satisfied with the homage, of these fourteen disciples. But at the end of that period, either encouraged by his success or impatient at his narrow limits, he burst from the privacy in which he had hitherto withheld his pretensions, and publicly asserted both the Unity of God and his own Heavenly office. The occasion chosen was a banquet, according with the simple manners of the Arabs, to which all the males of the House of Hashem were invited; and there addressing his astonished kinsmen, about forty of whom were assembled, Mohammed informed them, that he, and he only, was empowered to dispense the most precious of gifts, the treasures both of this world and of the next. "God," he continued, "has commanded me to

call you to his service. Who among you will share my burthen? who will be my companion, my fellow-labourer, my Veizir?" The appeal was received with silent astonishment, and perhaps with secret derision: until Ali, who had impatiently waited in expectation that some one of the elders of the House would have joyfully accepted the proposal, exclaimed in the phrenzy of enthusiasm—"O Apostle of the one God, I am the man! whosoever shall rise up against thee, I will dash out his teeth, pluck forth his eyes, break his legs, and tear open his bowels! O Prophet of God, I will be thy Veizir." Mohammed embraced his young proselyte with transport, and blessed him as his brother, his friend, and the chosen assistant of his sacred office. It was in vain that Abu-Taleb prohibited the wild folly of his son, and endeavoured to dissuade his nephew from the prosecution of his fanatical design. Mohammed replied only by the asseveration, that though the Sun should be set against his course on the right hand, and the Moon on his left, he would still persevere; the son of Abu-Taleb was equally immovable in his fidelity; and the venerable Chieftain, finding his influence unavailing to arrest the purpose of his relatives, exerted his power for their protection against the animosity which their departure from the Idolatrous Faith of their forefathers had provoked in their Tribe.*

The fundamental doctrines of the Religion which, under the general name of Islam,† Mohammed now began publicly to preach at Mecca, involved two primary articles of belief, and four positive duties of pious obligation.‡ The confession of Musulman Faith is comprised in the discordant and blasphemous union of Eternal Truth and audacious imposture: that there is only one God, and that Mohammed is the Apostle of God.§ To assert the Divine Unity, to reclaim the World from Idolatry and error, and to restore Religion to its pristine purity, was the peculiar office allotted to the Apostle, the last and greatest of the Prophets. The secondary object of his mission was to inculcate to mankind the great duties of practical piety in prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimage to the holy Temple of Mecca. The first three of these cardinal duties are stamped with the original purpose of a new system, or the imitation of a purer Creed: but the fourth was evidently added in conformity to the immemorial prejudices of the Arabs in favour of the sanctity of the Caaba; and the injunction to worship in that Temple, was a compromise with the rites of ancient Idolatry, which the Impostor, perhaps, found it difficult to abolish, and could only divert to the honour of the one God.

In the progress of his imposture, Mohammed was taught the necessity of inventing an express Revelation of the Divine Will, both to assert the direct authority of his mission, and to methodize the doctrinal and moral code of his system. For these purposes he delivered to his proselytes from time to time such portions of the pretended Word of God as the enthusiasm, or passion, or policy of the moment suggested; and these

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From A. D. 569. to A. D. 632.

His doctrines and precepts.

I. One God, and Mohammed his Prophet

II. Four cardinal duties: prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimage.

The Koran.

* Abulfeda, c. 7. whose appeal to tradition corresponds with the *Koran*, c. 7. wherein Mohammed calls himself, or is called, expressly, the "Ultimate Prophet." (Sole's version;) and again, c. 29. "Thou couldst not read any book," &c. Also Sole, *Primum Discoursus*, sec. 2.
† Abulfeda, c. 7.
‡ Gibbon, c. 50. (vol. ix. p. 282. Edit. 1807.)
§ Abulfeda, c. 8.

* Abulfeda, c. 8.

† Islam, or Islamism, signifies the total resignation of body and soul to God. It also means the Mohammedan World, and is, therefore, of the same acceptation among the Mohammedans, as the words Christianity and Christendom among Christians. Mill, p. 27. Hence is derived Moslem, or Musulman, a professor of Islam.
‡ Vide the *Koran*, *passim*, with the Introductory discourse, and the notes of Sale.
§ *Allah* is *Allah*, Mohammed *resal* *Allah*.

Biography. accumulated dictations supplied the substance or groundwork for the volume which, under the Arabic term of AL-KORAN, or the Book fit to be read, or that which ought to be read,* defines and preserves the Faith and Ordinances of Islam. As these fragments were orally promulgated by the illiterate Prophet, they were eagerly committed to writing by his fanatic auditory, if we may credit the vulgar traditions, on the leaves of the palmtree, and the shoulder-bones of mutton, or more probably on the skins of animals.

Probable history of its composition.

We may suspect that the whole tale of the original composition of the *Koran* is enveloped in even greater uncertainty and fable than the actions of its reputed author. According to the common account, the materials on which its desultory portions had been inscribed, were thrown, without arrangement or connection, into a chest, which remained, during the life of Mohammed, in the custody of one of his favourite wives; and two years after his death, the writings were collected, set in due order, and copied into a volume, by his friend and successor, Abu-Beker.† On the other hand, it has been also traditionally asserted, that the original promulgation, though evidently delivered at intervals, to suit the convenience and obey the varying circumstances of the imposture, was more systematic and careful; that the Pseudo-prophet was assisted in its composition by a heretic Monk, or at least by some apostate Christian or Jew;‡ and that the appearance of the collected volume is coeval with the life-time of Mohammed himself. Still more to perplex the question of Historical contradiction, modern writers have variously imagined internal evidence equally positive, that the uniformity of the Work denotes the hand of a single artist,§ and that the *Koran* is indebted to several hands for its present contents.||

But it can only be authenticated with tolerable precision, that, soon after the death of Mohammed, a complete collection of the *Koran* was made by the labour or under the orders of Abu-Beker; that, about twenty years later, the Khalif Othman, under the plea of correcting the numerous errors which had already crept into the sacred text, promulgated a second and thorough revision of the Work; and that this version is the same which is still used by the Mohammedan World.¶ With how much fidelity either Abu-Beker or Othman performed or authorized the editorial office, it is now of course impossible to determine and useless to inquire: but it is highly probable that, in the hands of both, the progress of the Religion, and the circumstances of its temporal power, may have suggested many important interpolations and additions to the spurious revelations of its founder. This suspicion is strengthened by the traditionary acknowledgment that Abu-Beker received only the disjointed materials of his Work, and that Othman found it more easy or convenient to destroy the copies of the original volume and to publish a new *Koran*, than to correct the various readings of the old one; and we may altogether assent to the caution, that the existing text can scarcely be assumed to offer either

a correct transcript from the original system of the reputed author, or a perfect image of his thoughts.*

But whatever doubt may be raised on the entire authenticity of the *Koran*, as wholly the Work of the pretended Prophet himself, there can be none on the sources from which its contents were derived. By whomever composed, it is, in the better portions of its thoughts and diction, a palpable imitation of the Holy Scriptures: though its system is but the base counterfeit of even the corrupted Christianity of the Eastern Churches; still further adulterated by admixture with the fictions of Rabbinical tradition, the dreams of the Persian Magi, and the gross Idolatry of the ancient Arabians. In the Vth Century, Arabia had afforded a common refuge to various Heretical Sects of Christians, to the Jews, and to the Disciples of Zoroaster. The *Koran* was heterogeneously compounded of the sacred truths, the false legends, and the wild fables, which were to be gathered from the incongruous doctrines and opinions of all these people. The assertion of the Unity of God, and the inculcation of His worship, in the purity of which the followers of the *Koran* make their chief boast, and in which, indeed, the real superiority of the Musulman over other false Creeds mainly consists, are obviously derived from the Pentateuch; and whatever just conceptions of the attributes of the one Almighty Creator, as a Being of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, are found in the *Koran*, may, in like manner, be traced to the divine original of the Christian Scriptures. Lest this should admit of any question, the Historical allusions of the pseudo-revelation expressly refer to the events and recognise the sacred character of the true one, even while they pervert its object and falsify its Word. The divine mission both of Moses and of Christ is studiously acknowledged: though almost every circumstance in the life of each is disfigured with the absurdities of the Rabbinical legends and spurious Gospels. The necessity of exalting the revelations of Islam above those of Christianity, guided the authors of the *Koran* in their abuse of the Scriptural materials; and the example of the Arian Heretics taught them impiously to degrade the Saviour of Mankind into a mere mortal,† greater indeed than all the preceding Prophets, but inferior to Mohammed, the last and most illustrious Apostle of God, the prefigured Paraclete, or Comforter of the Gospel. The Jews are condemned for having rejected the Messiah; the Christians for asserting His Divinity, and corrupting the text of His Gospel. The reality of His Crucifixion is denied; and it is asserted, that the substitution on the Cross of an undefined Being in His likeness, defeated the malice of His enemies, while the Messiah himself was caught up into the third Heaven.

While these circumstantial falsifications of Sacred History betray also the degree in which the compounders of the *Koran* were indebted to the Old and New Testaments for the juster and more elevated views of the Divine Attributes which are infused into their system; it is equally easy to trace the lower and grosser portions of the scheme to a very different original. Rejecting the rewards offered by the Gospel in an eternal state, of such blissful purity as sanctified souls may be expected to enjoy, it was from the imaginings of the Persian Magi that Mohammed borrowed his fanciful con-

Mohammed.
From A. D. 569. to A. D. 632. Its sources.

I. A corruption of the Holy Scriptures.

II. The Rabbinical legends, and spurious Gospels.

III. The fables of the Persian Magi;

* Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, sec. 3.

† See Sale, *ubi supra*.

‡ Sale, note to *Koran*, c. 16. in which the Impostor himself has recorded the general suspicions of his unbelieving Countrymen.

§ Sale, Gibbon, (vol. ix. p. 259.) &c.

|| See particularly an Article in the *Retrospective Review* (vol. iii. p. 1-22) on the *Koran*.

¶ Sale, *Prod. Dis.* sec. 3. Mills, p. 278. *Retrospective Review*, vol. iii. p. 11.

* *Retrospective Review*; *ubi supra*.

† *Koran*, c. 3, 4. &c.

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ceptions of the Spiritual World, his puerile machinery of Angels, Genii, and Devils, the local habitation of his Hell, and the voluptuous enjoyments of his Paradise. The Demonology of Mohammed is but a copy of that of Zoroaster or his followers; the Eblis, or Satan of the Muslims, is precisely the Ahriman, or Arimanus, of the Magi; the hair-breadth bridge, *Al Sirat*, that spans the gulf of torments to the threshold of the seventh Heaven, is evidently of Persian creation; and the Houris, or black-eyed virgins of Paradise, who are to minister to the delights of the virtuous believer, are but the *Houri* Behast, with whom the Magians had peopled their region of beatitude.* The ever verdant groves and gardens, the marble palaces and precious gems, and all the allurements, pomp, and circumstance, in which the Oriental imagination can embody and enhance the most exquisite creations of earthly luxury, belong in common to the Hindu, the Magian, and the Mohammedan abodes of eternal felicity.†

And IV.
The old
Arabian
idolatrie,

Amidst its distortions of Holy Scripture, and its spoiliations from the Magian system, the *Koran*, lastly, exhibits the traces of the old Arabian superstition; and notwithstanding its boasted denunciations against Idolatry, the positive injunction of the pilgrimage to Mecca identifies the Religion of Islam with the Pagan worship, which Mohammed declared it was one of the objects of his mission to extirpate. The inexplicable sanctity of the Caaba, and the adoration of its black stone, are revered and practised as senselessly by the devout Musulman as by the ancient Idolater; and the preservation of these unmeaning rites is a proof of the degree in which Mohammed, either actuated by his own early prejudices, or unable to overcome the influence of venerated customs in his followers, infused the gross Paganism of his own Country, as well as the more spiritual system of Zoroaster, into his pretended reformation of the true Faith.‡

Literary
character of
the Koran.

The *Koran* is written in the idiom which was used at Mecca by the Tribe of Koreish, confessedly the purest and most refined among the ancient dialects of Arabia; and from every motive of Religion and taste, the text of the sacred volume has naturally, therefore, been received by the Arabs as the general standard of their Language. But the modern variations of the Arabic are as numerous as the Countries of Islam in which it is still used; and Time, with its usual corruptions, has so changed the vulgar speech in the Peninsula itself that the Arabic of the *Koran* is now taught even at Mecca as a dead Language. All competent opinions are agreed that the style and diction of the volume in the original, though with many irregularities, are magnificent, harmonious, and elegant;§ and its composition is esteemed by the learned devotees of the Mosque to be both inimitable and miraculous. They, indeed, have been anticipated by the Pseudo-prophet himself, in challenging either Angels or Men to imitate the transcendent beauties of a single passage; and

with an audacious confidence in the power of his imposture, or under a stranger delusion of enthusiasm, Mohammed appeals to the perfection of his revelations for a sufficient proof of their divine origin, and dares to assert that God alone could deliver a Work so incomparable.* It is not improbable that its harmony of expression had a great effect in captivating the untutored Asiatic mind, which is very susceptible of the music of sounds, and easily wrought by them to ecstasy.

The rhythmical melody, which is so much admired in the Language of the *Koran* by the learned Moslems, and attested by every Arabic scholar among the Christians, is lost in our translations; but in real elevation of thought and sentiment, its style will not sustain the remotest comparison with the Bible; and its most applauded periods fall immeasurably below the eloquence, the grandeur, the transcendent sublimity, of what may be termed parallel passages in those Books of the Old Testament from which the Impostor so largely borrowed. The Christian reader will be shocked by the admixture of Divine Truth with incoherent rhapsody and grovelling absurdity; he will wade with impatience through the endless mass of History and Fable, precept and declamation; and his reason will be perpetually disgusted with the contrast of benevolent morality and vindictive retaliation, of peaceful forbearance and intolerant fury. As the portions of the *Koran* were delivered at different periods and places, and adapted to the shifting emergencies of every occasion, however solemn or trifling, the whole compilation is full of disagreements; and throughout the Work the convenient doctrine of the Impostor that any text might be altogether or modified by a subsequent revelation, is required to reconcile a thousand contradictions. Thus the parts earliest promulgated, while the Prophet was powerless, speak the language of peace, mercy, and toleration; the later revelations, after the establishment of his authority, breathe nothing but fiery denunciations against his enemies and against unbelievers, and the fiercest spirit of religious persecution. Such inconsistencies, like the dispensing doctrine which can reconcile them only by offensively attributing their irresolute purpose to the immediate act of God, discover the grossness of the imposture, and detract from the merits of the *Koran* as a consistent and skilful performance. But it is these contradictions which serve also most strongly to confirm the traditional account of its delivery in portions; and which offer the least suspicious evidence for the authenticity of the *Koran*, or the agreement of the existing text with the desultory revelations of the original Impostor.

‡ The *Koran* is the basis of the Moral and Juridical system, as well as of the Theology of the Moslem World; and the necessary union of the highest Judicial with the Sacerdotal offices in every Mohammedan

Moral and
Juridical
system of
the Koran.

* Hyde, *Hist. Religiois Veterum Persarum*, p. 244—402, passim.

† The common origin also of the Hindu and Magian pictures of Paradise, is rendered highly probable by their resemblance; and this internal evidence gives more weight than would otherwise attach to a curious passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, (lib. xxiii. 6.) which asserts that the Magi borrowed many of their doctrines from the Brahmins.

‡ Sale, *Prod. Dis.* sec. 4. and 5th.
§ Sale, sec. 3. Mills, p. 280.

* *Koran*, c. 2. 11. and (more expressly) c. 17.
† The *Sonno*, however, or traditional law, is also venerated and recognised by the Moslem World as an authority second only to the *Koran* itself. Under this term (which signifies custom or ordinance) are comprised all the records of the sayings and actions of the Prophet, which are supposed to have been derived from the oral testimony of his wives and contemporary disciples. Of these collections there are several highly esteemed by the Orthodox Sonites or Musulman Traditionists: but the most famous of all is the *Sahuk* (or Genuine Book) of Ali Bochari, which was compiled about two hundred years after the death of Mohammed. *D'Hierbriet, Bib. Orient. Arts Sahuk and Bochari*. And see also a note of Ganguier to the XIXth chapter of *Abulfele*.

Biography.

From
A. D.
569,
to
A. D.
639.

Country, explains the direct application of the Religious and Moral Code of Islam, to the business of Criminal and Civil Jurisprudence. Mohammed constituted himself a Legislator as well as a Prophet; Legal enactments are loosely interspersed throughout his Work among Ethical doctrines and Moral precepts; and his revelation provides, though without any methodical arrangement, or apparent uniformity of design, for all the social exigencies of a rude and simple constitution of Society. The four primary obligations of prayer and ablation, fasting, alms-giving, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, are enforced by the hopes and the fears of reward and punishment in Eternity. The prohibition of gaming, usury, wine, and interdicted meats, is accompanied with the same threatenings of divine wrath; such vices as are least cognizable by spiritual laws, covetousness, prodigality, falsehood, slander, perjury, are more specially declared to be held in abhorrence by God; and general exhortations to the virtues of mutual charity, benevolence, justice, forgiveness of injuries, gratitude to benefactors, and reverence for parents and superiors, are strengthened with the promises of everlasting felicity. The ordinances of marriage and polygamy, of divorce, dowry, and inheritance, the relations of debtor and creditor, are specially defined; and the crimes of murder, adultery, theft, and personal injury, are severally visited with the gradations of judicial punishment. But a minute analysis of the religious doctrines, the moral precepts, and the social ordinances of the *Koran* is beyond the scope of our present subject; and it will be sufficient for the purpose if the general sketch which we have given of the evident sources and the principal characteristics of Islamism, shall illustrate the life of its extraordinary author, and the History of the spiritual and temporal Empire which he founded.*

Slow progress of the new Religion for ten years.

A. D.
612,
to
A. D.
622.

The progress of his Religion, even after he had formally assumed the Prophetic office at Mecca, was for ten years extremely laborious and slow. But he persevered through every discouragement and difficulty: dictating at intervals to his disciples in private the fragments of the *Koran*; preaching incessantly in public at the Caaba the doctrines and promises of his pretended revelations; exhorting his fellow-citizens and the pilgrim strangers to quit their gross Idolatry for the pure worship of the one God; summoning them to repentance, prayer, and good works; and endeavouring to allure their faith by glowing pictures, the most captivating to a People so prone to the indulgence of imagination and the senses, of a Paradise of eternal voluptuousness. But the inhabitants of Mecca were made obstinate either by prejudice or incredulity; the Koreish, especially, were indignant or alarmed at doc-

trines which denounced the established superstition, and endangered their own supremacy together with that of the idolatrous worship; and even the uncles of Mohammed, as well as the other elders of the City and Tribe, united in denouncing the presumption of the Reformer. When he dwelt, in his orations at the Caaba, on the sublime attributes of the Divine Unity, he was interrupted by the clamours of his own Tribe and relations, the privileged guardians of the Temple and its Idols, who exhorted the people and pilgrims to "hearken not to the deceiver or his impious innovations, to stand fast in the worship of Al Lât and Al Uzza;" when he appealed to the inimitable beauties of the *Koran*, to attest the truth of his divine mission, his opposers taunted him to produce visible signs from Heaven; and the people loudly echoed the demand for miracles. He could only reply through the *Koran* that, if they would not already believe in God's word as there promulgated, "though a revelation were given by which mountains should be removed, or the Earth cleaved in sunder, or the dead be caused to speak, it would be in vain;"† and that "nothing had hindered God from sending him (like former Prophets) with miracles, except that the former nations had charged them with imposture."‡ But these curious passages could scarcely convince or silence the unbelieving Koreish; and they have survived only to reveal to us the weakness of Mohammed, and the obstacles which he encountered.‡

Of the proximate circumstances which, notwithstanding the hostility of the Koreish, enabled him to triumph over these obstacles, few authentic particulars are preserved. It is probable that persecution wrought its ordinary effects in strengthening the numbers and energy of the converts to the new Faith: it is certain that, though Abu-Taleb violently condemned the new doctrines of his nephew, he exerted his temporal authority to protect the person of a relative whom he loved, against the assaults of his enemies; and the whole family of the Haschemites, when the rest of the Koreish began actually to menace one of their members, were naturally united to repel an assault, which originated as much in the jealousy felt by the rest of the Tribe at the long preponderance of their House, as in religious indignation against the individual Reformer. Nourished amidst this petty conflict of faction and the excitement which it produced, the new opinions, if they escaped a total proscription, were sure to gain ground; and the number of proselytes at Mecca, in the seventh year of the Prophet's preaching, may be inferred from the flight of eighty-three men and eighteen women, the least resolute or worst protected of the converts, who sought refuge in Ethiopia against the violence of the Koreish.§

That Tribe, finding that Mohammed was still supported by his family, solemnly engaged themselves to renounce all intercourse with the children of Haschem and to hold them at deadly feud, until they should deliver up the Impostor to condign punishment for his blasphemy against the Gods. At this juncture, the death of Abu-Taleb increased the imminent peril of Mohammed; and the loose administration of the State passing on this event, through some unexplained revolution,

Mohammed.
From
A. D.
569,
to
A. D.
632.

Probable causes of its subsequent success.

Mohammed persecuted by the Koreish.

* For a more elaborate view of the *Koran*, the inquisitive reader may be referred to several sources of information. The *Preliminary Discourse* and notes of Sale's translation form an admirable commentary on the text of the Work; the remarks of Gibbon (c. 50.) display as usual his extent of research and his malvolence against Christianity; the Paper in the *Retrospective Review* already quoted, though perhaps expressed in somewhat confident terms, is well written, and evinces considerable acquaintance with its subject; and the Vth chapter of Mill's *History of Muhammedanism*, presents an able digest. All these materials have been consulted and occasionally used. The Historical nature of our present rapid sketch has forbidden us from considering Mr. Forster's bold and most ingenious hypothesis in his *Mohammedanism Unveiled*, a Work which has, perhaps, concentrated more information respecting the doctrine of the Prophet than any other which can be named.

• *Koran*, c. 13.

† *Ibid.* c. 17.

‡ Abulfeda, c. 8—18.

§ Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, lib. i. c. 10.

from the House of Haschem to the rival family of Omnia, the Prophet was left destitute of the only support which had hitherto protected him at Mecca. The loss at the same time of his faithful partner Kadijah completed the measure of his political and domestic calamities; his life was solemnly devoted by a secret conspiracy of the Koreish; and the discovery of the plot gave him the only alternative of death or immediate flight.*

Against this extremity, a refuge not only of safety but of triumph was already prepared for him. About the twelfth year of his ministry, during a pilgrimage to the Caaba, several of the most eminent men of Medina had been converted by his preaching; and on their return home, these noble proselytes had zealously diffused a knowledge of his revelation among their fellow-citizens. Through what means the public mind of Medina was peculiarly disposed for the reception of the Faith of Islam, we are not clearly informed: though it is vaguely conjectured that the settlement of two Jewish colonies in the place might have shaken the credit of the old Idolatry, and introduced a better spirit of religious inquiry. But, from whatever cause prepared, it is evident that the success of the new Religion among the people of Medina was rapid and general. In that city it appears to have encountered no opposition or jealousy through its progress, and to have left no seeds of dimension on its establishment. A first embassy of twelve persons, from the two rival Tribes which divided the sovereignty of Medina, was deputed to offer the profession of their faith to the Prophet of God; and secretly meeting him by night on a hill near Mecca, they engaged themselves by a solemn oath, in the name of their families and absent brethren, to renounce Idolatry and to obey him in all things reasonable.

When the increasing danger of the Prophet's position at Mecca suggested the necessity of temporal aid, this religious covenant was enlarged into a political association; and a second mission from Medina, consisting of seventy-three men and two women, who had embraced the Faith of Islam, arrived at Mecca, to establish the relations of mutual dependence and fidelity between their Apostle, his kindred, and his native disciples. On the same spot, and with the same secrecy as before, Mohammed, attended by some of his family and followers, joined the converts of Medina in a second nocturnal conference; and in the result of this interview has been traced the first germ of the mighty Empire of the Saracens.† The religious and political confederates pledged themselves, their property, and their lives, to each other in the common cause of Islam. In the name of the People of Medina, the new proselytes offered their city for an asylum to their Apostle, if he should be banished from Mecca; proposed to receive him as their leader; and vowed to obey and defend him in all things to the uttermost extremity. On his part, they required only that, if he should be recalled by his own city, he should not abandon them: he answered with consummate art, that henceforth all things would, equally by the ties of honour and interest, be in common between them. They anxiously desired to know their reward if they should be slain in his service: "Paradise," was the emphatic reply of the audacious Impostor.

The promise at once confirmed their faith, excited the flame of martial fanaticism, and stimulated the desires of their sensual in-aginations. They eagerly demanded and clasped the pledge of his outstretched hand, and reiterated their oath of obedience and fidelity: the People of Medina ratified the engagement; and their unanimous profession of Islam was the immediate and sufficient symbol of their sincerity.*

In default of any better authenticated records, the traditions of the Muslims have preserved some interesting particulars of their Prophet's memorable escape from the assassins of the Koreish.† After providing for the safety of his disciples, by directing them to retire to Medina, Mohammed himself remained at Mecca with only Abu-Beker and Ali for companions, when he discovered a plot for his murder. It was in the dead of night, and not until the conspirators were already besetting his door, that Mohammed silently quitted his house; while the heroic Ali, folding himself in the green mantle, and reclining on the couch of the Prophet, personated his figure, and calmly awaited the death which was intended for his friend. The murderers, who watched through the night to prevent the escape of the Prophet, and believed that it was he whom, through the crevice of the door, they discerned still sleeping, were not undeceived until they saw Ali arise from the bed in the morning. They forbore to punish the generous devotion of the youthful fanatic; but commenced an earnest pursuit of Mohammed, who, with his remaining friend, Abu-Beker, had already effected his escape from the city.

For three days the fugitives lurked concealed among the recesses of a cavern in the vicinity of Mecca; and as the diligence of their enemies explored every haunt in the neighbourhood, the orthodox Muslims believe that they were indebted to a series of miracles for their preservation: that the emissaries of the Koreish were suddenly stricken with blindness; that pigeons built their nests at the mouth of the cave of retreat after the Prophet went in, so that it should seem to the pursuers not to have been entered; and that spiders wove their webs across the inlet for the same providential design.‡ In this perilous sojourn, the pious confidence of the Fanatic, or the inflexible courage of the Impostor, did not desert him. The dread of discovery in the cave, and of an unequal contest with their numerous pursuers, drew a remark from the despairing Abu-Beker, that there were but two of them. "There is yet a third," was the rebuke, or the consolatory rejoinder of his companion: "there is yet a third, even God himself."|| As soon as the ardour of pursuit had subsided, Mohammed and Abu-Beker, emerging from the cavern, effected their escape to Medina; and the HIGRA,¶ or flight of the Bell-Hisra.

Mohammed.
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to
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632.
Plot of the
Koreish to
murder Mo-
hammed.

His flight
from Mecca.

A. D.
622.

* Abulfeda, *ubi supra*. Gagnier, lib. i. c. 16.
† Abulfeda, *ibid*. See also D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* p. 445. Sale, *Prod. Isa.* vol. 3. 8c.

‡ Koran, c. 36. with Sale's fifth note.
§ D'Herbelot, *ubi supra*.

¶ Koran, c. 9.

|| On the precise date of the Hégira, the opinions of chronologists have been divided. But the most common and probable conclusion has fixed it on the 16th of July, a. s. 622. This solemn commemoration of the great religious and political epoch of Islam, was instituted by the Khalif Omar, in imitation of the Era of the Persecution of Dioclesian, from which the Christians were accustomed to reckon their time. About thirty-two of our solar years correspond to thirty-three of the Hégira. D'Herbelot, (*Ant. Hégira*, p. 144.) and Milla, p. 21

* Abulfeda, c. 18—23. Gagnier, lib. ii. c. 14.

† Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 290.

Biography.

From
A. D.
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to
A. D.
632.

Entrance of
Mohammed
into Me-
dina;

and esta-
blishment
there of his
twofold
reign, as a
Prince and
a Prophet.

Altered
tone of his
pretended
revolutions.

He declares
the divine
commission
to propagate
his Faith by
the sword.

Prophet, has afforded the epoch from which the nations of Islam still commemorate the establishment of their Faith, and calculate the revolutions of their lunar years.

It was on the morning of the seventeenth day after his departure from Mecca, that Mohammed reached the gates of the city of refuge. Five hundred of its noblest inhabitants had advanced to meet him; a turban was unfurled before him for a standard; and mounted on a camel, under the shade of an umbrella of palm-leaves, the Pseudo-prophet made his triumphal entry into Medina, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of a devoted multitude. Symbols of temporal as well as spiritual supremacy accompanied this procession, and Mohammed had no sooner established himself at Medina than he assumed the twofold office of a Prince and a Prophet. By the People of that city, his authority as a Sovereign was zealously accepted, and profoundly venerated; his disciples of Mecca, who had been dispersed by the persecution, gathered round his person, and swelled the number of his subjects; and the success with which he prevented the growth of discord and jealousy between his old and new proselytes, and united them in mutual love and common devotion to his cause, displays the extent of his power, and the wonderful ability with which it was exercised. As his subjects were divided into Mohagerians, or exiles from Mecca, and Ansars, or auxiliaries of Medina, he prevailed on the principal men of both parties solemnly to pledge themselves to each other, as brothers and comrades; and the bonds of this sacred fraternity cemented the domestic and martial union of the two classes in the generous contention of fidelity and valour. To command the unlimited obedience of his people, and to cherish their religious faith, the Sovereign of Medina constantly blended the exercise of his Apostolic and Political functions. A rude Mosque, which he built at Medina, together with a residence equally rude for himself, were the simple seats of his Court; and leaning against the trunk of a palm-tree, or supported in a rough pulpit of timber, he regularly prayed and preached and poured forth his inspiration to the assembly of the Faithful.*

But the language which he breathed was no longer that of forbearance and peace. Hitherto he had employed only the weapons of eloquence; and whatever success he had obtained at Mecca at the outset in disseminating his doctrines must be attributed to persuasion alone: he now began to adopt a far different method for the propagation of his Religion. Until his reception at Medina, he had constantly declared that he was commissioned only to preach and admonish; he had exhorted his disciples to patience against the injurious conduct and blindness of unbelievers; and he had disclaimed any authority from God to enforce the profession of Islam: he had no sooner acquired the power of facing his enemies, than he changed his strain into a tone of fierce and sanguinary intolerance, which shows that his earlier moderation was the effect of weakness alone. Intoxicated by his success, and elevated with spiritual pride or ambition, he proclaimed that the season of God's indulgence to infidels was past, and announced the divine commission to overthrow the emblems of Idolatry, to propagate the true Faith by the sword, and to fight against unbelievers to the death, until they should accept the alternative of conversion or tribute. The portions of the *Koran* which were first delivered at

Medina enjoin the Prophet to stir up his followers to war with unbelievers as a positive duty,* and hold out the most exquisite joys of Paradise to such of the Faithful as shall expend their blood and lives in the cause. Nor did Mohammed neglect to offer more immediate rewards of earthly possessions to the cupidity of his proselytes. A divine command was invented to regulate a just division of all warlike spoils. One-fifth of the booty was reserved to the Prophet for pious and charitable uses, and the remainder was to be equitably shared among the victorious warriors, and the widows and orphans of the slain; the female prisoners were declared a lawful prey to the sensuality of their captors; and the indulgence of avarice and lust was thus made both the temporal and eternal promise of Religion! The doctrine of predestination, which was strongly inculcated in the *Koran*, and has always continued so remarkable an article of the Musliman's creed, added its incentive of reckless confidence to a courageous race, whose susceptible imaginations were already enchanted, and whose devout enthusiasm was kindled, by the visions of Paradise, and the fancied commands of the Almighty. The first disciples of Mohammed—and their descendants even in latter Ages have frequently renewed their example—rushed upon battle, certainly without the fear, if not with the positive hope, of meeting death in the encounter: secure that their fate was already ordained; that if their hour was not come they were safe; and that if it had arrived, it was inevitable; and that the sword of the infidel was a sure passport to the realms of beatitude.†

With their native intrepidity doubly steeled by this mixture of enthusiasm and stoicism, we need feel no wonder that the fanatical proselytes of Mohammed were rapidly victorious over the rest of their Countrymen who wanted the same stimulus of passion. But the first warlike enterprises of the new sectaries, savoured more of the usual Arabian characteristics of robbery and feud, than of religious hostility. The position of Medina, in the direct route between Damascus and Mecca, seems to have tempted Mohammed and his followers to revenge the persecution which they had suffered, by intercepting and plundering the Syrian caravans of the Korish. The indignation of that powerful Tribe was roused by the insult against their fugitive rebel, his followers, and supporters; in order to protect their trade, they invaded the territory of Medina with the whole military force of Mecca; and the first regular war which the author of the Religion of the *Koran* was compelled to support, was one of defence against his native Tribe and city. The numbers of the Korish were one hundred horse and eight hundred and fifty foot: the force with which the new Ruler of Medina could oppose them amounted only in all to three hundred and thirteen, exiles and auxiliaries, of whom seventy were mounted on camels.

Notwithstanding this disparity, Mohammed boldly awaited the attack of his persecutors in the vale of Bedier, about thirty miles from Medina; and the circumstances of the encounter strikingly exhibit the influence either of his enthusiasm or his artifice. As the array of the Korish descended from the hills, he exclaimed aloud, "Oh God, if these thy servants be destroyed, by whom wilt Thou be worshipped on earth?—Courage, my children, close your ranks, shoot your arrows toge-

Moham-
med.
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569.
to
A. D.
632.

His war
with the
Korish and
their allies.

Battle of
Bedier.
A. D.
629.

* Abulfeda, c. 24—44. Gagnier, l. iii. c. 1. &c.

* *Koran*, c. 8, 9. &c.
† *Ibid.* c. 3, 4, 17. &c.

Biography. ther, and the victory is unto you." Then, at the first onset, he retired apart and in safety from the javelins of the enemy, with his friend Abu-Beker, to a throne or pulpit of wood, and prayed to God for the succour of Gabriel and a legion of Angels. But he no sooner perceived that the impetuous assault of the Koreish was bearing down the courage of his followers, than he sprang from his retreat, mounted his horse, and advancing at a gallop, threw a handful of sand into the air, and cried with a loud voice, "Let their faces be covered with confusion." The tremendous invocation struck the ears of the combatants on either side with very different effect: to the excited imagination of the Muslims it seemed that a host of Angels obeyed the call of their Prophet, and they immediately raised the cry of devotion and victory, "Allah Akbar!" The Koreish also, believing that the Powers of Heaven were arrayed against them, were as suddenly panic-stricken; they wavered, and fled, and were totally defeated.*

Victory of Mohammed.

His subsequent defeat at Uhud.

Defeat of the Bani, or of the Nations.

The battle of Beder, while it extended the renown and established the temporal fortunes of Mohammed, served also to inflame the revengeful hatred of his enemies and the presumptuous confidence of his proselytes. Abu Sofian, the Omniaden Ruler of Mecca, was stimulated to increased efforts both by the disgrace of this defeat, and the subsequent loss of a rich caravan which was intercepted in the Desert by the Muslims; and he took the field again at the head of a far more formidable force than before of the Koreish and their allies. To his array of three thousand men, well appointed with armour, and mounted on a train of as many camels and horses, Mohammed could still oppose only nine hundred and fifty soldiers. The disparity of numbers was not greater than at Beder; but on the field of Uhud, near Medina, the overweening rashness and disobedience of his disciples exposed the Pseudo-apostle to a signal defeat. He himself was wounded in the face, and seventy of his disciples were slain: but he retrieved a disaster, which threatened to impair his prophetic credit, by his admirable conduct in the field, and afterwards accounted for it as a punishment on the sins of his people.† Even after their victory, the progress of the Koreishites was arrested; and it was not until the following year that, with a confederate array of ten thousand men from the idolatrous Tribes of Arabia, Abu Sofian and the Koreish ventured to lay siege to Medina. But his Musliman defenders, only three thousand in number, were secured by an intrenchment; and this war of the *Ditch*, as it was thence called, or of the *Nations*, from the various Tribes who were engaged in it, ended without any decisive engagement, in the gradual dispersion of the confederates.‡

* Koran, c. 3. 8. with Sale's notes. Abulfeda, c. 27. Gagnier, *l'ie de Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 30—33.
† Koran, c. 3.
‡ Abulfeda, c. 29—42. Gagnier, vol. ii. p. 34—138. *passim*.
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engaged against the Infidels. It is more important to confine our attention to a rapid survey of the course by which he finally effected his restoration to his native city, and completed the conquest of all Arabia.

Some of the latter portions of his career, indeed, present him to our observation much rather in the character of a wily politician than of a fanatical warrior. By every motive of passion and interest, he was urged to attempt the conquest of Mecca, the place of his birth, and the throne of his persecutors; the metropolis of Arabia, and the seat of his holiest Temple. Two years after the failure of the Koreish and their confederates in the attack upon Medina, the Prophet of Islam, with a rashness, the disgrace of which was only redeemed by his subsequent address, announced the divine assurance of protection in a pilgrimage or expedition to the City of the Caaba. He set out with a force of fourteen hundred men; but if he hoped either to force his way at the lance's point, or to enter Mecca unopposed and secure his possession by artifice, he was at first equally disappointed in both expectations. The Koreish opposed his march with superior numbers; the strength and firmness of their attitude rendered the issue of an encounter very doubtful; and the Impostor, in prudent oblivion of the Heavenly promise which he had proclaimed, at once sank his spiritual commission and title of Apostle, and condescended to treat with the Koreish only as a temporal Chieftain. He thus obtained by a truce with that Tribe, though at the expense of some credit as a Prophet, the ostensible purpose of his expedition, the license of visiting the Caaba with his friends, but only as brief sojourners and pilgrims; and by this temperate stipulation he probably also prepared the means of success for his ultimate designs. The Koreish withdrew by Treaty to the hills, while the Prophet and his disciples made their peaceful entry into Mecca, and performed their devotions at the Caaba; the people were awed by the spectacle of his piety and of the veneration with which he was regarded by his proselytes; and it may be inferred that, during the four days in which by his agreement he was suffered to remain in Mecca, Mohammed, by the arts of intrigue, had gained over a large party of his former opponents, both among the Chieftains and the People of his birth-place.

From that moment his power, which had just before been inadequate to break through the Koreish, appears completely in the ascendant. Amrou and Kaled, two of his fiercest and most formidable enemies, and the future Musliman conquerors of Egypt and Syria, suddenly became his proselytes; various Tribes successively declared their conversion to the Creed of Islam; and when he retired from Mecca, it was only to anticipate a second entry and a more triumphant inauguration.

In less than two years, Mohammed found a pretence for a renewal of hostilities with the Koreish. That Tribe were accused of having broken the subsisting truce by joining in an attack upon some of the allies of the Sovereign of Medina; and Abu Sofian, the haughty Ruler of Mecca, in vain endeavoured to deprecate the vengeance of the exiled Prophet by himself undertaking a mission to his throne. Mohammed refused even to admit the suppliant to an audience; and his preparations for war were as secret and rapid as his purpose was inexorable. Before the Koreish were aware of his approach, they were surprised by his sudden appearance at the gates of Mecca with ten thousand men, His

Mohammed.
From A. D. 569. to A. D. 632.

Progressive fortunes of the Impostor.

Rash expedition to Mecca.
A. D. 627.

Retrieved by his wily policy.

Ascendancy of his power.

His final success.

Biography, fallen enemies were now for inferior to him in force, and totally unprepared for resistance; they were compelled therefore to surrender themselves to his mercy; and Abu Sofian delivered the keys of the city to the humble Preacher whom he had driven into banishment. It deserves to be recorded to the honour of the successful Impostor, that, in the intoxication of that hour of victory, he restrained his passions, and did not abuse his triumph. His vindictive followers only awaited the signal for a general massacre; but though twenty-eight persons were murdered by a party under the ferocious Kaled, the Prophet arrested the further effusion of blood by his displeasure; and calmly demanded of the Chiefs of the Koreish, as they knelt before him, "What mercy they were entitled to claim from the man whom they had so wronged?" They answered, "that they confided in the magnanimity of their kinsman." "Nor shall ye confide in vain," was the generous reply: "begone, ye are safe, ye are free!" Perhaps their pardon was clogged with the penalty of conversion; for we are also informed that Abu Sofian and his party saved their lives by embracing the profession of Islam. All the inhabitants of Mecca were compelled to subscribe to the same Creed; and four or five persons only, who after a former conversion had committed the inextinguishable crime of apostasy, were finally exempted from the general amnesty, and put to death by the command of the Prophet. But the Idols of the Caaba and in the vicinity of the Holy City were overthrown and utterly destroyed; their worship was proscribed under pain of death; and religious uniformity in the doctrines of the *Koran* was sternly enforced.*

The success of Mohammed at Mecca, and the moderation or policy with which he used it, were quickly rewarded by the submission of all Arabia to his spiritual and temporal dominion. The possession of the principal City and holiest Temple of the nation stamped the seal of divine favour and authority on his mission, and prepared the Tribes of the Desert for the recognition of his Apostolical office; the ambassadors who thronged to Mecca and Medina, the bearers of their submission and devotion, are declared, in the figurative language of their Country, to have "outnumbered the dates which fall from the maturity of the palm tree;" and though the Hawazanites and the people of Tayef, a City sixty miles from Mecca, at first refused to renounce their Idols, and sustained an obstinate struggle for their independence, they also were finally reduced to acknowledge the Religion and sceptre of Mohammed.† The details of this singular revolution which, in the course of three years, and for the first and last time in the History of the World, seemingly converted all Arabia into one Kingdom, have not descended to us with authentic particularity; but together with the Law of the *Koran*, the Regal and Apostolical authority of Mohammed was acknowledged by the People, and administered by his officers from the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, and from the Indian Ocean to the confines of Syria. The same ardent spirit of enthusiasm was rapidly infused through the whole of a wild and roving population; and their union under a common Faith and a single Chief tended to prepare them for the conquest of half the World.‡

Gradual subjugation of all Arabia to his dominion.

A. D.
629.
A. D.
632.

"Mohammed was not fated, during his own life, to extend the doctrines of his Religion either by persuasion or conquest out of the pale of his own nation. At what epoch he had formed the design of propagating the doctrines of the *Koran* beyond the limits of Arabia, it is immaterial to inquire: but even before his re-establishment at Mecca, he had invited the neighbouring nations by solemn embassies to embrace the Faith of Islam; and these exhortations had been already preceded by a signal display of his cruel intolerance against the peaceable Jews of Arabia. Their rejection of his divine mission was the only crime of that unhappy people; but his ambition, or vanity, or fanaticism, made even this an unpardonable offence. His authority was no sooner recognised in Medina than he peremptorily offered the Jewish Tribe of Kainoka, whom he found settled in that City under the protection of the State, the sharp alternative of conversion or war. It was in vain that they pleaded their attachment to the rites of their forefathers, confessed their weakness, and implored their oppressor not to drive them to the extremity of resistance. Their supplication and their unequal struggle against his power were alike unsuccessful; and though he unwillingly spared their lives at the intercession of his allies, he divided all their wealth among his followers, and drove the remnant of the Tribe, seven hundred men, with their women and infants, destitute and miserable, into exile beyond the Syrian frontiers.

The Jews of Koraidha and Chaibar successively attempted a more obstinate defence and provoked a more bloody revenge. Their towns and castles were captured and sacked; their Chiefs were mercilessly tortured in the presence of Mohammed himself to extort a confession of their hidden treasure; and the pretended Apostle of God inhumanly glutted his vengeance by the wholesale butchery of a race which he detested. In their rejection of his Religion, the Jews seem to have raised his hatred far more than the unbelieving Christians and Idolaters; and his hostility towards them was perhaps aggravated by disappointed expectations that the People of Israel would be the first to recognise his pretensions, and to welcome in his person their hope of a temporal Prince and Messiah. Against the Jewish Tribes of Kainoka, Chaibar, and Koraidha, he perpetrated cruelties, which, it should in justice be acknowledged, were foreign to the usual tenour of his disposition or policy. Of the last People, he consigned hundreds to a cold-blooded massacre and a common grave; and even this exception to his general conduct proves that his nature, when stimulated by fanaticism or revenge, was capable of the blackest atrocities. Against the boasted humanity of Mohammed's temper, which is said to have been frequently displayed in his social relations, and is certainly sometimes reflected in the precepts of the *Koran*, this remorseless persecution of the Jews must be weighed heavily in the balance of his moral qualities; and it deeply aggravates upon his memory the reproach of his religious imposture.

In his persecution of the Jews of Arabia, the Pseudo-prophet gave the first impulse to his followers of that fierce and sanguinary spirit of intolerance, which was afterwards to be exhibited on a wider theatre. The pacific tone of his earliest overtures to the neighbouring nations was the effect, not of moderation, but of weakness; and the indifference or contempt with which the envoys of

Mohammed.
From A. D. 569. to A. D. 632. Wars of Mohammed with the Jews and Christians.

His atrocious persecution of the Jewish Tribes of Arabia.
A. D. 633. to A. D. 637.

Expedition against the Eastern Empire.

* Abulfeda, c. 43—52, &c. Gagnier, vol. ii. ad fin. and iii. ad p. 58.

† Ibid. ad c. 56. Gagnier, vol. iii. ad p. 110.

‡ Sale, Pref. Dis. end of sect. 2.

* Abulfeda and Gagnier, ubi supra.

Biography. the *Koran* were received by Heraclius, the reigning Emperor of the East, and by the Persian Monarch, Chosroes Parviz, was only suffered to pass unresented, until the submission of all Arabia to the new Faith had consolidated the power of the Impostor, and swelled the numbers and fanaticism of his disciples. In the same year with his re-establishment at Mecca, the murder of one of his envoys by an Arabian or Syrian Chieftain, tributary to Heraclius, offered him a plausible pretext* for invading the Greek Province of Syria; and at the command of their Prophet, a mere handful of the disciples of Islam rushed upon that encounter with the power of the Eastern Empire which, unequal as it might in the outset appear, was to terminate, at the distance of eight centuries, in not less than the triumphant establishment of their Faith within the City of Constantine.

First invasion of Syria. The army with which the Moslems commenced this memorable struggle, consisted of no more than three thousand men; and the inadequacy of such a force for the invasion of a great Empire attests the enthusiastic confidence of success, with which Mohammed had already inspired his fanatical followers. The holy banner of the Apostle and the chief command were intrusted to the hands of Zeid; and this appointment, it has been well observed,† is a curious proof how perfect was the discipline, and how ardent the enthusiasm of the new sect, when the noblest and haughtiest Chiefs of Arabia were contented to serve under the manumitted slave of their Prophet.

Battle of Muta. It was near the village of Muta, Southward from Damascus, that the Musulmans made the first essay of their native courage and recent fanaticism against a foreign enemy. The regular troops and auxiliaries of the Eastern Empire, who were collected for the defence of Syria, amounted, if we might credit the exaggerations of the Arabian Chroniclers, to one hundred thousand men;‡ it is at least natural to believe that they far outnumbered the handful of invaders; and notwithstanding the fierce onset of the Moslems, the disparity of force long held the event of battle in suspense. Zeid and two other Chiefs, Jauffer and Abdallah, who, in the event of his death, had been named by the Prophet in succession for the command, all fell heroically in the thickest of the fight; but the fierce Kaled, one of the latest converts of Mecca, caught the sinking standard of the Prophet from their dying hands; at the moment when the Musulmans were giving way before the overwhelming numbers of the Imperialists, his desperate valour still withstood their assaults; his example animated his companions and restored the fortune of the battle; and it was not until day had closed upon the combatants, that the Saracens retired without dishonour from a sanguinary field. During the night, Kaled was raised by the suffrages of his brother-soldiers to the chief command, which he had so well merited by his intrepidity and conduct; and these qualities were still more conspicuously displayed on the morrow. The skilful movements of the little band of Saracens under his directions threw the Imperial army into disorder, which was soon followed by a general panic; and in that state they were attacked and routed with merciless slaughter. A profusion of rich spoils fell into the hands

of the Musulmans, who returned to Medina with all the honours, and some of the fruits of victory; and their Prophet, in his exultation at this earnest of future conquest, crowned the glory of Kaled with the fanatical title of the *Sword of God*.*

Mohammed soon displayed his resolution to follow up this desultory enterprise with the whole force of his temporal and spiritual power. The wealthy and fertile Province of Syria might tempt his cupidity, and the extension of his Empire and doctrines was equally the grand object of his ambition. His views were variously shared by the enthusiasm and the rapacity of his followers. His friend, Abu-Beker, devoted the whole of his possessions to the purposes of the sacred war; Omar and Othman, who like him also were destined to inherit the pulpit and the throne of the Prophet, offered their treasures, their warlike equipments, and their camels, for the uses of the holy expedition; a crowd of inferior disciples imitated their example; and the very women of Islam cheerfully sacrificed their jewels to the objects of a religious warfare. The collection at Medina of an army of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, with a train of twelve thousand camels, enables us to estimate the gigantic strides with which the power of the Preacher of Mecca had rapidly increased; and when Mohammed took the field at the head of this host, formidable alike by their numbers, their valour, and their fanaticism, his march exhibited the state of a mighty Monarch. The Prophet, mounted on his white mule, and distinguished by his vesture of green, commanded in person; Abu-Beker claimed the honour of bearing his sacred standard; and the fiery Kaled assumed his appropriate station at the head of the vanguard.

If the advance of this formidable array had commenced in the temperate season, and from the frontiers instead of the Capital of Arabia, the Prophet might have anticipated the glory reserved for his successors, of achieving the conquest of Syria, and shaking the Eastern Empire to its foundations. But the spirit of his followers, which was capable of surmounting all human opposition, sank under a struggle with the difficulties of Nature. The summer heats of the Arabian Desert are unsupportable even by a native army; the scorching winds raised the moving sand into mountain-billows which overwhelmed and destroyed whole squadrons of the Musulmans; the springs were dried up and refused their usual refreshment; and the rage of thirst drove the soldiery to rip open the bellies of their camels for the sake of obtaining a scanty supply of water, from the store with which those animals have the singular capacity of sustaining the droughts of a march through the Desert. The constancy and even the faith of the exhausted Moslems sank under these dreadful privations; the tremendous threat of their Prophet that hell-fire would prove hotter than the Sun of the Desert; was less alarming to their senses than the prospect immediately before them; and notwithstanding his indignant reproaches, they shrank from the sufferings of the holy war, and deserted his standard in great numbers.

* Abulfeda, c. 48, 49, with Gagnier's notes.

† Burckhardt, in his *Notes on the Bedouins*, expresses his disbelief that such a process is ever resorted to. He states that after two days' drought no sufficient supply would be afforded by a camel's stomach, and that in the extremity of thirst, the main object of the sufficiency would be to preserve the animal upon whose existence depends his own sole chance of escape.

‡ *Koran*, c. 9.

* Abulfeda, c. 48.

† Gibbon, vol. ix. p. 313.

‡ *Sale*, *ubi supra*.

Biography. Mohammed, himself inflexible in courage and patience, with difficulty sustained the fainting spirits of his remaining followers by the assurance that, if the deserters had possessed a grain of faith, they would have nobly encountered their destiny in the service of God: but when the weary army reached the confines of Syria and reposed at the fountain and grove of Tabue, he acknowledged that the strength of his faithful bands was unequal to the farther prosecution of the war, confessed that it had been undertaken without the advice of his guardian Angel Gabriel, and consented to its abandonment. He retraced his march with the main Body of his forces to Medina: but the indefatigable Kaled, with the most active squadrons of the Muslims, still persevered in a desultory warfare, and extended the terror of his master's name beyond the frontiers of Arabia, from the banks of the Euphrates to the shores of the Mediterranean.*

Last years This expedition against the Syrian territory of the Eastern Empire was the last military enterprise of Mohammed; and he survived its conclusion only about two years. The short residue of his life was spent in consolidating the establishment of his Religion and Empire in Arabia itself. The close of his domestic reign was not wholly undisturbed: for rival imposture threatened the interests of the new Religion with the evils of schism and dissent, even during the life of its founder; and Mohammed vainly issued his denunciations against the false Revelations of Muscilaia, a powerful Chieftain of the Province of Yemannah, (between Mecca and the Persian Gulf,) who had proclaimed himself also a Prophet from Heaven, and whose pretensions were subsequently suppressed only in the Khalifate of Abu-Beker. But notwithstanding the conflicting claims to divine inspiration which his own example had provoked, Mohammed to his latest hours had reason for triumph in the progress of his doctrines. He continued to preach his Religion at Medina with undiminished energy and increasing effect; and his last pilgrimage to the Caaba was attended by a devout multitude of one hundred and fourteen thousand of his converts.†

and death of Muham- It was in the sixty-third year of his age and the twenty-third of his pretended mission, that Mohammed, whose health had long been visibly declining,‡ was seized with a bilious fever which carried him in fourteen days to his grave. The story of his death-bed has of course descended to us only in the traditions preserved by his disciples. But if to these the slightest credit may be given, the Impostor displayed at the slow approach, and in the awful moment itself, of dissolution, all the undismayed confidence of sincere faith, or rather of unaffected delusion. His last public acts, when he was sensible of his extremity, were those of pious resignation, of humility, and of justice. From the pulpit, he invited the accusations, offered the atonement, and implored the forgiveness of any offences which he might have inflicted upon his brethren and subjects. "Is there any Musul-

man whom I have unjustly scourged? I submit my own back to his retaliation. Is there any one whom I have slandered? Let him proclaim my shame before the congregation. Have I despoiled or defrauded any man? Of the little that I possess let him take principal and interest for the injury." A voice from the crowd charged him with a debt of three silver drachms: he paid the demand with interest, and thanked his creditor that he had accused him in this world rather than hereafter before the judgment seat of God. According to the custom of the Chieftains of his Country, he enfranchised all his slaves; and bestowing his solemn benediction on his weeping friends, he endeavoured to moderate their grief, and exhorted them to be steadfast and constant in their moral and religious duties. Until the last three days of his life, he continued regularly to perform the offices of public prayer in the Mosque; and even when his weakness compelled him to resign the pulpit to his friend Abu-Beker, he still repaired to the place of worship, supporting his feeble steps on the arms of his attendants.

During the last paroxysms of his mortal disorder, which deprived him at intervals of reason, it is acknowledged that he wished to have dictated a new Revelation: but the more discreet or bigoted among his disciples loudly protested against his being suffered to supersede the divine authority of the *Koran*; and the ears of their dying Prophet were disturbed by the clamour with which the question was disputed in his chamber. He rebuked the indecent heat of the wranglers; commanded them to withdraw from his presence; and tranquilly awaited his end. To his family he repeated the conversations with which the Angel Gabriel continued to favour him; and having once asserted his possession of a peculiar prerogative from Heaven that Azrael, the Minister of death, could not take his soul without asking his permission, he now declared that the request had been made and granted. Shortly after, he fell into the strong convulsions of death; and stretched upon a carpet which had been laid for him on the floor of his house, his head reclining on the lap of his favourite wife, he at first fainted from excess of pain; but recovering for an instant, he raised his eyes intently towards the roof, ejaculated in faltering but articulate accents, "Oh God, pardon my sins! Ah, my companion, I attend thee to the realms above!" and calmly expired.*

From love and veneration for his person, many of his friends and disciples would not believe that their fancied intercessor with Heaven, the chosen Prophet and Apostle of God, had shared the common lot of humanity: they swore by their trust in the Almighty that he was not dead, but only wrapped in a holy trance; the violence of their sorrow sought consolation in the wildest hopes of fanaticism; and Omar, drawing his scimitar, threatened to strike off the head of the first Infidel who should dare to affirm that the Prophet was no more. The temperate sense and authority of Abu-Beker restored the multitude to reason: he rebuked the impiety which placed the attributes of Mohammed on an equality with those of Him who liveth for ever; reminded them that the Prophet was a mortal like themselves; and appealed to his own prediction of his death and to the progress of corruption in his beloved remains. The grief of his people for his loss and their reverence for his assumed office

* *Koran*, c. 9. with Sale's notes. Abulfeda, c. 56. Gagnier, vol. iii. p. 147—162.

† Abulfeda, c. 58. Gagnier, vol. iii. ad p. 218.

‡ The idle story that Mohammed was afflicted with epileptic fits, which appears to have been an invention of the Byzantine writers, has long been exploded. See Sale's second note to c. 73. of the *Koran*. But the Mohammedan writers believe that his health had suffered from poison, administered to him in revenge by a Jewish woman. Gagnier (note to Abulfeda, p. 9, and *Life of Mohamed*, vol. ii. p. 287.)

* Abulfeda, c. 61—64. Gagnier, vol. iii. p. 221—271.

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and personal character, were displayed in the pious honours of his interment, and have been perpetuated in the rites of their Religion. He was buried at Medina on the spot where he breathed his last; the City which contains his ashes rivals Mecca itself in sanctity; and the pilgrimage to the simple Tomb of the Prophet is still numbered among the most meritorious duties of the devout Musulman.*

From the mass of apocryphal tradition and discordant absurdity,† of which even our earliest materials for the life of Mohammed are composed, it is no easy task to deduce and reconcile any satisfactory relation: it is still more difficult, in the uncertainty which envelopes not only the motives, but many of the actions themselves of this extraordinary man, to discern and estimate the real merits of his character. The conflicting prejudices and falsehoods of his disciples and enemies have been adopted and exaggerated by successive biographers; and in modern times the most authentic features of his portrait have been still further disguised by the insidious arts of Infidel writers, and the better intentioned, but passionate zeal of some Christian advocates. The former have laboured to elevate the Impostor into a virtuous Enthusiast or a Philosophical Hero; the latter have stigmatized him as a Demon of fraud and a Monster of unmitigated iniquity.

If we would discriminate accurately between these opposite conclusions, it is perhaps necessary that we should contemplate the visionary enthusiast, the crafty impostor, and the ambitious conqueror, under the various circumstances of fortune, which lent their shifting hues to his moral and intellectual qualities. That his religious practices, his periodical retirements to solitude, his self-inflicted austerities, and his devotional fervour, commenced in sincerity, we need feel little difficulty in believing: that these observances should end in imposture, is the ordinary course of fanaticism. It is evident from all the recorded tenour of his life between his marriage and his assumption of the Prophetic office, that religious enthusiasm was the original master-spring of his actions.‡ Endowed by nature with an excitable imagination and a contemplative spirit, his reason became obscured by the clouds of mystical devotion; and the chimeras of his fancy might be mistaken, even by his own mind, for the inspiration of Heaven. But there seems to be a period in the career of every successful Fanatic, in which the subsiding fervour of enthusiasm is replenished and kept alive by the involuntary growth of a hypocritical excitement; and the mind may need first to employ the same stimulus of delusion upon itself, which is afterwards exercised in intentional fraud and craftiness upon others.

Such a transitional state of fanaticism may be suspected in the life of Mohammed, when the persecutions which he suffered at Mecca had exasperated his passions,

and his reception at Medina had awakened within him the ambition of temporal power; and the altered tone of the portions of the *Koran* which were promulgated after his establishment in the latter City, marks the completion of that change in his character, which converted a peaceful visionary into a fierce and intolerant leader of religious warfare. When we observe the art with which his pretended revelations were subsequently adapted to his own interests, and to the passions and prejudices of his Countrymen, it is impossible to doubt that, whatever might have been the strength of his original delusion, its sincerity had been corrupted by success, and had given place in his mind to the mere worldly pursuit of political aggrandizement. In this view of his case, it is perfectly reconcilable with the constitution of the human mind, and analogous with all experience of its history, to conclude that the imposture of Mohammed originated in a disordered imagination; that his ruling passion of fanaticism naturally engendered spiritual pride and self-exaltation; that these feelings were irritated by opposition, and still further nourished by success; that under the influence of time, the dictates of Reason and the course of events at once dissipated the illusions of religious fancy, and awakened the cravings of vulgar ambition; and that the growth of fraud and perfidy in his designs, was simultaneous with the decay of his enthusiasm and the expansion of his power.

Among those who have been disposed to regard the character of Mohammed with the greatest indulgence,* it is a favourite hypothesis that he was actuated in the outset by a virtuous indignation at the prevailing superstition of both Jew and Christian, as well as the degrading Idolatry of the Heathen; and that his preaching was really founded upon the disinterested desire of inculcating a purer system both of Morals and Theology among his unenlightened Countrymen. The means of imposture which cannot be denied, are palliated for the sake of the end to which it is imagined that they were directed; and we are required to believe that the worst motives of the Impostor went no further than the harmless, and even laudable design, of creating an honourable name for himself by restoring the worship of the one God among the outcast children of Ishmael. But if we might admit that the founder of Islamism was animated by rational zeal for the purity of Religion, and by a patriotic or philosophical desire for the moral improvement of his fellow-beings, we should immediately be met by the difficulty of reconciling the corruptions of his system with the piety and benevolence of his purpose. His conduct was consistent enough with the probable views of a Fanatic or an Impostor: it was utterly incompatible with the enlightened principles of an Ethical Moralist. Since the Jewish and Christian Dispensations were the evident origin of all his knowledge of the Divine Unity, he was too well informed of the Truth, however corrupted the sources from which he derived it, to be excusable for his preference of falsehood: since he erred not in total ignorance, even his earliest assumption of divine authority is obnoxious to the suspicion either of fanaticism or fraud; and whatever praise is bestowed on the soundness of his intellect, and the moral excellence of his design, serves in fact but to deepen the premeditated guilt of his imposture.

Still less, if we view the actions of Mohammed only in

Mohammed.
From
A. D.
596.
to
A. D.
632.

Growth of his ambition and hypocrisy.

Hypothesis of his virtuous and enlightened purposes of religious reform;

disproved by the corruptions of his system.

Guilt of his imposture.

* Abulfeda, c. 61—64. Gagnier, vol. iii. p. 221—271. Gibbon, c. 50.

† For example, the Work of Al Jannabi, which next to that of Abulfeda constitutes our principal Arabic authority for the biography of Mohammed, and has afforded the chief foundation for his life by Gagnier, is a mere farrago of wild legends.

‡ Such especially is the portrait which the Count De Boulainvilliers has imagined in his *Vie de Mahomet*; and Gibbon has betrayed a kindred partiality for the triumphant corrupter of Christianity, even while he rejects the absurd eulogies of his French biographer.

§ Mülls, p. 86.

* *Retrospective Review*, vol. iii. p. 7.

Biography.

From
A. D.
596.
to
A. D.
632.

Intolerance,
cruelty, and
licentious-
ness of his
later years.

his latter years, when fanaticism had been smothered by ambition, and prosperity had steeled his heart in intolerance, cruelty, and licentiousness, shall we find any thing to justify the favour of his eulogists, or to palliate the crime of his hypocrisy. The spirit of fierce persecution which breathes through the last revelations of the *Koran* is opposed to all the better feelings of humanity; and his cold-blooded massacres of the unoffending Jews, prove that he was really capable of inflicting, without compunction, the worst cruelties which his interests could dictate, or his Creed inculcate. His vengeance seems to have been restrained only by weakness or prudence; and his assassination of individual enemies entitles us to suspect, that his boasted magnanimity in pardoning the Koreish was rather an effort of policy than of mercy. If Mohammed had regulated his own life by the doctrines which he preached, the errors of his personal conduct ought in candour to be measured by the standard of morality among his Countrymen, and the practice of the Age and clime in which he was born. Thus, his general permission of polygamy was no more than a natural compliance with the previous manners of Arabia; and since he restricted a privilege, which was before unlimited, by commanding every man to confine himself to the society of four women,* he cannot be justly accused of having encouraged incontinence among his followers. But when he forged a special revelation from Heaven to exempt himself from the restraints which he enforced on his disciples, he must have been consciously guilty of immoral indulgence; to gratify the licentiousness of his appetites, he both violated the precepts of his own Law, and audaciously betrayed the extent of his reliance on the credulity of his disciples. The *Koran* expressly declares,† that the Prophet is allowed to take as many women as he pleases; and his appropriation to himself of the wife of his freedman;‡ as well as many other circumstances of his domestic life,§ betray the fact, that the pretended Reformer of Religion and morals was himself an example of unbounded sensuality.

Contrast of
his amiable
qualities.

Yet it has been admitted, in contrast to his vices, that Mohammed was endowed with many virtues and endearing qualities, which attracted among his friends and followers as much affection for the man, as veneration was entertained for the Prophet. It is the remark of one of his Historians,|| that we may best imagine the general nature of his character from the fact, that the traditions of the Musulmans have assigned to him not so much the exalted, as the amiable attributes of humanity. They delight¶ to eulogize his courtesy to the noble, his affability to the humble, and his dignified deportment to the presumptuous. They dwell on his personal graces of form, countenance, and intellect: on the majesty and mildness which were tempered in his address, his expressive and benignant features, his persuasive and powerful eloquence. They record the simplicity of his habits, his contempt for the idle pomp and

His personal
endow-
ments.

state of Royalty, and the kind and generous feelings which overflowed in his breast towards his family, his servants, and his friends. Even while he was Lord of Arabia, he disdained not to perform the most menial offices of his family: he continued to kindle his own fire, to sweep the floor with his own hands, to milk his ewes, and to mend his own shoes and coarse woollen garments. He set the example of religiously observing the interdiction from wine. Without the affectation of austerity, he was contented with the abstemious fare of an Arab and a warrior: honey and milk were the articles of food in which he most delighted; but his ordinary diet was restricted to dates, barley-bread, and water. Nevertheless his hospitality was generous; his charities were bounded only by his possessions; and, at his death, the sincerity of his exhortations to benevolence was proved by the emptiness of his coffers.

As a friend and a parent he exhibited the softest feelings of our nature. After the death of Zeid, he was surprised weeping in his chamber over the daughter of his faithful servant and convert. "What do I see?" exclaimed the intruder, astonished that the Apostle of God should be accessible to the weakness of human sorrow. "You see," replied Mohammed, "but one who is deploring the loss of a beloved and devoted friend." His affection for Fatima, his daughter by Kadijah, and the only one of the progeny of a numerous Harem who survived him, was of unbounded tenderness; and when he followed his other children to their untimely graves,—that severest visitation of Providence which seems to reverse the order of our being,—he wept in all the agony which can rend the fond heart of a parent.* Before successful fanaticism had corrupted his virtue, his respectful constancy to the faded matron who was the author of his fortunes, is a beautiful trait in his character. While Kadijah lived, she was never insulted by a rival; and his gratitude to her memory survived her to his latest hour. The tenderness of his recollection roused the reproachful and insolent jealousy of Ayesha, the most youthful and blooming of the wives who had replaced her: "Was she not old, and has not Heaven given you a better in her place?" "No, before God," cried Mohammed, in a burst of generous emotion, "there never can be a better or a kinder: she believed in me when men despised and mocked me, she relieved my wants when I was poor, and lowly, and persecuted by the world."†

These facts and anecdotes, which are as well authenticated as any other circumstances in the life and character of the Arch-impostor of Arabia, may in some degree serve to moderate the detestation for his name, with which the results of his first delusion, the atrocities, frauds, and cruelties, the licentiousness and tyranny of his latter years, must justly inspire every Christian and moral mind. The conjectural study of his character might form a curious chapter in the History of the Human mind, not without its parallel in a modern Age and a Christian actor; and, however widely different in effect upon the great cause of Religion, the example of either Mohammed or of Cromwell may almost equally demonstrate the danger and the guilt of that self-delusion, which commences in fanaticism only to terminate in ambition and imposture.

Moham-
med.
From
A. D.
596.
to
A. D.
632.
Simplicity
of his
habits.

Instances of
his kindly
affections.

Conclusion
on his extra-
rdinary disposi-
tion.

* *Koran*, c. 4.

† *Ibid.* c. 33. 66.

‡ *Ibid.* c. 33. with Sale's notes.

§ For one of these, see especially Sale's first note to c. 66. of the *Koran*. Throughout his praisest description of the private life of Mohammed, Gibbon riots in the indulgence of a depraved imagination.

|| Mills, p. 39.

¶ For the following details, see Abulfeda, with the traditions collected in Gagnier, *passim*; and, indeed, repeated by Gibbon and all the modern biographers of Mohammed.

* Abulfeda, c. 67.

† *Ibid.* p. 12, &c.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LIX.

PROGRESS OF THE SARACEN OR MOHAMMEDAN POWER. THE SINGLE KHALIFATE.

FROM A. D. 632 TO A. D. 755.

History. The death of Mohammed seemed for an instant to threaten the extinction both of his religious imposture and of the temporal power which it had established. After his followers had indulged their first burst of grief for his loss, the necessity of appointing a successor to his Sacerdotal and Regal office immediately revived that fierce and habitual spirit of discord among the Arabian Tribes, which had been subdued only by the reverence entertained for his spiritual authority, by the success of his arms, and by the consummate arts of his policy.

From A. D. 632. to A. D. 755. Dissensions among the Saracens on the death of Mohammed. It might have been imagined that the fanatical attachment of his companions and disciples to his person would have descended upon his family. But all the male offspring of Mohammed had perished in infancy; and the claims of his beloved and only surviving daughter Fatima, who was married to her cousin Ali, were set aside by political animosity and domestic intrigue. The children of Fatima were the natural heirs of Mohammed; and he had often exhibited his two infant grandsons to the people as the pride of his House, and the future hope of Islam. The birth, the alliance, and the personal merits of their father Ali, marked him therefore for the destined successor of the Prophet. He was, in his own right, the Chief of the House of Haschem, and the representative of the ancient Princes of Mecca and guardians of the Temple; he was both the cousin and the son-in-law of Mohammed, and the earliest and most devoted champion of his mission; he had been declared his brother in affection and his chosen Vezir, and he was at once the most noble, heroic, and accomplished of his proselytes. But he had incurred the implacable hatred of Ayesha, the favourite wife of Mohammed and daughter of Abu-Beker, by exposing to her husband (as it is said by the Arabian writers) some act of her infidelity; and natural views for her father's aggrandizement might probably be superadded to motives of revenge. During the last hours of Mohammed, the arts of Ayesha prevented all intercourse between him and his son-in-law; and, although the Prophet abstained from any more explicit nomination, the choice of Abu-Beker to fill his pulpit in his mortal illness, appeared finally to point rather to him than to Ali, as his successor.

Gifted with precocious talents in the right of election. The hereditary and personal title of Ali, thus left without recognition by the silence of his dying father-in-law, was more decidedly rejected by the Korish, who abhorred the proud supremacy of the House of Haschem. The exclusive right of that Aristocracy itself to nomi-

nate the Sovereign of Arabia, was fiercely opposed by the other Tribes; the pretensions of Mecca rekindled the ancient rivalry between that Capital and Medina; and, so soon as a public Assembly was convened for the election of a successor to the Prophet, the most illustrious among his original disciples—the Ansars, or *Auxiliaries* of the latter city, and the Mohagerians, or *Fugitives* of his birth-place—urged their contending claims to the honour of appointing the spiritual and temporal Chief of Islam, with all the vehemence of Arabian eloquence and passion. The schism became so violent, that to prevent an appeal to arms, the pacific Abu-Beker would imprudently have adopted the rash suggestion of nominating two persons with equal power, as representatives of the Prophet. He accordingly proposed Omar and Abu-Obeidah for this divided sovereignty; and, if the proposal had been accepted, the same hour might have dissolved the rising Empire of the Saracens, and prevented the extension of their arms and Religion.

From A. D. 632. to A. D. 755. At this crisis, the modest or patriotic self-denial of Abu-Beker Omar saved the fortunes of the Mohammedan cause. Declaring his own unfitness to share so weighty a charge, he proposed that the venerable Abu-Beker should himself be appointed to the sole guidance of the Faithful; and stretching forth his hand as the accustomed pledge of fealty, he proclaimed himself the subject of the first KHALIF, vicar, or successor of the Prophet. The involuntary acclamations of the Assembly recognised the wisdom of this choice; and Abu-Beker was immediately saluted as the supreme Lord and Judge of Islam. But lest so precipitate a nomination, which was only excused by the urgency of the occasion, should be drawn into an illegal and dangerous precedent, Omar himself proclaimed from the pulpit, that if any man should again presume, on the recurrence of a vacancy, to anticipate the regular suffrages of the electors, he would plunge his sword into the hearts both of the proposer and the object of the choice. The authority of Abu-Beker was at once recognised in Mecca and Medina, and throughout the Provinces of Arabia. The adherents of the House of Haschem alone continued to maintain the superior title of Ali, and refused to yield their allegiance to the Khalif; but their resistance to the public voice was rather indirectly countenanced by the haughty silence of their hereditary Chief, than encouraged by any open assertion of his rights. The threats of the fierce Omar that he would burn the house of Ali to the ground, excited only the contempt of the indignant hero: but his spirit was after a time more

The Single Khalifate.

From A. D. 632. to A. D. 755.

Abu-Beker chosen the first Khalif, or successor of the Prophet.

History. subdued by the death of Fatima, by the visible decline of his party, and by the mild expostulations of Abu-Beker. He at length listened to the flattering appeal to his patriotism by which the aged Khalif besought him not to renew through his opposition the dissensions that were happily subsiding; and his submission finally restored unity to the religious and political Government of Islam.*

His relig. The great Body of the Arabian nation, however, was still far from being animated by the same religious enthusiasm and sincerity, and the same fiery zeal for propagating the doctrines of the *Koran*, which were entertained by the immediate proselytes of Mohammed. The Barbarous Tribes in general had either been overawed by the arms of the Impostor, or dazzled by the splendour of his success; they had received the new Faith with indifference; and after the death of its founder, they were quickly relapsing into their ancient Idolatry. The inconstancy even of the Koreish was only checked by the stern and seasonable rebuke of Abu-Beker. "Ye men of Mecca, will ye be the last to embrace, and the first to abandon, the Religion of Islam?" but the sharper argument of the sword was necessary to arrest the infidelity which was contaminating the inhabitants of the Desert; and at the head of a congenial band of fanatics, the sanguinary Kaled attacked the apostates with irresistible fury, defeated them with merciless slaughter, and, by the terror of this example, reclaimed the fickle and disunited Tribes to the belief or the profession of Islam.

Defeat of the impostor Mosilima.

It required a more numerous host and a more obstinate contest to overcome the rival imposture which asserted similar divine authority to the mission of Mohammed. The pretensions of Mosilima, which had disturbed the last years of the Prophet of Islam, were now openly asserted in arms; and the progress of his doctrines and power excited alarm in the Khalif, and indignation in the disciples of the *Koran*. With an army of forty thousand men, Kaled was again appointed by Abu-Beker to conduct the sacred war; in the first action, Mosilima was strong enough to inflict a severe defeat on the Moslems; and it was not until their enthusiasm had risen with the danger of their Faith, that the skill and energy of their leader triumphed over the rash confidence of their adversaries. In a general engagement, Mosilima was opportunely slain by the thrust of a lance; his followers, dismayed by his fall, were instantly routed and put to flight; and the previous losses of the Muslims were revenged by the slaughter of ten thousand of their enemies. The restless and rebellious Tribes of the Peninsula, left without a leader or a common motive of resistance, were rapidly compressed within the strong bonds of religious enthusiasm and discipline, which gave union and strength to the rising Empire of Islam; and the whole of Arabia was more securely subjected than before, and firmly converted to the Religion of Mohammed and the authority of his successors.

Invasion of Syria by the Saracens. The effectual establishment of the new Monarchy and Faith, immediately kindled the ardour of proselytism and conquest, which was incited by the Creed and adapted to the temperament of a fierce and enthusiastic People; and the Khalif, though he reserved his per-

sonal care for the more suitable duties of domestic and religious government, was not slow to animate the martial and fanatical fervour of his subjects by urging the commands of their Prophet for the propagation of their Faith. His Circular Letter to the Arabian Tribes describes more forcibly than any narrative the spirit of his Nation and his Faith, and the causes of their common success: "I praise the most High God, and I pray for his Prophet Mohammed: This is to acquaint you that I purpose to send the True Believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of the Infidels. And I would have you to know that fighting for Religion is an act of obedience to God." The riches of Syria were familiar to the Arabs, and the neighbourhood of the spoil might tempt the cupidity of a warlike and rapacious people, even if they had been inaccessible to the call of fanaticism. The summons of the Khalif was answered by a formidable host from the Desert; and Yazid Ebu Abi Sofian received from Abu-Beker the chief command of the numerous army which assembled around Medina for the Syrian invasion. The Khalif accompanied the first day's march on foot: but when his Chieftains also, in imitation of this humility, would have dismounted, he prevented their purpose by his assurance that, in the cause of Religion, they who rode and they who walked were equally meritorious. At the close of evening, the host were solemnly dismissed with his blessing on their way to the holy war; and his parting exhortations to his Lieutenant, which exhibited a strange mixture of ferocity and mercy, of violence and justice, may be said to have embodied the future precepts of Musliman war. After bidding Yazid remember that he was ever in the presence of God, that the certainty of impending death and judgment, and the hopes of Paradise, were alike set before him, he added, "Be sure that you shun injustice and oppression towards your own people; lay not needless burdens upon them, comfort, cherish, and consult them: but see that you neither do evil yourself, nor suffer its commission in others. When you fight the battles of Heaven, turn not your backs on the foe, but acquit yourselves as men: in your victory slay neither infancy, nor age, nor woman. Neither destroy cattle needlessly, nor cut down the fruit trees, nor burn the fields of corn. When you make any covenant, depart not from your word. When you meet with Religious persons who dwell apart in Monasteries, harm them not, neither injure their habitations; but you shall find another set of people, who are of the Synagogue of Satan, who shave their crowns; fail not to cleave their skulls, nor at least show them mercy unless they become Muslims or render tribute."*

Such were the brief and pithy injunctions which succeeded to direct, and may serve to illustrate, the subjugation of half the World: such was the tremendous prelude to that irresistible career of martial fanaticism, which bore its votaries, without check, or stay, or retrogression, from the sands of Arabia to the waters of the Indus, the Caspian, the Bosphorus, and the Garonne. And the whole History of the Saracen conquests forms but a long practical commentary on the precepts of the first Khalif, and a long continuation of his first expedition. From the hour at which the Saracen deluge burst the bounds of the sterile Peninsula, until it finally receded from the fertile plains of France, its advance was perpetual and its fury unmitigated. The Eastern Empire,

* Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici*, (Latine apud Reiske,) ad init. Ockley, *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 1—11. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* ad v. *Ala*, *Abouker*. Gibbon, c. 50. Mills, c. 2, &c.

* Ockley, *History of Saracens*, vol. i. p. 21—28.

The Second Khalifate.

From A. D. 632. to A. D. 755.

History. the feeblest barrier that ever opposed the torrent of enthusiasm, was at the period before us in the lowest stage of imbecility and disorder. Heraklius, the reigning Emperor, whose youth had been crowned with the last glories of the Persian war, had sunk into an old age of degeneracy and impotence, which but too faithfully typified the weakness and vices of his Empire.

A feeble and slothful Government, and an enervated and pusillanimous People, were utterly incapable of effectual resistance to the valiant enthusiasm and martial devotion of the Saracen bands; and the total conquest of Syria, though defended by numerous armies and fortresses, was the successive work of only seven campaigns. The war at the outset proceeded not with the rapidity required by Abu-Beker, and Yezid was superseded by Abu-Obeidah: yet even then the result did not equal the expectations of the Khalif, and the impetuosity of Kaled was added to stimulate the energies of the General and of his troops. The first exploit of the Moslem army was the reduction of Bosra, on the confines of Syria and Arabia, whose position had rendered it an opulent mart for the caravans of the Desert, and whose importance and strength were denoted by its title, the *Tower of Safety*. In an encounter before its walls, four thousand of the Saracen vanguard, under the guidance of the aged Serjabil, who had dared to attack the Imperial army, were repulsed and overpowered by the immense superiority of their numbers: but the seasonable arrival of Kaled with a reinforcement of only fifteen hundred horse sufficed to restore the battle. The Saracens returned to the charge with shouts of *Allah Akbar!* (God is mighty!) *Al-hamleh! Al-hamleh! Al-jannah! Al-jannah!* (Fight, fight, Paradise, Paradise;) the panic-stricken Syrians wavered and fled; and the refuge of their fortress alone saved them from destruction. The work of treason completed the consequences of their pusillanimous flight. The Governor of Bosra had been justly punished for his cowardice by deposition from his command; and he was prompted by revenge to betray the place to the assailants. He secretly introduced a chosen band of Saracens into the city through a subterraneous passage; and their intrepid enterprise secured an easy admission to the whole army. The inhabitants were compelled to purchase their lives and the exercise of their Religion by a heavy tribute; and the traitorous Governor, publicly renouncing the Christian profession and embracing the Faith of the conquerors, gave the first ominous example of an apostacy, which, throughout the course of the Saracen conquests, continued to swell their ranks and extend the joint empire of the sword and the Koran.

A march of four days conducted the Saracen army from Bosra to the gates of the ancient Capital of Syria. The strength of Damascus resisted the assaults of a People who were unused to the tedious operations of a siege. For the relief of the city an army of seventy thousand men, the flower of the Syrian Province, was collected by the Imperial Generals. But this host was boldly encountered and totally defeated by forty-five thousand Muslims under Abu-Obeidah, Kaled, and Amrou, in a great battle on the plain of Azazadin. In the estimate of the conquerors, at the close of a furious and bloody conflict, they had slaughtered fifty thousand of their enemies; and the wretched remains of the Imperial host spread horror and consternation in their flight through the luxurious cities of Syria. The spoil of the conquerors was immense; and, what they

valued above the jewels and treasure of the Greeks, they acquired, by the capture of innumerable arms and warlike equipments, the ready means and incentives of fresh victories. Their success increased the emulation of their Countrymen in Arabia; and the Deserts of the Peninsula poured forth new hordes to share in the glories and spoils of a sacred and profitable warfare.

After the battle of Azazadin, the Saracen army resumed the siege or blockade of Damascus. Their close investment of the city and the consequent want of provisions soon compelled the Christians to attempt several sallies; and under the guidance of Thomas, a brave and noble Greek, they for some time made a defence not unworthy of the better days of the Empire. But all their assaults on the besiegers were repulsed; their spirit was subdued by time and hunger; and they had already begun to treat for a surrender with the humane and venerable Abu-Obeidah, when, from an opposite quarter of the city, the impetuous Kaled burst by surprise through the defences of the place. The merciless slaughter which that sanguinary Chief had commenced, was with difficulty arrested by the mild but firm resolution of Abu-Obeidah; the capitulation was completed; and such of the Christians, with Thomas their heroic leader, as preferred exile to tribute, were permitted an interval of three days to retire from the city. On the morning of the fourth, the truce expired; the wretched band of fugitives were pursued by Kaled and his cavalry; and already exhausted by grief, fatigue, and suffering, they were finally overtaken and put to the sword.*

The fall of Damascus may be declared with sufficient accuracy to have achieved the subjugation of Syria: for the Greek power in that extensive and wealthy Province never recovered the first shock of the Saracen invasion; and the decisive Battle of Yermouk and the sieges of Heliopolis, Emesa, Aleppo, and Antioch, which occupied the next five years, were but a terrific repetition of the catastrophes of Azazadin and Damascus. But the aged Abu-Beker, under whose reign the conquest of Syria had been successfully undertaken, did not live to triumph in its conclusion. He expired before intelligence of the capture of Damascus could reach his ears. Both by the last expression of his will, and with the tacit approbation of his people, he bequeathed the succession of the Prophet to the inflexible virtues of Omar. The modesty of his friend would have declined the choice, with the declaration that he had no occasion for the office. "But the office," was the unanswerable argument of Abu-Beker, "has occasion for you;" and the last prayer of the dying Khalif invoked the blessing of Heaven on his election.†

The elevation of Omar was unopposed even by the claims of Ali, who, in a life of domestic retirement and religious austerity, now professed to revere the superior virtues of his rival, and was repaid by the most assiduous indications of his deference and esteem. Omar, except that he removed Kaled from the Syrian command, made no change in the administration of Abu-Beker. The courage and martial enthusiasm of the new Khalif, as well as of his predecessor, had been exercised and displayed in their common exile and service under the standard of their Prophet: but Omar, like Abu-Beker, deemed the Civil

The Single Khalifate.

From A. D. 632. to A. D. 755.

Siege of Damascus.

Its capture. A. D. 634.

Death of Abu-Beker.

Reign of Omar. A. D. 634.

to A. D. 644.

* Ockley, vol. i. p. 28. ad p. 116. Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici*, ad p. 66.

† The reign of Abu-Beker is contained in Abulfeda, (*Annales*.) p. 60—66. See also D'Hierbelot, *Bib. Orient. Art. Aboubekere*.

History.

From

A. D.

632.

to

A. D.

755.

Prosecution of the Saracens conquests.

Siege of Jerusalem.

A. D.

637.

Journey of Omar to the camp.

and Religious functions of Government the most befitting occupation for his declining years; and, on his accession, he assumed the guidance of the Musliman conquests only from the distant seat of Medina. In the third year of his reign, the decisive victory of Yermouk opened the cities of Palestine, as well as of Syria, to the assaults of the Saracen Generals; and the Khalif directed their first efforts to the possession of Jerusalem, as a place which, having been sanctified by repeated revelations, was to be held in reverence inferior only to Mecca and Medina. The Holy City was immediately invested by the Saracen army; and after an obstinate defence, and a severe winter siege of four months, the constancy of the inhabitants yielded to the perseverance of the assailants. In the name of his Clergy and People, the Patriarch Sophronius offered to capitulate: but insisted that the articles of surrender should be ratified by the presence and personal subscription of the Khalif.

In the Mosque at Medina this strange proposition was solemnly debated; and Omar was persuaded, out of respect for the sacred dignity of Jerusalem, and the desire of gratifying his army, to accede to the condition. His journey, it has been well observed, was so characteristic of the spirit of the times, of a mixture of simplicity and fanaticism, of a contempt for pomp and parade, even while pursuing the great objects of earthly ambition,* that its circumstances well deserve to arrest the attention of the Philosophical observer. When the Khalif—to borrow the simple but expressive narrative from the earliest of our English Historians of the Saracens—had said his prayers in the Mosque, and paid his respects to Mohammed's Tomb, he substituted Ali in his place, and set forward with some attendants; the greatest part of whom, having kept him company a little way, returned to Medina. He rode upon a red camel with a couple of sacks, in one of which he carried that sort of provision, which the Arabs call *sawik*, which is either barley, rice, or wheat, sodden and unhusked; the other was full of fruits. Before him he carried a great leathern bottle, (very necessary in those desert countries to put water in,) behind him a large wooden dish. Thus furnished and equipped, the Khalif travelled; and when he came to any place where he was to rest all night, he never went from it until he had said the morning prayer. After which, turning himself about to those who were with him, he said, "Praise be to God, who has strengthened us with the true Religion, and given us his Prophet, and led us out of error, and united us (who were at variance) in the confession of Truth, and given us the victory over our enemies, and the possession of his Country. O ye servants of God! praise Him for these abundant favours; for God gives increase to those that ask it and are desirous of those things that are with Him, and fulfils his grace upon them that are thankful." Then filling his platter with the *sawik*, he very liberally entertained his fellow-travellers, who did, without any distinction, eat with him out of the same dish.† On this journey he exercised his temporal and spiritual authority by punishing an Arab for an incestuous marriage, chastising some of the stragglers of the Moslem army for their oppression of a Syrian tributary, and mortifying their luxury and pride by stripping from their backs the costly silks which they had won at Yermouk, and dragging them on their faces through the mire. When he drew within sight of

Jerusalem, he exclaimed aloud, "*Allah Akbar*, and God give us an easy victory;" and spreading his tent, which was of coarse hair, calmly reposed himself on the earth.

The terms of capitulation were readily adjusted and subscribed by the Khalif. The lives of the Christians and permission for the exercise of their Faith were purchased by a heavy and perpetual tribute; and it was stipulated that many humiliating distinctions of dress, appellation, and customs, should for ever preserve a line of ignominious separation between the conquered and their masters. In company with the Patriarch, Omar visited the sacred places of the city, and courteously discussed its religious antiquities. With that strict and honourable observance of the faith of Treaties, which certainly appears to have distinguished the primitive manners of the Moslems, he refused to perform his devotions in the Church of the Resurrection, lest his example, as he told the Patriarch, should be used as a pretext by his followers for depriving the Christians of the edifice: but he directed that the site of the Temple of Solomon should be cleared for the foundation of a Mosque, which soon became the most splendid seat of the Moslem worship in the East. Having regulated the administration of the city, he retraced his steps in a few days into Arabia to occupy again his simple residence at the Tomb of his Prophet; and Jerusalem sank under that grievous bondage to an infidel yoke, in which, with the exception of an interval of less than a century during the Crusades, she has remained to the present hour.*

During the continued successes of the Saracens, the Emperor Heraclius, who, in a slothful old age, could be roused, neither by the memory of his past fame, nor the sense of present dishonour, had hitherto remained in Antioch; only to discourage his subjects by withholding his person from the dangers and toils of war. But at length terrified by the rapid progress of the Saracen arms, he bade an eternal farewell to Syria, and embarking for Constantinople finally abandoned the richest Province of his Empire to the Musliman conquerors. His pusillanimous flight, which was followed by that of his son Constantine, became a signal for the universal submission of Syria and Palestine; the rovers of the Arabian Deserts were left in triumphant possession of one of the fairest regions of the East; and the settlement of their victorious bands in the conquered Provinces, prepared Damascus to become in the next generation, the chosen seat of the Musliman Empire.†

The conquest of Syria had been bequeathed to Omar by the enterprise of his predecessor: but two acquisitions of not inferior splendour were the undivided glory of his own Khalifate. These were Persia and Egypt. In the same year, indeed,—the first of his reign—in which Abu-Beker despatched the Moslems into Syria, he had attempted the invasion of Persia; and the simultaneous assault of the mighty Empires of both the Cæsars and of Chosroes was not too gigantic a project for the ambition of the Citizen of Mecca. When the principal army of the Moslems crossed the Syrian frontier, a second force under Kaled was directed to the banks of the Euphrates; and the first tribute which enriched the Treasury at Medina, as the fruit of foreign conquest, was extorted by his sword from some of the Christian

The Single Khalifate.

From

A. D.

632.

to

A. D.

755.

Fall of Jerusalem.

Triple conquest of the Khalifate of Omar.

I. The subjugation of Syria completed.

A. D.

639.

II. Conquest of Persia.

First invasion of Persia.

A. D.

632.

* Mills, p. 62.

† Ockley, vol. i. p. 250.

• Ockley, p. 258.

† For the close of the Syrian war see Abulfeda, p. 63. Ockley, vol. i. p. 314.

History.
From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.
The re-
pulsion
of the in-
vasion.

Battle of
Cadesia.
A. D.
636.

Sick of
Coush.
A. D.
637.

Defeat
Battle of
Nehavend.
A. D.
640.
Fall of the
Persian
Monarchy.

Persia, a
barren
Province.

III. Con-
quest of
Egypt.

Invasion by
the Sarac-
ens under
Amrou.
A. D.
639.

subjects of the Persian Monarchy. But the services of Kaled were soon diverted to the Syrian war; the invasion of Persia was confided to less able commanders; and the repulse of the Moslems in the passage of the Euphrates suspended the designs of Abu-Beker in that quarter. In the third year of Omar's reign, when the successes of their brethren in Syria had attracted the fanatical or rapacious ardour of new myriads from the Arabian Deserts, Omar devoted a formidable army to the renewal of the Persian invasion. The Monarchy of the Sassanides was at that epoch in an equal state of degeneracy and disorder with the Empire of Constantine; and the enthusiastic valour of thirty thousand Arab warriors was vainly opposed by a feeble multitude, rather than an army, of one hundred and twenty thousand Persians. Yet it was not without an obstinate and doubtful conflict of four days on the plains of Cadesia, two journeys from Cufa, that the Moslems finally triumphed. The General of the Persians was slain; and the Great Standard of their Monarchy was captured; and the remains of their routed host were pursued across the Tigris. The whole Province of Irak or Assyria submitted to the sceptre of the Khalif; and the sack of Ctesiphon loaded the Moslems with incredible wealth.

The spoils of Barbaric splendour the obscure extinction of an Oriental dynasty, and the uninteresting revolutions of Oriental servitude, are little worthy of arresting our attention. It may suffice to notice that the last of the descendants of Chosroes, in his flight to the hills of Media, gathered around him a new host of his subjects, and turned to face his pursuers, only to encounter a second and more disastrous defeat; that, after he had sought a miserable refuge for his remaining days among the Scythian shepherds, his People, though abandoned by their ruler, hazarded a third encounter for the independence of their Monarchy, and the preservation of their Religion; and that the crowning carnage of the battle of Nehavend, styled by the Arabs "the victory of victories," finally subjected them to the Empire of the Khalifs. The ancient Government and institutions of Persia were overthrown; the Religion of Zoroaster was proscribed; the alternative of death or conversion was offered to an Idolatrous People; and the Body of the nation, under the scimitars of their conquerors, embraced the profession of Islam. The Empire of Persia was reduced to the rank of a Saracen Province; and Omar, transferring the seat of its Government to the Western bank of the Euphrates, and founding a new Capital at Cufa,* there established his Lieutenant and a numerous colony of the victorious Arabs.

While the Saracen leaders were extending the Eastern limits of the Khalifate to the waters of the Caspian and the Oxus, their brethren were rapidly spreading the dominion of their arms in the opposite quarter of the West. After the conquest of Syria, Amrou, one of the most illustrious Commanders of that war, extracted a dastard permission from the Khalif to attempt the invasion of Egypt; and, at the head of only four thousand men, the intrepid Lieutenant anticipated the irresolution of his master, or the envious opposition of the Council at Medina, by a rapid advance to the frontier. In at first sanctioning the bold design of Amrou, Omar had consulted only the kindred impulse of his own magnanimous and enthusiastic spirit: but worked upon either by the more timid opinions or the interested in-

trigues of his counsellors, he began to weigh the magnitude of the enterprise against the scanty force of his Syrian army, and to repent the hasty approbation into which he had been surprised. A messenger was despatched after the army with a Letter of instructions, which betrayed the anxious indecision of the Khalif's mind. "If this Epistle reaches you," he wrote to Amrou, "while you are yet in Syria, return: but if you have already entered Egypt, advance with confidence, rely upon the succour of your brethren, and may the blessing of God be upon you." The messenger of the Khalif overtook the army ere it had cleared the Syrian confines: but Amrou, whether he suspected the malice of his enemies, or, as is more probable, was indebted to his friends for some secret intelligence of the contents of the Letter, pursued his march across the frontier, and would not admit the messenger until the audience could clearly be given on the Egyptian soil. The Letter was then opened; and the pursuit of the expedition became an act of obedience to its contents.

This singular, though often repeated anecdote, was the prelude to the easy conquest of Egypt, and the long Musliman dominion of twelve centuries. The approach of the Saracen invaders was welcomed by the Coptic heretics, or native Christian inhabitants of the Country, who had long groaned under the Civil tyranny and religious persecution of the Eastern Emperors. They received the fierce disciples of the *Koran* with thoughtless joy as the deliverers of their National Church; their ready submission and secret aid favoured the progress of the Musliman arms; and, by a voluntary Treaty, a Christian People purchased toleration for their Religion at the price of perpetual allegiance and tribute to the successors of Mohammed. The fortress of Pelusium, the key of Egypt from the East, and its Greek garrison were easily reduced; and Memphis, after a more obstinate siege of seven months, shared a similar fate. The Greek rulers and colonists of Egypt, who formed not a tenth part of the population, fled from the Provinces down the Nile; the zeal of the Egyptians cut off the escape of distant garrisons, supplied the wants of the Saracens with provisions, and assisted their pursuit with all the facilities of transport; and the remains of the Greek power in Egypt were soon confined to the walls of Alexandria.

Favoured by its maritime position and wealth, the strength of its fortifications, its abundant means of defence, and the spirit of its Greek population, that city—the second of the Eastern Empire in political importance, and the first commercial emporium of the World—might easily have resisted the arms of the Saracens, if the Emperor Heraclius had not been insensible alike to the sufferings and interests of his subjects and the safety and honour of his throne. Though the sea was possessed by the Greek navy, and the port of Alexandria was uninterruptedly open for the introduction of reinforcements and provisions, the inhabitants were abandoned by the Imperial neglect to the unassisted efforts of their own despair. Their defence was, notwithstanding, resolute and protracted; and in the Annals of Saracen conquest, the siege of Alexandria has been marked as the most important and arduous of its enterprises. The efforts of the Khalif were adequate to the necessity and the magnitude of the occasion; and they were enthusiastically answered by the zeal of his People. Roused by his appeal, and tempted by the splendour of the prize, both the veterans of the Syrian war, and new

The Single
Khalifate.
From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.
Irresolution
of Omar.

Perser-
vance
of
Amrou.

Hated of
the in-
habitants
against the
Greek Go-
vernment.

Their ready
submission
to, and al-
liance with,
the Sara-
cens.

Flight of
the Greeks.

Siege of
Alexandria.
A. D.
639.

Obstinate
defence of
the city.

* D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient. Art. Confah.*

History.

From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.
Triumph of
the Sara-
cens, and
completion
of the con-
quest of
Egypt.^{*}
A. D.
640.
The Khalif-
ate of
Omar, the
Heroic Age
of Saracen
History.

The first
generation
of Musul-
man con-
querors.

Contrast of
their de-
scendants.

hordes from the Tribes of the Desert, crowded to the Camp of Amrou; fresh numbers supplied the waste of fourteen months of perpetual combats under the walls of the besieged city; and after a loss of twenty-three thousand Moslems, the banner of the Prophet was at length planted on the ramparts of Alexandria. The Greeks embarked their dispirited and diminished numbers, and Amrou announced to his master 'that the sub- mission of Egypt was complete.'

Crowned with the glories of its triple conquest—of Syria, of Persia, and of Egypt—the Khalifate of Omar deserves to be distinguished as the Heroic Age of Saracen History. For nearly a century, indeed, after its termination, the Arabian arms were still impelled through their triumphant career, with no apparent diminution of energy; but the gigantic foundations of the Saracen power were perfected in this short period of less than ten years. The subsequent extension of the Arabian Empire only hastened the catastrophe of its dismemberment; and entailed the quick and chequered vicissitudes of revolution and conquest. But the Khalifate of Omar is the era of the secure and permanent establishment of the Saracen Empire and Faith; and throughout the extensive regions of Asia and Africa, which were com- pressed under his sceptre, the false Religion of Moham- med has been permitted to this hour, by the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, to maintain its peculiar and unbroken dominion.

In the conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, the fresh and vigorous enthusiasm of the personal compa- nions and proselytes of Mohammed was exercised and expended; and the generation of warriors, whose simple fanaticism had been inflamed by the preaching of the Pseudo-prophet, was in a great measure consumed in the sanguinary combats and perpetual toils of ten ardu- ous campaigns. In one season alone, at the close of the Syrian war, which is mournfully celebrated in their Annals as "the year of destruction," no less than twenty-five thousand Moslems were swept away by Pestilence. Among its victims were some of the most distinguished companions of the Prophet himself; and in particular Abu-Obeidah, Serjabil, and Yezid. Kaled, who, with the presumption of a true fanatic, believed that he had borne a charmed life through the dangers of a hundred battles, was spared from this visitation only to fall a prey, three years later, to the exhaustion of disease and the corroding passions of a wounded spirit. The injustice of Omar to the merits of this fiery cham- pion of the Saracen cause, is the only stain upon the character of that great Khalif. He was prompted by some unexplained cause of hatred, to encourage a base charge of peculation against the hero of the Syrian war; and Kaled was treated with gross indignity, and sen- tenced to a heavy fine. He endured his injuries with exemplary forbearance; and the honorable proof of his poverty exposed the malice of his enemies. But he died broken-hearted; and the tears which the repentant Khalif shed over his tomb, were too late an atonement for the persecution which had bowed the hero to his grave.†

In the Moslem ranks, a new generation of their sons,

* Abulfeda, (*Annals Moslem.*) p. 73. Ockley, vol. I. ed. p. 362.

† These touching circumstances relative to the wrongs which broke the stern heart of the fiercest champion of the Koran, re- mained undiscovered either by Ockley or Gibbon, and they have been interwoven into the thread of Saracen story by Mr. Mills, (p. 72,) from the researches of Pries.

Countrymen, and proselytes, quickly replaced the first conquerors of Asia and Africa: but the national and religious character of the primitive converts of Mo- hammed was as rapidly modified in their descendants by the fruits of their success. The original disciples of the Koran had been animated by the genuine spirit of fanaticism; and the simple self-denial and voluntary poverty which marked the lives of Abu-Beker and Omar, Abu-Obeidah and Kaled, are traits which they shared in common with the general body of their devout and abstemious brethren. Though the duty of extend- ing their Religion by the sword had a ready incentive in the spirit of predatory warfare which they brought from their Deserts, their ambition and rapacity were passions, artfully encouraged indeed by the doctrines of their Faith, but still subordinate to the all-absorbing enthu- siasm with which they were inspired. They fought for dominion and wealth: but they were equally ready to exchange sublimary objects for the crown of martyrdom and the rewards of Paradise. The hordes of the Desert might be tempted by the wealth of Syria and Persia; but their ranks were unquestionably thronged with fanatics also, who had learned to despise the fading delights of this World, and to devote their lives to the imaginary cause of Heaven. The new luxuries and riches of the Imperial Provinces, the voluptuous pleasures of opulent cities, the possession of fertile lands, and the enjoyments of a delicious climate, wrought their natural effects upon the rude and hungry wanderers of the Arabian sands: the cultivation of the arts of policy, which was rendered necessary by their conquests, ex- tinguished the simplicity of their fanaticism; and the thirst of wealth, which was inspired by the wants of in- creasing luxury, corrupted the sincerity and single- minded devotion of their religious and patriotic profes- sion. Among the Saracen conquerors of Damascus, Ctesiphon, and Alexandria, there abounded examples of the most fiery valour, coupled with the most heroic sacrifice of fortune and person and life, the most com- plete abandonment of self, to the fancied will of Heaven, and the common cause of fellow-countrymen and be- lievers: among the leaders of the Moslem armies but a generation later, in place of this stern rivalry of fanati- cal but generous virtue, there are visible only the darkest and most grovelling passions which are engendered in the perfidious intrigues and slothful despotism of Oriental Courts. Domestic treason, and intestine discord, the dagger of the assassin and the sword of Civil war, alternately decided the fortunes of the Moslem World. The religious and political unity of the disciples of Islam, was most strikingly preserved in the inviolable sanctity with which the office of the Prophet and his first two successors was regarded; but the charm was for ever broken from the hour in which the venerated Omar fell, in the tenth year of his reign, by the stroke of an assassin. The motive of the murderer could scarcely be either religious or political: his crime was the first act of treason which defiled the Khalifate; but it was the signal and the precedent for a thousand bloody tragedies, of regicide and tyranny, conspiracy and massacre. It is the event which offers a marked termination to the first epoch of the Saracen fortunes, the epoch of pure fanaticism, or the Heroic Age of Saracen virtue and achievement; it introduced the first germ of anarchy into the annals of the Khalif- ate; and it is the point from which we shall begin to move with accelerated rapidity through the disorderly

The Single
Khalifate.

From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.

Pure fan-
aticism of
the origi-
nal disci-
ples of the
Koran.

Its rapid
corruption.

Growth of
luxury.

and crime.

Assassin-
tion of
Omar.

A. D.
644.

History.

From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.
Reign of
Othman.
A. D.
644.
to
A. D.
655.

Intensity
of his char-
acter and
conduct.

Extension
of the Sa-
racen con-
quests in
Asia.

reigns and the troubled series of the Commanders of the Faithful.*

On his death-bed, Omar refused to charge his soul with the responsibility of selecting a successor. With equal impartiality he rejected the names of Ali and of his own son; and committed the election of a new Khalif to six of the most respected of his counsellors. Ali was of the number; and he might easily have secured the suffrages of the other five, if his proud spirit could have submitted to the restrictions which they desired to impose. These, indeed, it is probable, were more nominal than real; since it seems only to have been required that he should swear to govern according to the *Koran*, tradition, and the example of his two predecessors. Under these limitations, the ambitious and less scrupulous Othman, the Secretary of Mohammed, accepted the office of Commander of the Faithful; and his accession ushered in a reign, distinguished by the successful prosecution of foreign conquest, and the ominous growth of domestic anarchy.

The personal character of the new Khalif encouraged the increasing licentiousness of faction: his old age was feeble and imprudent; his temper was confiding and lavish; and his administration was at once rash and imbecile, irresolute and partial. His doating fondness for his family was disgracefully contrasted with the self-denial of his predecessors; and one of the first acts of his reign exhibited a mixture of injustice and favouritism, which had nearly entailed the loss of Egypt, and was sufficient to alienate the affection of the Musulmans. He recalled the victorious Amrou from the Government of a Country, in which his politic talents, his firm justice, and his generous clemency had won the love of the People, without forfeiting the attachment of his soldiery. After his departure, the Byzantine Court was roused to attempt the recovery of Egypt; a Grecian fleet and army made a descent at Alexandria, and occupied the harbour and fortifications; and the Egyptians, dreading to fall again under the yoke and vengeance of their former oppressors, implored the Khalif to restore Amrou to his command. Othman was compelled to sacrifice his wishes to the public necessity; and Amrou drove the Greeks a second time into the sea. Another descent of the Imperial forces summoned the heroic Saracen from the prosecution of his conquests in Western Africa; and the obstinate resistance, which he encountered in a third siege of Alexandria, provoked him to swear, that if God again permitted him to expel the Greek Infidels from a post, which it had been so easy for them to reoccupy and defend, he would make the city as accessible on all sides as the house of a courtesan. On the last successful assault, he redeemed his pledge by demolishing the wall; but he arrested the indiscriminate slaughter of Greeks and Egyptians; and the foundation of the *Monque of Mercy* marked to future Ages the spot on which the Saracen conqueror stayed the avenging fury of his troops.

While Amrou was consolidating the dominion of his weak and ungrateful master in Egypt, the Generals of Othman in the East were widely enlarging the bounds of the Khalifate. On the one side, repassing the Tigris at the bridge of Mosul, and turning Westward, the Moslem armies severed large tracts of Armenia and

Mesopotamia from the Greek Empire, and connected their conquests with the great Saracen Province of Syria. On the opposite frontier of Persia, at the extreme East, the successful invasion of Khorasan carried the Saracen arms into the region of independent Tartary; and a short and triumphant war extended the frontiers of their Empire to the banks of the Oxus.

The secure establishment of the Musulman dominion in Egypt, opened the road for the conquest of Western Africa. The ambitious and pious desire of carrying the sword and the *Koran* through its unexplored regions was approved by the counsellors of Othman and the Chiefs of the Arabian Tribes; and twenty thousand warriors marched from their native Deserts to reinforce the Musulman army in Egypt for the expedition. Its command was bestowed by the partiality of the Khalif upon his foster-brother Abdallah, who had supplanted the superior merit of Amrou; and the new Lieutenant led an army of forty thousand men to the siege of Tripoli. The Prefect Gregory, who governed the vast African Provinces as the representative of the Eastern Emperor, collected an army of a hundred and twenty thousand Greeks and Moorish or Barbarian auxiliaries to oppose the invaders; and a furious and sanguinary battle of several days' continuance terminated as usual in the triumph of the Saracen valour and fanaticism. The Prefect Gregory was slain by the hand of Zobeir*—the new Kaled of this war—whose impetuous courage and skilful conduct supplied the deficiencies of Alkallah, and mainly achieved the victory. Its fruits were lost for a time by the ravages of an epidemical disease, and the exhaustion produced by the climate in the Moslem ranks; and though the African Provincials submitted on all sides to the conquerors, their diminished army withdrew, after a campaign of fifteen months, to the Egyptian frontier, laden with wealth and captives. The booty was so immense that, in the division, each foot-soldier received one thousand, and each horseman two thousand pieces of gold; but no permanent establishment in the ravaged Province was for the present attempted; and, during nearly twenty years afterwards, the African conquests were suspended by the intestine disorders into which the Khalifate was now plunged.

In the appropriation of the African spoil, the Khalif, under the colour of a nominal sale, granted the fifth, which belonged to the State, to a rapacious favourite; and this act of absurd and fraudulent prodigality completed the measure of public discontent, which had been already provoked by his partiality for his own family. The presumption of the dotard in occupying the highest seat of his Prophet's pulpit, though his two predecessors had displayed their humility in never ascending above the first or second step, had shocked the prejudices of the fanatics of Medina; and the cry of religious indignation was raised to exasperate the passions of the multitude. On all sides, from Egypt and Persia and Syria, as well as from the Tribes of the Arabian Deserts, the disaffected Musulmans gathered in arms; and approaching Medina, the rebels sent an insolent message to their Sovereign either to execute justice or to descend from his throne. The feeble

The Single
Khalifate.

A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.
And in
Africa.

A. D.
647.

Disaffec-
tion to
Othman.

General
revolt of the
Moslems
against him.

* The authorities for the Khalifate of Omar are, Abulfeda, (*Annals Moslemens*), p. 67—73. Ockley, *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 117, ed. 6a. &c. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orientale*, Art. Omar. Gibbon, c. 51. Mills, c. 2

* The Romantic tale of the prowess and beauty of the daughter of Gregory, and the fate of the Amazon, whose hand was the promised prize of valour to both armies, has been implicitly copied, and may be read in all the more voluminous narratives of this African war—but it is too long, unless it had been more important, for our present purpose.

History.

From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.

Othman, appalled at the extent of the revolt, endeavoured by a prompt acknowledgment of his errors to appease the resentment of the insurgents and persuade their separation. But their subsiding irritation was rekindled by the malignant and ambitious instigation of Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, who desired to seat one of her friends on the throne of the Khalifate. By her machinations, and the perfidy of the Khalif's own Secretary, a forged order for the assassination of the Lieutenant, whom Othman had been compelled to name for the command in Egypt, was secretly thrown into the hands of the delegates from the insurgent army of that Province. This atrocious artifice succeeded in exciting the rebels again to the highest degree of fury; and they besieged the Khalif even in the sanctuary of his Palace. Othman, together with the respect and reverence of the Moslems, had lost the only defence of his person; his helplessness was unassured by the favourites who had preyed on his facile disposition; and he was abandoned by their desertion to the popular vengeance which they had provoked against him. For some time, though his food and water were intercepted, the religious scruples of the rebels recoiled from the last act of violence against the sacred person of a legitimate successor of the Prophet. But at length the arts of his mortal enemies prevailed; and after a generous but ineffectual effort on the part of Hassan and Hossein, the sons of Ali, to protect him, the gates of the Palace were burst open, the principal conspirators entered the chamber where the aged Khalif sat patiently expecting the signal of death, and with the *Koran* in his lap, Othman fell, pierced by innumerable wounds.

His murder,

A. D.
655.

Reign of Ali.

A. D.
655.
to
A. D.
660.

The murder of Othman was followed at Medina by an anarchy of five days, terminated by the elevation of Ali to the throne of the Prophet. The proud Chief of the House of Haschem is declared to have acceded with reluctance to the irregular voices of a tumultuary Assembly: but his positive refusal to comply with the wish of the conspirators from Egypt would have provoked a general massacre; and Ali, while he indignantly protested against the presumptuous interference of strangers, consented to receive the throne from the formal suffrages of the legitimate electors—the Chieftains of the Arabian Tribes. Their proffered allegiance appeared to confirm the proposal of the insurgents: but anticipating the calumnious misrepresentations of Ayesha, his personal and deadly enemy, and of the family of Ommia, the hereditary rivals of his House, the new Khalif declined to receive the homage of the Chiefs in private; and proceeding to the Mosque in the ordinary simplicity of his attire—in his coarse turban and cotton gown—bearing his slippers in one hand and his bow, which served for a staff, in the other, he there accepted the right hand of each Chieftain as the public token of his fealty.

Treachery
from his person.

But the same deficiency in the arts of worldly policy, which had probably so long retarded the elevation of Ali to the throne of Mohammed, involved his reign in disquiet and calamity. At the outset, with equal imprudence, he neglected either to conciliate the adherence or to secure the persons of Zobeir and Telha, two of the most powerful among the Saracen Commanders. He provoked their vindictive enmity by refusing them the government of Cufa and Bassora; and he suffered them to escape from Medina accompanied by Ayesha for the

purpose of raising the standard of rebellion. From various causes, most of the Lieutenants in the Provinces were disaffected from the person of the new Khalif; and his indirect violence in recalling them to Medina provoked their resistance. The hereditary influence and enmity of Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sofian, and the representative of the Family of Ommia, who commanded in Syria, rendered him the most dangerous of the malecontents; Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, was his zealous confederate; and under the pretence of requiring justice for the murder of the late Khalif, the Syrian army was seduced from its allegiance to his successor. The sons of Ali had endeavoured to save the life of Othman, while Ayesha and her party had instigated his assassination: yet that abandoned woman, who hated the new Khalif even more than she had done his feeble predecessor, declared herself, in concert with Moawiyah, the avenger of the blood which she had assisted in shedding, and pretended to identify the cause of Ali with that of the murderers. The bloody shirt of Othman was suspended over the pulpit of Damascus; and, inflamed by the spectacle, eighty thousand Moslems in Syria were persuaded by the example of Amrou to swear vengeance against Ali, and to proclaim Moawiyah as the legitimate Khalif in his stead.

The Siege
of the Khalifate
From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.

Rebellion
against him.

The first storm of Civil war, however, gathered on the confines of Persia, whither Ayesha had fled with Zobeir and Telha. These confederates soon assembled in arms; and though it shocked the reverential feelings of the more scrupulous among the Moslems that the widow of the Prophet should expose her person in the indecent publicity of a Camp, yet her presence was esteemed by the popular superstition as a proof of the sanctity of the cause, and an infallible earnest of its success. The ranks of her party were rapidly swollen into a formidable army; and by the surprise and defeat of his Lieutenant, the Khalif was admonished of the necessity of his personal appearance in the field. Age had not chilled the martial activity of Ali; and passing from Medina into Persia at the head of twenty thousand loyal Arabs, who were reinforced by ten thousand of the men of Cufa, he encountered and totally defeated the insurgents under the walls of Bassora. Both Telha and Zobeir were slain in the conflict; and the widow of Mohammed was led a captive into the presence of Ali. She had fearlessly assumed her station, to animate her followers, in the thickest of the fight; above three-score men who successively led her camel by the bridle were killed or disabled; and her very litter had been pierced by countless showers of arrows. Around her person, her followers continually rallied; and it was not until the animal on which she was mounted had been slain, that the victory—which is hence known in Arabian History as the *Day of the Camel*—was decided. She was received by the conqueror with the respect which was still due to the widow of the Prophet and the mother of the Faithful: but Ali firmly though gently constrained an immediate return to her becoming retirement at the Tomb of Mohammed; and she was escorted by his own sons to her former residence at Medina.

First Civil
war of the
Moslems.

Battle of
Bassora.

or "Day
of the Camel."

After this success, the Khalif advanced to encounter a more formidable antagonist in the person of Moawiyah; and on the great plain of Siffin, near the Euphrates, on the confines of Persia and Syria, the contending forces of Islam drew out to decide in Civil warfare the first among a thousand contests for the throne of their Prophet. The event was held in suspense during a

Contest
of Ali and
Moawiyah.

* Abulfeda, p. 75—82. D'Herbelot, Art. *Othman*. Ockley, Gibbon, Milla, *supra*.

History. desultory but sanguinary field of above a hundred days; but in every skirmish the cause of the legitimate Khalif promised to triumph; in every charge the tremendous prowess of his youth revived with the occasion, and scattered death and dismay through the ranks of the rebels. The generous humanity of Ali shone in the contest as conspicuously as his valour; his followers were strictly commanded to await the attack of their Moslem brethren, and to spare the lives of the fugitives; to respect the bodies of the slain and the honour of the female captives. To prevent the effusion of Musulman blood, he nobly proposed to his rival to decide their title by the issue of a single combat. "How long," was the indignant message of the hero, "how long shall the people waste their lives in our controversy? I challenge thee to appeal to the decision of God and the sword between us." But Moawiya declined this fearful trial of his merits against the proverbial valour of the Khalif; and the increasing slaughter of his followers prepared him for the alternative of flight. Of his army the immense number of forty-five thousand had already fallen, while Ali had sustained an inferior loss of twenty-five thousand; and after a last nocturnal encounter, the victory of the Khalif seemed no longer doubtful: when its fruits were suddenly lost to him by an artful stratagem of Amrou. That Chieftain caused his troops to hoist the *Koran* on the points of their lances; his cry that the sacred volume ought to decide all differences was caught up by the enthusiasm of both armies; and Ali, after vainly representing to his Arabs the insidiousness of the appeal, was compelled to yield to a hollow truce and a disgraceful compromise. He drew off his army in sorrow and indignation to Cufa; his partisans were discouraged; his authority declined from day to day; and an open revolt rapidly spread through every Province of the Khalifate. By the intrigues of his crafty rival, not only Syria, but Egypt and Arabia were already completely reduced from their allegiance, when the stroke of fanaticism anticipated the last triumph of rebellion. In the Temple of Mecca, three devotees agreed that the peace of Religion could only be secured by the common death of Moawiya, of his friend Amrou, again the Vicerey of Egypt, and of Ali. Each fanatic chose his victim and poisoned his dagger: but the only fatal blow reached the heart of Ali. The first assassin mistaking the person of Amrou stabbed a Secretary in his place; the second, at Damascus, inflicted only a dangerous wound on Moawiya; but, in the Mosque of Cufa, the third, with an unerring aim, plunged his dagger into the breast of the Khalif, who expired mercifully exhorting his children not to prolong the death of his murderer by needless torture.*

Minor of Ali.
A. D.
660.
Pile of his body.

The death of Ali left the rich prize of the Mohammedan Empire to the undisputed grasp of his rival. Moawiya was already recognised as Khalif in Arabia, Syria, and Egypt; and though the people of Cufa saluted Hassan, the eldest son of Ali, as Commander of the Faithful, the unambitious grandson of Mohammed, in the consciousness of weakness, soon withdrew to a life of retirement and devotion at Medina. But he could not escape the jealousy of the family of Omnia; and Yazid, the son of Moawiya, is accused, by professing a passion for the wife of Hassan, of having induced her to administer poison to her husband. The

fate of the other son of Ali was still more unhappy. On the death of Moawiya, Hossein was invited from Medina by the Cufians to assert his pretensions to the Khalifate: he imprudently listened to the overture, was betrayed by the perfidy of the same race whose inconstancy had deserted his father, and was surrounded and slain by his enemies, under circumstances of the most touching interest.* But the lives of his captive family were spared by the generosity or the piety of the second Omniaden Khalif; they were restored to liberty, and allotted a residence in the sacred seat of Medina; and from this source the descendants of Mohammed and Ali have overspread the Musulman World. Though excluded by the triumph of the House of Omnia from the throne of the Khalifate, they have in every Age of Mohammedanism enjoyed the veneration of the Faithful; and in every Musulman Country they have been distinguished by a hereditary or family appellation, and by the peculiar privilege of wearing the turban of green. The ease of the imposture has, of course, perpetually multiplied the number of claimants to the honour of this pedigree; and, with more or less probability, the Fatimite and Almohaden Khalifs in Egypt and Syria, in Western Africa and Spain, and the reigning dynasty in Persia, have been the most illustrious pretenders to a pure descent from Ali and the daughter of Mohammed.†

By a singular fortune, the political dispute between the Family of Ali and their enemies has been perpetuated into a religious and national schism; and the distinction between the orthodox Musulmans and the votaries of Ali is preserved in the inveterate hatred of the Turks and Persians. The former, who certainly follow the Religion of Mohammed in its original purity—if the term may with propriety be lent to an imposture—are entitled to the appellation, which they claim, of *Sunnites*, or orthodox traditionalists; and the latter, whom they stigmatize with the epithet of *Shiites*, or sectaries, have corrupted the Faith of Islam with the heresy, that as Mohammed was the *Apostle*, so Ali was the *Vicar* of God. The origin of the schism may obviously be ascribed to the political quarrel between the Houses of Haschem and Omnia; but its religious progress is more difficult to be traced: though, as the partisans of Ali were originally most numerous in Cufa and the Persian Provinces, it is probable that the sect of Shiites arose in the same regions from the local perpetuation of a reverence for his memory.‡

The death of Ali consummated the grandeur of the House of Omnia; and that event ensured its establishment on the throne of the Prophet for nearly one

* Ockley's well-known and pathetic relation of the death of Hossein, (vol. ii. p. 170—231,) which all succeeding writers have copied, is too long to be compressed into our rapid survey; and the beautiful and affecting simplicity of its details, which no narrative has ever surpassed, would be lost in an abridgement. Nor can we refuse to assent to Mr. Hallam's shrewd objection, that the very minuteness of Ockley's circumstantial tale, in which its pathos chiefly consists, is far from tending to render it *historically* the more deserving of confidence.

† So late as the middle of the last century, the celebrated Danish traveller Niebuhr, (*Voyages en Arabie*, &c.) found the custody of the *Casba*, and the government of Mecca and Medina still in the hands of the undoubted literal descendants of Hassan, the eldest son of Ali, a family then numbering about three hundred members.

‡ The conjecture here hazarded has not been proposed, that we are aware, by any former writer: but in the obscurity of an inquiry—in itself of little moment perhaps—the presumption is natural.

The Single Khalifate.
From
A. D.
682.
to
A. D.
755.

His posterity.

Origin of the great religious schism of Mohammedanism.

Dynasty of the Omniades.

A. D.
660.
to
A. D.
750.

* Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemes*, p. 63—102. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orientale*, Art. Ali. Ockley, Gibbon, Mallet, *et supra*.

History.

From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.

hundred years. The conflict between Ali and Moawiya is to be regarded only as the continuance of a feud, which had commenced before, or at least during, the life of Mohammed himself. The rival Families of Haschem and Omnia were the most illustrious of the Korish; and the alternate preponderance of their influence in their own Tribe had gradually been extended to the sovereignty of Mecca, of Arabia, and of the whole Moslem world. The elevation of Abu Sofian, the Chieftain of the Omniaden Family, had been the signal for the proscription of Mohammed: the religious and political victory of the Impostor had restored the government of Mecca to the race of Haschem. The submission of Abu Sofian had been followed by the conversion, whether real or feigned, of his whole House; and his son, Moawiya, the representative of the Line, had been intrusted by successive Khalifs with the most important commands, and had served with distinction in the wars of Islam. According to every rule of hereditary right, the injured descendants of Mohammed and Ali had the first title to the throne; and, if the law of primogeniture were extended through the Tribe of Korish, even the children of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, had the prior claim of the House of Haschem.

Reign of
Moawiya,
the first
Omniaden
Khalif.

A. D.
660.
to
A. D.
680.

But the command of the Syrian Province, the factious excitement of the times, and the support of Amrou, had favoured the ambition of Moawiya; and after the fall of Ali, he was recognised throughout the Moslem World as Commander of the Faithful. The politic qualities of the new Khalif enabled him not only to consolidate his own power, but to achieve the more difficult enterprise of perpetuating it in his family, and of converting an elective into a hereditary sovereignty. His own tumultuary elevation to the Khalifate by the voices of his Syrian soldiery at Damascus, had broken the charm which restricted the scene and the right of election to the holy precincts of Medina, and the free suffrages of the Arabian Chieftains and elders. Moawiya, by fixing his residence at Damascus, and thus transferring the seat of the Khalifate from the Arabian to the Syrian Capital, prepared the way for a still more important innovation; and, notwithstanding some feeble opposition from the patriots or fanatics of Arabia, he succeeded in peaceably transmitting the sceptre of Islam to his son Yezid, and in establishing his own dynasty, by their questionable title of lineal descent, on the undisputed throne of the Khalifate.*

Prosecution
of the
Saracen
conquests.

In Western
Africa.

A. D.
665.
to
A. D.
675.

The able and vigorous administration of Moawiya quelled or diverted the violence of Saracen faction; and during his reign the course of the Musulman conquests was again progressive. The Provincials of Western Africa, oppressed by the tyranny and extortion of the Byzantine Government, themselves besought a new invasion of the Saracens, and tempted the ready ambition of the Khalif. The first Lieutenant and army whom Moawiya despatched for their deliverance, obtained some important successes over the Greek troops; but the glory of carrying the Saracen arms across the whole breadth of Africa, even to the shores of the Atlantic, was reserved for Akbah, the second Commander to whom Moawiya intrusted the prosecution of the war. Penetrating through the wilderness in which his Countrymen

afterwards erected the magnificent cities of Fez and Morocco, his career was arrested only by the waters of the Western Ocean; and spurring his horse into the waves, he exclaimed, as he raised his eyes to Heaven in a transport of fanaticism, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown regions of the West, preaching the unity of Thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other Gods than Thee!"

Notwithstanding this aspiration, the triumphal ardour of Akbah was checked in the sequel by the mere ordinary obstacles of human resistance; and he was finally overpowered and slain in a universal defection of the African Greeks and Barbarians. It required the painful exertions of successive Generals and armies to consolidate the Saracen dominion over the restless Province of Africa; and the struggle was continued with various success during a desultory warfare of twenty years after the death of Akbah, before the sea-coast and some interior parts of the Country, from the Nile to the shores of the Atlantic, were finally reduced under the Empire of the Khalifs. The curiosity of the reader would be little excited, and his attention would be worthlessly occupied, by the obscure details of a contest, of which the uninteresting scene lay chiefly among the barbarous regions, and the still more barbarous People of the African Deserts; and anticipating the exact order of time, we may pass at once to the event which is alone worthy of record. The civilized but inconstant population of the maritime Provinces, inclined alternately to the cause of their Greek masters or their Saracen invaders: but the fall of Carthage, the Capital of the Byzantine Province, to the arms of Hassan, the General of Abdalmalek, the fourth Omniaden Khalif, was followed by the submission or reduction of all the Greek settlements on the coast; and before the close of the VIIIth century, the forces of the Byzantine Empire were finally expelled from their last possession in Africa.*

The task of subjugating the inhabitants of the Deserts of Africa was somewhat longer retarded, but was as effectually completed by their conversion to the Faith of the *Koran*. This race were the wild Moors, or native People of Mauritania, who had been branded by the Imperial Provincials with the reproach of Barbarism, and whose corrupted appellation of *Barbars* or *Berebers*, was naturally transferred to their Country, and has become justly indigenous to the whole Northern coast of Africa or *Barbary*. Between the Bedouens of Arabia, and the wandering Moors or Berebers of Africa, there was a striking resemblance in the accidents of climate and condition, and the consequent peculiarities of customs and character. The African rovers as readily adopted the language and name, as the Religion of their conquerors; by the dispersion of fifty thousand Saracen fanatics of genuine descent through the Moorish Deserts, the blood of both races was rapidly commingled; and, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia, and Africa. When, after the change of but a single generation, the Saracen invaders crossed over the Straits of Gibraltar into Europe, the distinction of their origin

The Single
Khalifate.

From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.

Vicinity
of the
war.

Last
trial
of the
Greeks.

A. D.
692.
to
A. D.
698.

Final
con-
quest of
Western
Africa by
the Saracens.

A. D.
709.

Amalgam
of the
Arabian
and Moorish
races.

* For the reign of Moawiya, see Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemicæ*, p. 101—111. D'Hervé, *Bibl. Orientale*, Art. *Moawiya*, and the continuation of the modern writers before cited.

* For the details of the Saracen conquest of Africa, besides the text of Abulfeda and Ockley, (vol. ii.) see Cardonne, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes*, vol. ii, p. 30—55.

History. was already in some manner confounded under their common appellations; and the Musulman conquerors of Spain have been in all subsequent Ages indifferently termed either Arabians or Moors.*

The African war had only partially engaged the attention of Moawiyah; and the most splendid and gigantic effort of his reign—though, contrary to the usual fortune of the Saracen arms, it failed of success—was directed against the Capital itself of the Eastern Empire. Only thirty-six years after the death of Mohammed, his Countrymen and disciples, already masters of Arabia, Syria, Persia, Egypt, and parts of the further Africa, landed for the first time on the shores of Europe to undertake the siege of Constantinople. The preparations of Moawiyah by sea and land were commensurate with the grandeur of an enterprise, to which the warlike rotaries of the *Koran* were influenced by the strongest excitement of avarice and fanaticism: by the report that the wealth of the Universe was collected in the Capital of the East, and by the tradition that the promises of Paradise were peculiarly reserved by their Prophet for the first Moslem army which should besiege the metropolis of the Christian Infidels. The guidance of the holy expedition was committed to Sofian, a veteran Commander in the wars of Islam; and the presence of Yezid, the son of Moawiyah, and the acknowledged heir of the Khalifate, was a pledge of the importance and hopes of its success. The immense naval armament of the Saracens, which had been collected in the ports of Syria and Egypt, entered the Hellespont without opposition from the forces of the Emperor, Constantine V., the feeble grandson of Heraclius; and the fleet casting anchor in the strait, the troops were disembarked under the walls of the Capital.

But in the ardour of their enthusiasm, the Saracen leaders had miscalculated their own strength and the difficulties of the expedition. In the extremity of danger which threatened their property, their Empire, and their Faith, the People of Constantinople were roused to desperation. Some sparks of the Roman spirit were rekindled in the degenerate race who still arrogated the Roman name; and their defence of the Capital was not unworthy of the best days of the Empire. Guarded by numbers, courage, and discipline, the strength of its massive and lofty ramparts mocked every assault of the Saracens; the approach of their naval armament was destructively repelled by the tremendous effects of that unknown chemical compound, so celebrated under the name of the Greek fire;† and the astonished and ignorant Moslems were dismayed and panic-stricken by the success of an invention, which appears to have been tried for the first time upon this memorable occasion. After vainly expending their fury against the walls of the Capital, the Saracen leaders

were compelled to divert their arms to the ravage of the adjacent coasts. On the approach of winter, they withdrew to the chosen station of Cyzicus: but, during the following six years, they each Summer persisted in renewing their operations with diminished hopes but enduring obstinacy. Nor did they, after encountering every vicissitude of bloodshed, conflagration, shipwreck, and pestilence, abandon their enterprise, until thirty thousand of their number had perished in the contest. They fell with the fanatical confidence that, in so meritorious and sacred a warfare, they were exchanging their lives for the joys of Paradise: but the surviving remnant of their host withdrew in discouragement and weakness from the long and desultory siege.*

Its failure cast a transient cloud over the glories of the Khalifate; the pale star of the Cæsars rose dimly for an instant in the ascendant; and for once in the meridian grandeur of the Saracen power, we are presented with the strange spectacle of its submission to the dismembered Empire of the East. After the repulse of the Saracens from Constantinople, the ambassadors of the Greek Emperor appeared at the Court of Damascus as the representatives of a victorious Potentate: and Moawiyah accepted a Peace which was burdened with the ignominious condition, that he should render an annual tribute of money, horses, and slaves to the throne of the Cæsars. The solution of this disgraceful submission must be sought in the domestic state of the Khalifate during the same period. The hostilities which the Maronite subjects or confederates of the Empire had carried to the gates of Damascus, disturbed the last years of Moawiyah. While his name was dreaded in the distant and opposite regions of Asia and Africa, the incursions of these bands threatened his security in the very precincts of his Palace; and in the natural desire of ending his days in repose, the Khalif was contented to sacrifice the ambition and glory of his reign. The internal distractions of the Khalifate completed the temporary depression of its foreign power; and during a domestic revolt of some of the Provinces from the House of Omnia, the Byzantine Emperors were allowed to increase their exaction of tribute.†

Under Abdalmalek, the fourth Khalif of the Omniaden dynasty, peace and union were restored in the Provinces of Islam; and his arms and policy had no sooner triumphed over internal rebellion, than he indignantly renounced the condition of foreign tribute. Pursuing his designs, his son Walid—whose reign of personal inactivity was rendered illustrious through the total subjugation of Africa and Spain by his Lieutenants—mediated the completion of its glories by the conquest of the Greek Empire. The enterprise was suspended by his death: but it was renewed by his brother Soliman, the sixth Khalif of his House: who, with a more martial spirit, announced his intention of personally leading his subjects to the siege of Constantinople; and summoned the Moslem World to the standard of their Prophet for this sacred expedition. The solemn call was enthusiastically obeyed; and the advanced guard of the Musulman host, which alone is said to have amounted to above one hundred thousand men of Persia and Arabia, mounted for the greater part on camels and horses,

The Single Khalifate.
From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.

The Khalifate tributary to the Greek Empire.
A. D.
677.
to
A. D.
684.

Until the accession of Abdalmalek
A. D.
684.

Second siege of Constantinople.
A. D.
716.
to
A. D.
718.

* Abulfeda, *Annals Moslem.* p. 107, 108. Nicephori Constantinopolitani, *Revisio Historiarum*, p. 21, 22. Theophrasti *Chronographia*, p. 294. Ockley, *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. ii. p. 127, &c.
† Theophrasti *Chronographia*, p. 295—300. Ockley, vol. ii. p. 254—368.

History.

From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.

traversed Asia Minor under Moslemah, the brother of the Khalif, and having, after the reduction of the intervening cities, effected the passage of the Hellespont at Abydos, appeared before the walls of Constantinople. Their operations were supported by the approach of the navy of Egypt and Syria, an immense armada of eighteen hundred vessels of various size; and the Khalif himself, from his camp in Syria, hastened to conduct the remaining forces of his Eastern dominions to the same theatre of action.

Its failure.

These gigantic preparations were frustrated by the death of Soliman himself, and by a repetition of the same disasters which had overwhelmed the armament of Moawiyah. When the Saracen navy crowded the entrance of the Bosphorus, the fire-ships of the Greeks were suddenly launched upon them from the harbour of Constantinople; the inextinguishable fury of the maritime fire spread through the vast moving forest; and the Saracen crews were destroyed in the same tremendous conflagration which consumed their vessels. The fate of the land-forces was scarcely less dreadful. The siege was obstinately protracted through the winter; and by the sword, by the extraordinary rigour of the season, by famine, and by disease, thousands perished before the walls of the city. The Khalif Omar II., the successor of Soliman, abstracted in fanatical devotion, either neglected their distresses, or passively left the continuance of the siege to the decision of Heaven. On the return of Spring, he was roused to some efforts for the succour and reinforcement of his troops; but the renewal of the enterprise was attended only by an aggravation of the calamities which had befallen it in the preceding year. A new naval armament was again thrown into flames by the dreaded Greek fire; the army was harassed and its detachments were cut to pieces by the Bulgarian hordes, which the gold and promises of the Emperor Leo attracted from the Danube upon the rear of the Saracen Camp; and after the enterprise had been prolonged during thirteen months of continual suffering and loss, the remains of the Moslem host were hopelessly withdrawn into the Provinces of Asia.*

Final retreat of the Saracens.

Greatest extension of the Saracen Empire under the Omniads.

Conquest of Spain.

A. D.
710.
to
A. D.
713.

And of Tartary.

A. D.
710.

The second siege of Constantinople was undertaken and abandoned at the epoch when the Empire of the Saracens, under the sceptre of the Omniads, had acquired its greatest extension in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe. The details of the splendid conquest of Spain by the Moslems under Mousa, the Lieutenant of the Khalif Walid, have already been embodied, under a preceding division of our subject, in the annals of that Kingdom;† and it may here be sufficient to note that, on the opposite frontiers of their vast expanse of dominion, the arms of the Saracens were in the same year carried beyond the Straits of Gibraltar and the banks of the Oxus. The standard of the *Koran* was planted on the walls of Toledo and Samarcond; the subjugation of Spain and Tartary reflected the glory of a simultaneous triumph on the reign of Walid; and the horsemen of Yemen were encamped in the same hour on the confines of France and of China. The Countries of Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Tartary, the Isle of Cyprus, the whole of Egypt and the Northern coasts of Africa, the Peninsula of Spain, and part of Southern France, were all embraced under the

sceptre of the Khalifs and the Law of the *Koran*; and, from the Indus to the Garonne, the precepts of Mohammed and the mandates of his successors were received and obeyed over an extent of above four thousand miles.*

In the ardour of fanaticism and victory, Mousa, the conqueror of Spain, had projected the extension of his enterprise into the total subjugation of Europe. He proclaimed his design of reducing the whole of France, from the foot of the Pyrenees to the Rhine, under the dominion of his master, and of afterwards penetrating through Germany, Hungary, and the East of Europe, to Constantinople.† By the recall and disgrace of its author, who fell a victim to the intrigues of the ungrateful Court of Damascus, this gigantic scheme of conquest was suspended for twenty years; and its revival was followed, and for ever terminated, by the total defeat of the Saracens at Tours. That event, succeeding the scarcely less disastrous result of the siege of Constantinople, at length effectually stemmed the impetuous torrent of Saracen invasion, which, for just one hundred years, had continued to sweep with irresistible violence over the fairest portion of the ancient World: and to this double repulse of the Saracens at the Western and Eastern extremities of Europe, the nations of Christendom were indebted for their preservation from the fate of Asia and Africa. In the progress of luxury which, after corrupting the energy and virtue of the hereditary Commanders of the Faithful, had extended the example of the dissolute Court of Damascus to the Lieutenants and Provinces of the Khalifate, it may be suspected that the force of Arabian fanaticism was already spent: but the immediate cause which arrested the conquests, and at the distance of another century prepared the decline and fall of the Saracen power, is to be sought in the change of the reigning dynasty, and the triple division of the Moslem Empire.

The fortunes of that Empire under the first four successors of Mohammed, were variously influenced by the personal qualities of each Khalif; and a detailed narrative of their reigns has been necessary to illustrate the series of events which established the grandeur, and affected the internal condition, of the Arabian Monarchy. But on the expiration of these four reigns—a period which is dignified by the Musliman Chroniclers with the title of the *Perfect Khalifate*—there is little to excite our interest or deserve our attention in the individual lives and characters of their successors; and after the elevation of Moawiyah, his removal of the seat of Empire to Damascus, and the submission of Islam to a hereditary line of Princes, the domestic Annals of the Khalifate reflect only the ordinary aspect of Oriental despotism. Amidst the idle pomp or the slothful luxury of the Palace of Damascus, the Omniaden Lords of Islam seldom aspired to emulate either the austere virtues or the martial heroism of Omar or Ali; of the eleven Princes of his race who successively occupied the throne of Moawiyah, the greater number were destitute alike of the qualities of warriors, statesmen, or religious enthusiasts; and the progress of the Saracen conquests under their dynasty is ascribable rather to the warlike and fanatical spirit of their People, than to any example of energy or talents in themselves. Meanwhile, except in

* Abulfeda, p. 126. Nicephori *Breviar.* p. 32–36. Theophaus *Chron.* p. 324–333. Ockley, Gibbon, &c.

† Vol. xi. p. 293, 294.

* IP Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. *Etienne*.

† See the Arabic authorities for this project collected in Caradonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes*, vol. i. p. 99, &c.

The Singl
Khalifat
From
A. D.
632.
to
A. D.
755.
Saracens
progress to
the total
subjugation
of Europe.
terminated
by their
great defeat
at Tours.
A. D.
732.

Gradual
decline of
the Saracen
energy.

Imperfect
fall of the
dynasty &
the Omniads.

Its excess
corrupts
of their
Court &
Damascus

History.
From
A. D.
632,
to
A. D.
755.
And their
unpopularity
in Islam.

Rise of the
Abbasides,
a descen-
dancy of
Ali, the
nephew of
Muham-
med.

Revolt of
Islam from
the Om-
mades.
A. D.
716.

Universal
Quality in
the Moslem
Empire.
A. D.
746.
to
A. D.
750.

Syria, the House of Ommia had never succeeded in winning the popular love or veneration. By no considerable portion of the Moslem World, including all the most rigid followers of the *Koran*, the race of Mosaiyah had ever been abhorred as the murderers of the descendants of the Prophet, and the usurpers of the sacred inheritance. The early History of the Family of Ommia was stained with the original guilt of obstinate Idolatry, and of rancorous persecution against Mohammed and his disciples; the conversion of Abu Sofian and his House had been the effect of fear or political interest; and their subsequent elevation to the throne had been purchased at the expense of the holiest and noblest blood of Islam.*

The injured but spirit-broken progeny of Ali and Fatima wanted resolution or ability to assert their cause: but the descendants of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, had still preserved the memory of their prior title to the throne which was occupied by the usurping race of the Ommiaden Khalifs; and through successive generations they had proudly, though secretly, cherished the loftiest hopes with equal ambition and prudence. At length, after a possession of ninety years might have appeared to confer the strong sanction of time on the pristine usurpation of the Ommiades, the race of Abbas had the fortune to discover, and the courage to use, some favourable occasion of raising their standard. The Moslem Annals have imperfectly revealed the secret springs of the revolt: for we do not gather from them any immediate cause, or new and foreboding signs, of popular disaffection against the existing dynasty; and Marwan, the twelfth and last Khalif of his line, is acknowledged to have surpassed many of his predecessors in activity and martial virtue. The author of the revolution which precipitated his race from the throne was Abu Moslem, a man of mean extraction and obscure beginning, who had acquired sufficient power to seize the government of Khorassan. At his instigation, the People of that Province offered their allegiance to Mohammed, the great grandson of Abbas, and after his death, to his son Ilderim. As green had been the symbol of the Fatimite party, and white of the Ommiaden adherents, the partisans of the House of Abbas naturally distinguished their cause by the use of the colour most opposite to that of their enemies, both in their garments and standards; and the black banner of the Abbasides, under its literal title of *Zel or Shade*, was metaphorically construed to offer protection and succour to the oppressed and rightful cause of the sacred Family of Haschem.

The whole Moslem World was shortly convulsed by the struggle between the White and Black factions: but there is little temptation to dwell on the shifting vicissitudes of a contest, in which the cause of neither party may claim the preference of our sympathy, while the events were marked only by the usual horrors of Asiatic war. At first the Abbassidan insurgents were defeated in every quarter; and Ilderim, the original competitor of Marwan, was surprised on his pilgrimage to Mecca by the cavalry of the Ommiaden, and perished in a dungeon: but his brother Saffah was proclaimed Khalif at Cufa, and the partisans of his House having rallied under his standard, prepared, with more religious or

martial confidence than numerical strength, to commit the final decision of their cause to the issue of a battle. Every advantage seemed to rest with their enemies: the force of long-established authority, the military talents of Marwan, his recent successes in the field, and the immense superiority of his army, which, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, outnumbered the Abbassids by six to one. But the fortune of Empire might often seem to our finite comprehension to be the sport of accident, if we could mistake the mysterious agency of a superior intelligence for the blind operation of Chance. When the Moslem armies were about to engage, the horse of Marwan, who had dismounted for a moment, was suddenly startled and rushed without his rider into the Ommiaden ranks. The panic-stricken troops, believing that their Sovereign had been slain, broke and fled in every direction; the Abbassidan cavalry charged at this moment of dismay; and the host of Marwan was irretrievably routed. The unfortunate Khalif himself sought refuge in Damascus: but the citizens of that luxurious Capital were the first to abandon a fugitive Prince; Marwan found the fatal colours of his rival displayed from the walls of every Syrian fortress; and continuing his flight towards Egypt, he had only reached the banks of the Nile, when he was overtaken by his pursuers, and the lance of an Arab terminated his existence.*

The title of Saffah was immediately recognised throughout the Moslem Provinces: but he saw a dangerous rival in every member of the deposed dynasty; and his hatred or fear of the numerous House of Ommia suggested the atrocious project of exterminating their race. The poniards of his emissaries were dyed in the blood of thousands of the proscribed Family; and on one occasion, during a banquet at Damascus, the laws of hospitality were violated with fiendlike treachery by the massacre of eighty of the Ommiades, who had accepted the proffered protection of their enemy. These dreadful precautions might secure the establishment of the House of Abbas on the Asiatic throne of the Khalifate: but they ultimately failed of their effects in the distant Provinces of the Empire:—in Africa and in Spain. In the former, after some interval of submission to the Abbasides, nominal or real descendants of Ali and Fatima sprang up in quick succession, and finally established independent dynasties and thrones, whose fleeting History may form the brief subject of future notice. But in Spain, the elevation of the Abbasides to the Khalifate was almost immediately the signal of revolt. Into that Country, Abdalrahman, a Prince of Ommiaden race, escaping the general massacre of his House, after being hunted from the banks of the Euphrates to the Deserts of Mauritania, was invited by the Emirs of the White faction, and welcomed by the acclamations of the people, who were excited by the pride of national independence to abjure their allegiance to the distant throne of Syria. Abdalrahman became the first Ommiaden Khalif of Spain, or the West; and from his success is usually and appropriately dated, although it preceded the final separation of Africa by near half a century, the commencement of the Triple Division of the Khalifate.†

The Single
Khalifate.

From
A. D.
632,
to
A. D.
755.

Destruction
of the Om-
mades.
A. D.
750.

Dynasty of
the Abbas-
sides.

Their secu-
establis-
ment in
Asia.

Revolt of
Spain and
Africa.

Commence-
ment of the
triple divi-
sion of the
Khalifate.

A. D.
755.

* Abulfeda, p. 135—146. D'Herbelot, Art. *Saffah*, *Ommiades*, *Abbasides*, &c.

† For the revolt of Spain, see Roderic, *Tot. Hist. Arahum*, c. 18. and Casiri, *Bib. Arabico Hisp.* vol. ii. p. 21—260 before cited. Also Cardonne, vol. i. p. 204 ad 322 *passim*, &c.

* For the reigns of the Ommiaden dynasty, see Abulfeda, *Annals Moslemicæ*, *passim*, p. 101—141, and D'Herbelot, Art. *Ommades*.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LX.

BRITAIN, FROM THE DESCENT OF THE SAXONS TO THE END OF THE VIIIth CENTURY.

FROM A. D. 449 TO A. D. 800.

History.

From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.
Origin of
the Saxons.

In opening the first section of the Historical division of this Work, which is to treat exclusively of our own Country, we may appropriately revert* to some inquiries into the political origin of those Tribes of the great Gothic Race, from whom we derive our Language, our Laws, and the mass of our national Population. Before the II^d Century of the Christian Era, scarcely any distinct traces are discoverable of the People, whose descendants occupy the Circle of Westphalia, the Kingdom of Saxony, the British Islands, the United States of North America, and the British Colonies in the Two Indies.† The very name of the Saxons escaped the notice of Tacitus, and is only first discovered in the later Geography of Ptolemy the Alexandrian, by their occupation of three small islands, and a narrow neck of the continent, at the mouth and on the Northern shore of the Elbe. But, in less than two hundred years, this obscure Tribe of Barbarians had extended their supremacy, or their name, from the Baltic to the Rhine;‡ and the problem of so gigantic an expansion can only be solved by the conjecture, that the various Nations of kindred Gothic race, who previously overspread those regions, had gradually blended into one general though loose confederacy, under the common appellation of Saxons.§

Their primitive seats on the Elbe.

Extension, and Union with other Tribes.

Their Addition to the Frisians.

Their increasing Power;

The progress and results of this union in the interior of Germany belong to the Annals of Continental Europe; and the story of the long independence and final subjugation of the associated Saxons has already been introduced among the last vicissitudes of the Roman Empire, and concluded in the sanguinary victories of Charlemagne. The rise of the naval power of the Saxons is the only part of their History which elucidates our present subject. The portion of the original Tribe at the mouth of the Elbe, had early fostered that spirit of maritime adventure which, in a rude and fierce state of Society, is sure to be displayed in piratical enterprises; and the first successes of the Saxons in pillaging the commerce of the narrow seas between the Roman

Provinces of Gaul and Britain, were sufficient to inflame the cupidity and excite the imitation of neighbouring Tribes. New swarms of Barbarians from the coasts and the interior eagerly embraced their predatory occupations, swelled their numbers, and assumed their name; and before the reign of Diocletian their piracies had become so formidable that a new Imperial officer, under the title of Count of the Saxon Shore, was established with a powerful squadron in the British Channel expressly to check their depredations.* The revolt of this Naval Commander, Carausius, has been described in the Annals of the Empire; and the treacherous encouragement which he gave to the Northern pirates may be numbered among the causes of their increasing audacity and strength.† In the subsequent decline of the Roman power, their expeditions became more frequent, their spoiliations on the seas more incessant, and their descents and ravages on the coasts of the Provinces more terribly destructive.‡

Britain.

From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.

and frightful ravages on the coasts of the Roman Empire.

Character of the Saxon.

The character of the maritime Saxons differed only from that of the other Gothic Tribes in the habits which were engendered by their nautical pursuits. Each free-born warrior, equally by land or by sea, attached himself to the fortunes of some favourite Chieftain; and in council and in action, the reputation of superior wisdom and valour formed the sole title to a voluntary obedience. The vessels in which these hardy Barbarians committed themselves to the storms of the German Ocean, were originally of most insignificant size and frail materials; but in the progress of their naval warfare, they had been taught to exchange their rude boats of a few planks and osier-work covered with hides, for war-ships of adequate bulk to contain one, or even two hundred warriors, and of a construction sufficiently solid and durable to brave the most tempestuous voyages. They usually, in fact, chose the stormy season for their expeditions, as the fittest for surprising their enemies; their valour was equally dauntless and sanguinary; and, after every successful expedition, the horrors of their merciless victory were increased by the sacrifice of a portion of their human captives on the altars of their Gods.§ Such, in its Pagan and uncivilized condition, was the race of which a portion was

Intrepidity

and cruelty of their spirit.

* *Fide* p. 270 of this volume.
† Sharon Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 123. (8vo. Ed.) In this elaborate and excellent Work, Mr. Turner has exhausted all the learning which exists to illustrate his subject; and without multiplying citations from his pages, it may here suffice to acknowledge our general obligation to the labours of a writer, who deserves to be characterised as the highest of all modern authorities on Anglo-Saxon Antiquities and History.
‡ Eutropius, *Breviarium Hist. Rom.* lib. ix.
§ Gibbon, c. 25. Turner, vol. i. p. 167.

* Eutropius, (*ubi supra*)
† Turner, vol. i. p. 164.
‡ Svidanius Apollinaris, lib. viii. epist. 6.
§ *Ibid.* *ubi supra*.

History.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
600.
Condition
of Britain
after the
separation
from the
Roman
Empire.
A. D.
409.
to
A. D.
449.

in the Vth Century to make its first permanent settlement in Britain, after having, during the last two hundred years of the Roman dominion, been the scourge and terror of its Southern shores.

In our preceding pages, we have slightly adverted to the separation of Britain from the falling Empire of Rome; and to the probable condition of the Island, during the period which elapsed between that event and the invasion of the Saxons.* But both the exact Era of the final separation itself, and its immediate effects upon the political state of Britain, are involved in obscurity. We possess no contemporary records by native British writers; and the fate of a revolted People and a dissevered Province naturally ceased to command further attention from the foreign Annalists of the Empire. The expiring ray of light which sets upon a Century of profound darkness is reflected from the distant pages of a Byzantine Chronicler; and the last authentic notice of the affairs of Roman Britain refers to Letters of the Emperor Honorius, wherein he authorized the independent establishment of a native Government, which he could neither prevent nor support, and commanded the cities of Britain "to provide for their own defence." The British Provincials, indeed, abandoned by the Imperial forces which the usurper Constantine had carried into Gaul, and harassed by the incursions of the barbarous Caledonians (or Picts) and Scots, had already assumed the care, and asserted the right of national independence. Depriving the Imperial Magistrates of their offices, they had taken up arms

under leaders of their own choice, and in the awakened spirit of freedom had vigorously repulsed the Barbarians beyond the Northern limits of their territory.

It has been doubted whether Honorius designed formally to release the Britons from their allegiance, or merely to cover their present exertions with the decent sanction of a legitimate authority, in order that he might the more amicably at a future period reclaim their obedience. But the idleness of the dispute is attested by the result: the Imperial authority was never afterwards recovered in the Island; and the virtual separation of Britain from the Empire may with sufficient accuracy be dated from the acquiescence of the feeble Honorius.† From his Letters having been addressed to the cities of Britain, (of which there were then in the Island altogether thirty-three, invested, according to the Roman system, with superior privileges of various degrees above the ordinary towns,) there is reason to conclude that these Municipal Commonwealths had now, in the national revolt, been suffered to assume the supreme administration of the adjacent districts. It has also been plausibly conjectured, that the leaders of the military forces of these petty States gradually availed themselves of the disorders which must have followed the overthrow of the Imperial Government to usurp the sovereign power.‡ But all traces of these Municipal or Republican Governments end with the meagre records of their first independence; and we only know with tolerable certainty, that forty years later, the fragments of the Imperial dominion in the Island were shared among a great number of Kings, or more properly petty Chieftains, some probably of Roman, and the rest of native descent, who appear, by their perpetual dissensions and struggles for the ascendancy, to have plunged the whole of South Britain into total anarchy; and to have aggravated the miseries which now again afflicted their wretched People from the fierce incursions of the Caledonian and Irish Tribes. Before the middle of the Vth Century, those Barbarians, availing themselves of the intestine discords which, still more than the visitations of a famine and pestilence, delivered the Country an easy prey to their violence, had extended their ravages even into some of the most Southern parts of the Island; and the British Chieftains of those districts, incapable perhaps of any sincere union of their own strength, could discover no better expedient for repelling the common enemy, than to invite the fatal succour of foreign mercenaries.§

Division of South Britain among a number of petty Kings.

Incursions of the Caledonians and Scots promoted by their dissensions.

It was at this juncture that a small band of Saxon pirates, in three of their *cuyles*, or long ships, under the guidance of Hengist and Horsa, who are described as brothers of the race of Woden, chanced to be ranging along the Eastern coast of the British Channel in quest of adventure; and to these leaders Gwrtheyrn, or Vortigern, the principal among the petty British Kings of the South, addressed an overture to serve against the Northern invaders with the promise of an ample

Britain.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
600.
Independence
of its
Cities or
States.

Subsequent disorders.

* Vide p. 253 of this volume.

† The best authorities, however, seem to concur in dating the independence of Britain, and the Letters of Honorius, referred to below in the text, in a. d. 409. See Gibbon, c. 31. Turner, vol. i. p. 205, &c.

‡ Beke, who endeavours to develop the circumstances of the first Saxon settlement in Britain, it is proper to apprise the reader of the poverty of the only original materials, out of which it has been usual too confidently to build up the narrative of these transactions. 1. Our earliest authority is Gildas, (*De Excidio Britanniae*), a British Monk of the Vth Century, not contemporary, therefore, by nearly a hundred years, with the first events of the Saxon conquest. The ridiculous hyperboles of his declamatory style, the glaring exaggerations of his statements, and his splanetic abuse both of his own Countrymen and of their conquerors, render him a most unsafe and suspicious guide. 2. Next in the order of time, but at the distance of two centuries more, is the Venerable Bede, (*Hist. Ecclesiastice Græciæ Anglorum*), whose report of contemporary events bears the strongest impress of honesty and truth; but the earlier portions of whose Work are little more than a transcript from Gildas. 3. The *Saxon Chronicle*, though of still later date, may be presumed only to embody the best authenticated traditions, which the descendants of the conquerors had preserved of the circumstances of the first settlement. 4. The last writer who deserves mention—much less for any attention to which he is really entitled, than because parts of his narrative have sometimes been carelessly adopted—is Nennius, (*Hist. Britonum*), a Briton, or Welshman of the 13th Century. His narrative is so palpably disguised with fables, that it is surprising it should ever have obtained credit. On the larger romance to which Jeffrey of Monmouth expanded the fictions of Nennius—on the Welsh Triads—and on the later Chronicles compiled by writers of the same race—it is needless to comment; since all these remains seem now, by universal consent, to be equally rejected as Historical evidences.

§ Zozimus, lib. vi. p. 376—382.

¶ The origin and distinction of these Tribes have been vehemently disputed; but it is most probable that the Picts were the same general race who, in their earlier struggle against the Roman conquerors of Britain, were known under the name of Caledonians and Maeris; and it is beyond doubt that the Scots were a colony of the Celtic Irish. The grounds for these conclusions have been ably stated by Dr. Lingard. See his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 72—75, (8vo. Ed.) and the authorities there cited.

* It seems sufficiently proved by a passage in Procopius (*De Bello Vandali*, lib. i. c. 2. p. 181) to which Gibbon has pointed attentively, that the dependence of the Britons on the Empire was never afterwards restored; although there were some subsequent relations of friendly intercourse, and even interchanges of military aid, between the Provincials and the Imperial rulers in Gaul.

† Ricardus Corin. *De Situ Britanniae*, p. 36.
‡ Gibbon, c. 31. Lingard, *History of England*, vol. i. p. 82, &c.
§ Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, c. 19—21. Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. c. 12—14.

History.

From

A. D.

449.

to

A. D.

500.

Descent

of Hengist

and Horsa.

A. D.

449.

Their victo-

ries over

the Caledo-

nians.

Permanent

Establish-

ment of the

Saxons in

Kent.

Their first

war with

the Britons.

A. D.

455.

A. D.

457.

Fictions of

the British

Writers re-

garding

these

events.

reward. The proposal was too congenial to the habits of these martial rovers not to be eagerly embraced; and Hengist and Horsa landing with their followers at Ebbsfleet,* in the Isle of Thanet, were quartered in that fertile portion of Kent. Their force, from the number and size of the vessels which had brought them, could not have amounted to above five or six hundred men, and more probably did not exceed half that strength; but their intrepid valour rendered them powerful auxiliaries; and in concert with the native followers of the British Chieftains, they are said to have repelled the incursions of the Caledonians with signal success.† But for the permanent defence of the Country against the desultory inroads of those Tribes, more numerous forces were requisite; and Hengist was permitted to send to Germany for a second Body of his warlike Countrymen. The invitation was accepted by the fiery youth of Jutland; and a formidable reinforcement of five thousand warriors swelled the strength of Hengist, and established itself like the first comers in Thanet.‡

Yet during six years from his original debarkation, the Saxon leader performed the engagements of his service with fidelity and submission; for it was not until after that interval that, in the language of the only credible narration which we possess of the event, he is stated to have begun his Kingdom in Kent.§ The causes which converted such fierce auxiliaries into merciless enemies may be readily imagined: they were, the jealousy of the natives and the arrogance of the victorious strangers; the fears which were awakened in the British Prince at the encroachments of his mercenaries; and the ambition which was excited in the rude Saxon leader at the prospect of a permanent sovereignty. At length, both parties flew to arms; a dubious struggle on the banks of the Medway was attended by the death of the brother of Hengist and of a son of Vortigern;¶ and in a more decisive battle near the river Cray, the Britons were totally defeated. The whole of Kent was abandoned to the conquerors; and several subsequent victories confirmed their possession.**

Such, when separated from the discordant fables which disfigure the narratives of obscure British Chroniclers, the earliest of them not contemporary with the events, but which the romantic credulity of later Writers has implicitly copied, would appear, in our real ignorance of minute details, to be the only consistent and probable account of the first Saxon settlement in Britain. The tales of the marriage of Vortigern with Rowena, the beautiful daughter of Hengist;†† of the infatuation which led the British Prince to bestow the Province of Kent on her father; of the revolt of his indignant subjects, his own deposition, the substitution of his son Guortemir, or Vortimer, on the throne, and the defeat and expulsion of the Saxons;‡‡

of the long wanderings of Hengist on the Ocean, his return after the death of Vortimer and the restoration of Vortigern, his treacherous seizure of that Prince, his massacre of three hundred British Chiefs during a conference, and his recovery of Kent as the ransom of the captive Sovereign;§—all these tales, the evident invention of British (or Welsh) fabulists of later Ages to account for the misfortunes of their ancestors without the admission of conquest, may without hesitation be rejected; as sometimes unsupported, and sometimes contradicted, by less suspicious evidence; and always, by their inconsistent and improbable details, in themselves equally unworthy of credence.

To not much more respect are entitled several vulgar errors of an opposite tendency, on the state of Britain and the qualities of the natives at the Era of the Saxon invasions, which some modern writers have been led to propagate and repeat, from bestowing too implicit a reliance, or too literal a construction, on the hyperbolic and vituperative declamations of a splenetic Monk. From this report, in which the author frequently contradicts himself, it had become fashionable, until a more accurate spirit of investigation in late years exposed the fallacy of such views;† to depict the Britons of the Age before us under circumstances of barbarism, little superior to that condition in which Cæsar discovered their naked ancestors five Centuries earlier; and still further to darken the features of their character with the reproach of degeneracy and cowardice. But both these representations are at utter variance with unquestionable facts. In the lapse of above three Centuries under the Imperial dominion, Britain had become the seat of Roman culture and luxury. It had been studded with numerous cities, which reflected the image of Roman jurisprudence and manners; it was adorned with many works of elegance, of which the remains are frequently discovered even at this day; its natives had attained the rank of Roman Citizens, and powerfully supported more than one candidate for the Imperial purple; and, above all, the light of the Gospel, the sure day-spring of civilization, had been so extensively disseminated throughout its territorial divisions, that—as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe—the British Church was governed by a numerous Hierarchy and represented in regular Synods. Though the vicious dissensions of its petty Chieftains had involved the Island, after its separation from the Empire, in mischievous disorders, the short period of forty years had not destroyed these foundations of civilization, and could not have sufficed to replunge the People into their pristine barbarism; and it is attested, even in the querulous pages of our only contemporary native Writer, that Britain in the VIth Century, notwithstanding the dreadful effect of the Caledonian and Saxon ravages, still contained twenty-eight cities, besides other fortresses of strength, and presented the aspect of cultivation and fertility;‡

That the imputation of a pusillanimous degeneracy in the Britons, the effect, as it has been imagined, of their long subjection to the Roman yoke, has no better foundation than the belief of their relapse into utter barbarism, is still more readily proved. Their assertion of national independence, and their vigorous repulse of

Britain.

From

A. D.

449.

to

A. D.

500.

Vulgar

errors on

the state of

Britain at

this epoch.

I. Imputed

barbarism

of the

natives.

Progress of

their civiliza-

tion under

the Roman

Empire.

Introduc-

tion of

Christi-

anity.

II. Sup-

posed de-

generacy

of the

Britons.

* Gildas, c. 23.

† Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 234.‡ Bede, lib. i. c. 15. *Chron. Saxonum*, p. 12.§ *Ibid.* ubi supra.¶ *Chron. Sax.* p. 13.** *Ibid.* ubi supra.†† Bede, lib. i. c. 15. *Chron. Sax.* p. 14.‡‡ Nennius, *Hist. Britonum*, c. 36.

§ *Ibid.* c. 45. Mr. Turner, (vol. i. p. 244.) by construing a passage in Gildas (c. 23.)—*cum recessissent domum*—too largely, has given more credit than it deserves to this statement. But Dr. Lingard has shown (*Hist.* vol. i. p. 94. note) that the expression of Gildas evidently refers only to the return of the Saxons into Kent; and that any other interpretation is not supported by the context.

* Nennius, c. 48.

† Gildas, c. 38.; and more especially Turner, vol. i. p. 223—225., have the merit of exposing the contradictory exaggerations of Gildas.
‡ Gildas, c. 1.

History.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
600.

Contributed by
five valiant
and pre-
sented re-
sistance to
the Saxons.

Common
point of
their war-
like spirit
(see period).

Excesses
of Saxon
Invaders.

the Caledonian Barbarians after the withdrawal of the Roman Legions, seem sufficient to show that effeminacy or cowardice formed no features of their character. It was manifestly only their subsequent state of anarchy which invited the ravages, and facilitated the incursions, of the same Barbarians; and the supplications for foreign aid, from which modern Writers have drawn the inference of pusillanimity,* must, if indeed such entreaties had any existence, be ascribed to the effects of their intestine disorders, and arose probably from the defenceless condition of particular districts. But the courageous spirit of the Britons is indubitably attested in the obstinacy and duration of their subsequent struggle against the most valiant Tribes of the Gothic race. While the Roman Provinces of Gaul, of Spain, and of Africa, abjectly yielded to the first shock of the Barbarian conquerors, the natives of Britain, unaided from the continent, and disunited among themselves, sustained for above one hundred years a vigorous, a bloody, and often a dubious contest with the numerous and formidable invaders who simultaneously assailed their Island along the whole extent of its Eastern and Southern coasts. Even the final and unsuccessful issue of the struggle still left the ancient race in independent possession of the mountains of Wales, and of the promontory of Cornwall. Thus slowly progressive as were the Saxon conquests, there is abundant reason to conclude that their ultimate success was as much attributable to the inveterate disunion, and want of all concert among the Britons, as to any inferiority of the natives in martial prowess. The establishment of the first Saxon Kingdom in Kent seems to have been invited and resisted only by the British Chieftains in that quarter of the Island; and the petty Princes of more distant parts were probably alike insensible to their own danger, and careless of the fate of their Countrymen. Of such blindness or indifference, as well as of the general spirit of warlike enterprise among the Britons at this period, there is curious and undoubted Historical evidence in the fact that, at the moment when the Saxons were establishing themselves by repeated and sanguinary victories in Kent, a British Chieftain, at the solicitation of the Emperor Anthemius, led an army of twelve thousand men from Cornwall to the mouth of the Loire, to assist the Roman forces against the Visigoths.†

Though the establishment of Hengist and his followers was the undoubted cause which excited the later Saxon descents upon the Island, there was as little concert in the assaults of the invaders as in the resistance

of the natives. The bands of warlike adventurers who successively arrived on the British shores proceeded, each under its own Chieftain, to win an independent conquest and to found a separate Principality. The identity of their Language and manners attested their kindred race; as the contiguity of their original seats on the Northern coasts of Germany also explained the common inducement of their expeditions. But under the general Saxon name, they were composed principally of at least three distinct Nations or Tribes, the JUTES, I. The proper SAXONS, and the ANGLES,* with a promiscuous admixture of other Barbarians.† The Jutes, who led the way under Hengist, were spread over the Northern portions of Jutland; the Saxons still held the districts near the Elbe, which we have designated after Ptolemy as the primitive seat of their name and Tribe; and the Angles occupied the intermediate Country III. The which forms the modern Duchy of Sleswick;‡ The superior name of the Saxons, or at least of the collective term which described the earlier association of the piratical Tribes, afforded a common appellation for all the conquerors of Britain: but the People who formed the numerical majority among the three invading races, and who possessed themselves of the most ample portion of the Country, have naturally been permitted to perpetuate their title on the Nation and the Land;§ and from the Angles, or Engles, have been compounded the generic term of ANGLI-SAXONS, and the dearer and more familiar name of ENGLAND.¶

By the successive invasions and conquests of the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles, the portions of the Island wrested from the natives, were gradually formed into those distinct Principalities or petty Kingdoms, which from the kindred origin of their people, rather than from any union of government among their Princes, it has been customary with writers to describe under the general term, according to the shifting number of States, of an OCTARCHY or HEPTARCHY.¶ The little Kingdom of KENT, the first founded by Hengist and his Jutes, did not extend towards the North beyond the Thames, while the sea formed its Eastern and Southern boundaries. On the West, its expansion was prevented by the resistance of the Britons, until the arrival of the second body of invaders, whose settlement on its borders permanently confined its territory within the limits of the modern County to which it has given name. The

Britain.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
600.

I. The
JUTES.
II. The
SAXONS.
III. The
ANGLES.

Establish-
ment of the
Anglo
Saxon
OCTARCHY.
A. D.
455.
to
A. D.
566.
The King-
doms of:
I. KENT.
A. D.
455.

* Bede, lib. i. c. 15.

† Adam, lib. v. c. 9. for Frisians, Rugii, Dani, and even Huns are here also enumerated.

‡ Mr. Turner, (vol. i. p. 169.) after some authorities, places the Jutes in South Jutland; but the words of Bede, in deducing the Angles (lib. i. c. 15.) of *illâ patriâ . . . inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum*, seem conclusive that this nation occupied the Southern districts of Jutland (or Sleswick) between the Elbe and the seat of the Jutes, who would, therefore, appear to have inhabited the Northern parts of the Peninsula. And, still more, the expressions of Alfred in Orosius, (Barrington, p. 20.) indicate that all the Southern parts of Jutland opposite to Zealand (as well as that and the other modern Danish Islands) were inhabited by Angles.

§ Gibbon, c. 35.

¶ So late as the Thirteenth century, the Duchy of Sleswick was called Old England. Turner, vol. i. p. 171.

¶ Until of late years, it was customary to describe the Anglo-Saxon division of States as a Heptarchy: but the original number of distinct and independent Kingdoms or Principalities, until the first intermittent union of Deira and Bernicia, was eight; and after those Provinces were finally blended into the single sovereignty of Northumbria, the other weaker States were so often subjected to the more powerful, that the title of a Pentarchy or Trisarchy would be quite as appropriate as that of the Heptarchy.

* The Letter in Gildas, to Ætius, the Imperial Commander in Gaul, "The groans of the Britons," &c.—"The Barbarians drive us into the sea, and the sea drives us back on the Barbarians," has been a hundred times quoted by the writers of our popular Histories, without any inquiry into the probabilities of its genuineness. But the antithetical style of the Letter, as Mr. Sharon Turner (vol. i. p. 206) has justly remarked, betrays the composition of Gildas; and if its purport had any foundation in a partial application from the people of some Southern district of the Island to Ætius for succor, the abject tone of the entreaty is probably only the invention of that querulous declaimer.

† Sidonius Apollinaris, lib. iii. epist. 9. Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 45. p. 678. Gregorius Turon, Hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 18. Dr. Lingard (Hist. vol. i. p. 101) is, however, evidently mistaken in placing the epoch of this expedition "at the very time when the Barbarians (Saxons) were establishing Kingdoms in the South-West of the Island." The landing of Cerdic did not take place until A. D. 495, almost twenty years after the extinction of the Western Empire.

History.

From

A. D.

449.

to

A. D.

800.

successors of Hengist were compelled to submit to this narrow restriction; and with a single memorable exception, the Annals of their little Kingdom present no circumstances to arrest our attention. It was under the reign of Ethelbert, the fourth Sovereign of the House of Hengist, that his subjects were the earliest among the Anglo-Saxons to receive the blessings of the Gospel; and the example and exhortations of the Royal proselyte were instrumental in promoting the conversion of his People.*

SUSSEX.

A. D.

477.

It was not until after an interval of twenty-eight years from the first descent of Hengist, that his success produced the next independent invasion of Britain. The new invaders, who appear to have been of the primitive Saxon race, were led by a Chieftain named Ælla, or Ella, and his three sons; and landing in the Isle of Selsey,† they defeated the Britons with considerable loss, drove them for refuge into the neighbouring Forest of Andredswold, and succeeded in effecting an establishment, which expanded into the Kingdom of the South Saxons, or SUSSEX. As their original armament, like that of the Jutes, was composed but of three *cydes*, it has been inferred that their victorious settlement was opposed only by the petty British Chieftain of the immediate vicinity.‡ The defence of the natives, however, may have been obstinate; it is certain that the progress of the invaders was slow. Seven years after his arrival on the coast had elapsed, before Ælla ventured on his first attempt to penetrate into the interior of the Country; and his advance was checked by a dubious and sanguinary conflict on the river Mercread. It was five years later, before the arrival of reinforcements of his Countrymen from the continent enabled the Saxon Prince to prosecute his enterprise; and the traces of his operations are preserved in the siege and fate of the British city of Andredes Ceaster. This was a place of some importance on the Western verge of the great Forest tract, to which it gave name, and the vast extent of which has been imperfectly recorded, in the narrower boundaries of the modern "Weald of Kent."

Andredes Ceaster was so strongly fortified, according to the ancient principles of the military art, as to be deemed by the natives impregnable; and the tradition of its defence denotes their possession of some martial science as well as natural valour. While the Saxons besieged the place, they were themselves incessantly harassed by an army of Britons from without, who made a general attack upon their camp, as often as they assailed the walls, and retired into the Forest as soon as the diversion was successful. But Ælla having at length adopted the expedient of dividing his forces into two Bodies, of which one covered while the other prosecuted the siege, the efforts of the Britons from without were effectually repelled, and the walls were carried by assault. The barbarous conquerors, irritated by their losses, reduced the city to ashes, and put every soul within it to the sword.§ This horrible catastrophe appears to have disheartened the British, and secured to Ælla the possession of the territory which he had won: but his conquests were not much farther extended. Though he is mentioned as superior in dignity or power to the contemporary Princes of the Jutes,|

he seems to have been either satisfied with the dominion of a small Province, or unable to enlarge its boundaries; and the surface of the petty Kingdom of Sussex, as of the Kentish Principality, may be nearly identified with that of the single modern County.

It was the next invader and his followers whose victories spread conquest through the South of Britain, and confirmed the previous intruders in the permanent possession of Kent and Sussex. Eighteen years after the arrival of Ælla, Cerdic, another Saxon Chieftain, who like Hengist is said to have deduced his origin from Woden,* appeared on the coast with a squadron of five *cydes*; and sailing past the prior conquests of his Countrymen, landed further Westward, at an uncertain spot, which was named from the event Cerdicesora, or the shore of Cerdic, and is supposed with most probability to have been either Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, or Southampton.† For the numerous battles and extensive conquests which are attributed to these new invaders, the original strength of their armament must obviously have been inadequate; and it has been rationally concluded upon general evidence, that Cerdic must have received at different periods a large and frequent accumulation of force from his native Land. Six years after his first descent, one new band, at least, of his followers or confederate Jutes, under Porta, effected a landing, and perpetuated the name of their leader, at Portsmouth; and another body of adventurers arrived thirteen years later under the nephews of Cerdic. The progress of that celebrated Chieftain himself, however, was intrepidly resisted by Natanleod, the British Sovereign of the territory on which he had landed; and the warfare of these leaders now first assumed the character of a national struggle between the two contending races. Cerdic received some assistance from the Saxons of Kent and Sussex; and Natanleod assembled a larger army of Britons than had hitherto united in resisting the invaders. But in a general engagement, Natanleod, after routing one division of the invaders under the immediate command of Cerdic, was successfully attacked in the eagerness of pursuit by Cynric, the son of the Saxon Prince, and slain with five thousand Britons.‡

Yet even this important victory, which was not won till the thirteenth year after the first landing of Cerdic, did not decide the contest; and the remaining twenty-six years of his life were laboriously consumed in the conquest of Hampshire.§ The settlement of the invaders, however, was confirmed by progressive successes;

* *Chron. Sax.* p. 15. It is worthy of remark that to Hengist, Cerdic, and Ida, though of three different Tribes, is attributed a descent from Woden. Unless it had become a general point of vanity to deduce the origin of their leaders from the tutelary God of their race, this tradition of a common genealogy goes far to confirm the opinion of Mr. Turner, (vol. i. p. 170), that "Jutes, Saxons, and Angles were but coral twigs of the same Teutonic branch of the great Scythian or Gothic tree." The pedigree of Cerdic in the ninth generation from Woden was however expressly defined, and the account is highly probable in itself. This genealogy would assign an existence to the desired hero of his race, of whose real Era and actions we otherwise know nothing, in the beginning of the third Century.

† *Chron. Sax.* ubi suprà. Higden, *Polychronicon*, p. 234.

‡ *Chron. Sax.* p. 17, 18.

§ According to the British writers, he even sustained a signal defeat at Mount Hadon, which is loosely said to have arrested the progress of the West Saxons for forty years. But both the chronology and position of this battle are very uncertain. Gildas, c. 26. Nennius, c. 23. 61. 62.

• Bede, lib. i. c. 26.

† *Chron. Sax.* p. 14.

‡ Turner, vol. i. p. 251.

§ *Chron. Sax.* p. 15.

|| *Ibid.* p. 71.

Britain.

From

A. D.

449.

to

A. D.

800.

III. W.

Sax.

A. D.

495.

A. D.

505.

and from the epoch of a second great victory gained by Cerdic and his son at Cerdicesford, or Charford, on the Avon, in that County, in the twenty-fourth year of the invasion, is usually dated their establishment of the Kingdom of the West Saxons, or **WESSEX**. The Isle of Wight was added to its dominion by the nephews of the King, after a struggle, in which those remorseless Barbarians put every one of its British inhabitants to the sword; and Cerdic having bestowed upon them the subordinate sovereignty of this acquisition, and associated his son in the paramount government of his conquests, bequeathed their prosecution to that valiant Prince. During an active and fortunate reign, Cynric inflicted several further defeats upon the Britons, and extended his Kingdom over the modern Counties of Wilts, Berks, Oxford, and Buckingham; and his son Cealwin, after a memorable defeat of three Kings of the Britons, all of whom fell in the same battle, obtained possession of as many principal cities of the natives, Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester, and enlarged the boundaries of Wessex to the banks of the Severn.*

Such was the gradual establishment of the power, which was ultimately to acquire the supremacy over all the other Anglo-Saxon States, and to give to England a long line of Princes of the race of Cerdic: but at the distance of eighty years from the first landing of that Chieftain in Britain, the Kingdom of Wessex under his victorious grandson formed only a small Southern portion of the Island. On the West it was still confined by British Principalities in Devon and Cornwall, and in Wales; on the East it was supported by the Saxon States of Sussex and Kent; and on the North its further enlargement was opposed by the British population, which still occupied the surface of the country from Gloucestershire to Scotland. The settlement of the Jutes and Saxons might therefore have been restricted to the colonization of our Southern shores; if at this juncture the third and most numerous People of the same race had not, by successive arrivals on the Eastern coasts, begun from them to overspread the whole central portions of the Island.†

But before the Angles established their permanent settlements in the Island, a fourth State had already been formed on its Eastern shores by the obscure union of several Bodies of Saxon adventurers, who, while Cerdic was yet prosecuting his enterprise against the Britons in the South, founded the little Kingdom of Essex, or of the East Saxons. In the Annals of this State, of which Erkenwin was the first Sovereign, there is nothing to demand our notice; except its subsequent extension into Middlesex, and its acquisition of London, then, though destined to be the future Metropolis of the Island, known only as a town of some trade.‡

When the Angles commenced their invasions of the Eastern shores of Britain, their descents, unlike those of the Jutes and Saxons, soon assumed the character of a whole national immigration.§ At first, many petty Chieftains and bands of this Tribe endeavoured to establish themselves on the coast immediately adjacent to the new Kingdom of Essex. But as they failed to succeed in forming any distinct State, their desultory efforts were soon eclipsed by the more formidable ex-

pedition of Ida; who arriving on the coast North of the Humber, with a fleet of forty *cuydes*, defeated the natives in several severe engagements, and was raised by the associated Chieftains of his armament to the sovereignty of their conquests. The country between the Humber and the Frith of Forth appears at this juncture to have been separated by the river Tees into two Provinces, loosely distinguished by the natives under the names of *Bryneich* and *Deisyr*, which became subsequently Latinized into *BERNICA* and *DEIRA*. Of the former, extending from the Tees to the Scottish stream Ida was the first Anglian King; and transmitted its sceptre to the eldest of his twelve sons. But on the death of the Prince of their original choice, a portion of his followers quitted the standard of his successor; assailed the adjoining and more Southern district; and there, overpowering the native population and raising a Chieftain named *Elia*, or *Sella*, to the supreme command, founded the second Anglian Kingdom of *Deira*. But a continued and obstinate struggle of thirty years with the Britons consumed the long reign of *Elia*; nor was the expulsion or subjugation of the native race completed until after the accession of his son. By a later union under a single Sovereign, *Bernicia* and *Deira* were consolidated into one State; when the British titles of its Provinces, as comprising the Anglian conquests North of the Humber, merged into that of the Kingdom of Northumbria.*

Meanwhile, from its obscure commencement, a new Anglian State had silently grown up and filled the whole intermediate parts of the Eastern coast between *Essex* and *Deira*. Of the formation of this Kingdom, which, from its position, acquired the name of *EAST ANGLIA*, and gradually embraced the modern Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, little record is preserved: but *Uffa*, from whom his successors received the title of *Uffingas*, is mentioned as its first Monarch; and of its power a remarkable proof has been deduced from the fact that, even while pursuing their conquests over the Britons, its warriors were sufficiently numerous to afford a large detachment for a foreign expedition. To avenge an insult offered to one of their Princesses, by the King of the *Varni*, a People dwelling on the Rhine, a Body of the *East Angles*, sailing from England, ascended that river; ravaged the country and defeated the army of the *Varni*; and making their King captive, obliged him to wed the Princess, whose betrothed hand he had previously rejected.†

It was from *Deira* that a colony of the invaders first penetrated into the central parts of the Island, and by repeated conquests over the Britons laid the foundation of a fourth Anglian Kingdom: that of *MERCA*, which was gradually extended from the Humber to the Thames, and from the frontiers of *East Anglia* to the mountains of Wales. The Mercians, therefore, some of whom from their position acquired the name of *Middle Angles*, occupied Lincolnshire, Cheshire, and almost all the modern midland Counties, and formed the largest and most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon States except *Wessex*. But as the Kingdom of *Mercia* was commenced the latest of the whole number, so its final establishment was the longest delayed. The expeditions of the *Angles* into the interior of the Island were originally undertaken only by Chieftains of inferior power or rank

Britain.

From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
600.

VI. DEIRA.
A. D.
560.

These two last States afterwards united into the Kingdom of Northumbria.

VII. EAST ANGLIA.
A. D.
527.

VIII. MERCA.
A. D.
586.

* Chron. Sax. p. 18—22.

† Turner, vol. i. p. 269.

‡ Matthew of Westminster, p. 200.

§ Bede declares (p. 52) that in his time—two Centuries later—the original Country of the Angles still remained a desert.

* Bede, lib. iii. c. 6—20. Chron. Sax. p. 19, 20.

† Procopius, Hist. Goth. lib. iv. p. 460—471.

History.

From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.

Completion
of the Oc-
tarchy.

Surviving
British
States :

(besides the
Caledonians and
Scots.)

I. Strat-
clyde.
II. Cumbria.

III. North
and IV.
South
Wales.
V. Corn-
wall.

Relapse of
the free Brit-
tons into
Barbarism.

Establish-
ment of a
British
Colony in
Armorica,
or Bretagne
Courageous
defence of
the Britons.

to the War-Kings, who had conducted the fleets of the invaders to the British shores; and the resistance of the natives became probably the more obstinate as their numbers were compressed from all sides into the central Provinces. The original conquests of the Middle Angles were considered, therefore, only as appendages to the Kingdom of Deira; and although a Chieftain named Cridda, one of their earliest leaders, is usually recorded as the first King of Mercia, and was at least the founder of his line of Princes, it was not until the reign of his grandson, the fierce Penda, that this State was wholly emancipated from the dominion of the Northern Angles.*

By the formation of the Kingdom of Mercia, after the lapse of above a hundred and thirty years from the landing of Hengist and Horsa to the rise of Cridda, the establishment of an Anglo-Saxon Octarchy in Britain was laboriously completed. One Jutish, three proper Saxon, and four Anglian States,† divided the possession of the country, from the Frith of Forth to the Isle of Wight, and from the Eastern coast to the foot of the Welsh mountains and the neck of the Cornish peninsula. Yet, in the Western parts of the Island, five British States, or clusters of States, continued bravely to maintain an unyielding and vigorous independence; and in the extreme North the two wild and untamable nations of the Caledonians and Scots held secure possession of the Eastern plains between the Friths of Forth and Murray, and of the whole highland tract of Scotland. The territory still retained by the Britons has been distinguished into the Provinces of Strathclyde, or the region about the Clyde; of Cumbria; or Cumberland, shortly restricted to the modern Cumbrian, and which was afterwards incorporated with the Kingdom of Bernicia; of North and South Wales, from the former of which the district of Chester was torn by the Angles early in the VIIth century; and, finally, of Cornwall, which however included great part of Devon, and was not reduced to the modern limits of the former County until a period long posterior to the epoch before us.‡

In these last asylums of their rude freedom, the descendants of the Roman Provincials soon forgot the habits of an imperfect civilization; and especially among the barren mountains and secluded fastnesses of Wales, the Britons gradually relapsed into a condition of positive Barbarism. But besides the multitude of British warriors who, indignant of submission, had maintained their freedom without entirely abandoning their Country, a number of other fugitives from the Saxons preferred exile to servitude;§ and one portion of these, crossing the Channel, took possession of vacant tracts on the coast of Armorica, and by their successful settlement in that region of Gaul, bestowed on the Province its modern appellation of *BRITAGNE*¶

In the meagre Annals of the Saxon conquerors, the

* Bede, lib. iii. c. 20—24.

† In this enumeration, Bede (p. 52) attributes a settlement on the Isle of Wight and parts of the Hampshire coast, to bodies of Jutes, besides their general conquest of Kent.

‡ The whole of the British territory of Strathclyde seems also, however, to have derived the general name of Cumbria, from its continued possession by the Cymri or Britons. Turner, vol. i. p. 282.

§ Turner, vol. i. p. 311, &c. It was not until the reign of Athelstan that the Britons finally lost Exeter, which that monarch separated from the Cornish state.

¶ Gildas, c. 25.

¶ See Usher, *Antiquitates*, p. 224—227, Gibbon, c. 88, and the evidence collected by both.

slow and laborious progress of their arms is only obscurely delineated; but by the Chroniclers and Bards of the British race, the long and certainly valiant resistance of their Countrymen, has been pictured in the wildest colouring of romantic and poetical embellishment. From amidst the suspicious extravagance of such compositions, it is not easy to extract the materials of sober and authentic History; but, with due caution, some degree of belief may be safely conceded to the reality of the general circumstances which have formed the groundwork of these narrations. The traditional renown and fabled achievements of more than one British Chieftain may be received as evidence at least of his certain existence and distinguished share in the fierce struggle of the two races; and the chant of triumph or lamentation for the victorious or the fallen warrior, must be admitted in proof of the occurrence and general fortune of many a sanguinary encounter, of which we may be unable to ascertain either the exact locality or the date.

Among all the British heroes,* the romantic exaggeration, rather of later times than of his own, has assigned a brilliant preeminence to the name and actions of the famous ARTHUR. Yet neither the scenes of his dominion, nor the connection of his exploits, nor even the time at which he reigned and fell, can be explained with satisfactory precision. The most probable conjectures make him the opponent of the West Saxons under their first two Princes;† and there are grounds for believing that he was also engaged against the Angles in the North. He is stated to have been victorious in twelve battles;‡ but since these many triumphs failed of a more decisive success, than perhaps to retard the extension of the Kingdom of Wessex,§ they could scarcely have been all gained over the Anglo-Saxons; and some of his wars seem to have been prosecuted, not against the invaders, but the rival Princes of his own race. He is said finally to have perished in a Civil feud or rebellion raised by his nephew; and was interred in the Monastery of Glastonbury: where it is on good Historical record,|| that his remains, with an inscription, were discovered in the reign of Henry II.¶

The memory of Arthur is chiefly indebted for the shadowy glory in which it is invested to the fancy of the Welsh Bards and Norman Minstrels of subsequent Ages; and, as it has been elegantly remarked,** the events of his life are less interesting than the singular

* The last British Chieftain whose name and lineage recall the association of the Roman dominion in the Island is termed by Gildas and others, *Ambrosius Aurelianus*. He is described as of Roman descent, and his parents are obscurely stated to have worn the Imperial purple. Gildas, c. 25. He seems to have fought against Hengist; but we know scarcely any thing of his actions; and he has sometimes been imagined the same person as *Natalus*. Unusually perplexed by the contradictions of Chroniclers and Antiquaries, Mr. Turner in one place (p. 253) opposes him (together with Arthur) ineffectually to Uerdic; and just afterwards (p. 255) declares that, when that Baron lauded, *Ambrosius* had long been dead.

† Compare Gildas, c. 26. and Nennius, c. 61—63.

‡ Nennius, *ubi supra*.

§ Gildas, *ubi supra*.

¶ Giraldis Cambrensis, (*apud* Langhorn,) p. 91. The unexceptional and circumstantial evidence of Giraldis, who was present at the execution, and saw the inscription, is confirmed by William of Malmabury and other contemporaries; and the probability of the whole account should dispel the unreasonable doubts which have sometimes been raised on the very existence of Arthur.

¶ Mr. Turner, vol. i. p. 261—278, has pursued an investigation into the authentic History of Arthur with equal learning and critical acumen.

** Gibbon, c. 38.

revolutions of his fame. Among an imaginative race, who in their mountainous retreats fondly cherished the memory of the champions of their independence, the real exploits of Arthur were gradually magnified into a thousand forms of Romance; and for five hundred years the traditions, on which every generation might raise some new superstructure of fiction, were carefully preserved and rudely adorned. From Wales and Cornwall, the tales of Arthur were readily communicated to the Britons of kindred descent in Armorica; and from the latter Province their popularity spread throughout Western France. At a still later epoch, the Norman Minstrels lent their attention with eager delight to the triumphs of the hero of their adopted Country over their common enemy, the Saxons; and with the Welsh legends were incongruously interwoven the fables of Classical Poetry, the spirit of Crusading enterprise, and the sentiments and manners of Chivalry. In the Romances of the Middle Ages, the British Chieftain became at once the descendant of Trojan Princes, the victorious champion of Christendom against the fierce Infidels, and the perfect exemplar of Knighthood. The fabulous deeds of Arthur and of his Knights of the Round Table were sung in every Language, and received with implicit credit by every People of Europe; and the universal belief which these tales once commanded, is strangely contrasted with the modern scepticism which, by the last caprice of Poetical fancy, has in the land of his birth denied to their hero even the claim of a Historical existence.

It is certain, however, that, in his own Age, the renown of Arthur was far eclipsed by Urien, another British Prince, who long and gallantly resisted the progress of the invaders. The territory of Urien and the scene of his exploits lay in the more Northern parts of the Island; and the Angles under Ida appear to have been his usual antagonists. It is the boast of his contemporary Bard Taliesin that he gained several victories over the destroyers; and the slow progress of Ida and his sons in the work of conquest attests the probability of this narration. But, like Arthur, Urien fell in a Civil contest with his own Countrymen; and the common evidence of these facts is another proof of those divisions of the natives which entailed ruin upon their cause.* At a somewhat later period, after the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Overtachy, a third British Prince may be named as the last hero who vigorously sustained the sinking fortunes of his race, and held in suspense their final expatriation from the Western parts of the Island. This was Cadwallon, King of Gwynedd or North Wales, who availed himself of the dissensions of the Saxons to retaliate upon them some of the evils which had overtaken the Britons from their own feuds. In concert with Penda of Mercia, he invaded Northumbria; defeated and slaughtered the army of Edwin its Sovereign, who fell in the battle; and ravaged the whole territory with frightful cruelty.† So signal and continuous were the successes of the Welsh Prince that three Northumbrian Kings lost their lives successively in the contest; and he is declared by his Bard to have been triumphant in fourteen great battles and sixty skirmishes. But his course was at length arrested by a tremendous defeat, in which he perished with the majority of his followers.‡

With him expired the last rational hope of the restoration of the Britons to their pristine seats; and though they still fondly cherished for Ages the vain predictions of their Bards, that they should one day expel the hated Saxon invaders from the Island, the recovery of their ancient possessions never again became probable.

The long and valiant, though desultory and uncombined, resistance of the Britons, as it was unsuccessful, had only aggravated the horrors of conquest. Wherever the Saxon arms prevailed, their course was attended by the massacre and desolation. The stubborn defence of the natives, and the losses which they inflicted on their victors, often provoked an indiscriminate slaughter; and by the victorious and ruthless Barbarians, villages and cities were involved with their inhabitants in a common conflagration. As the original conquerors were Pagans, their ferocity spared the Ecclesiastical edifices and institutions still less than the Civil establishments of the natives. The Churches and Monasteries were destroyed, the Clergy were often murdered; and the Religion and Arts, the Laws and Language of the Britons were overwhelmed in a general destruction. The recorded traces of devastation which the Island long afterwards presented, once suggested the now exploded opinion that the great mass of the British population in the Provinces of the Overtachy had been entirely exterminated by the conquerors. But so soon as the first blind fury of their cruelty or vengeance had subsided, the obvious dictates of their own interest would induce them to preserve the cultivators of the land which they had won, as well as the cattle and habitations which were required for their own use; and by a proud and warlike race who, in the freshness of their spirit of roving adventure, disdained the patient occupations of industry, the labour of captives was indispensable for obtaining the produce of the soil. Wherever the obstinate resistance of the natives did not provoke the savage passions of the victors, their lives were spared; but it was only to convert them into the absolute property of their masters; and the Britons of both sexes and of every age and condition were divided like their lands, their herds, and their movables, among the Chieftains and warriors of the invading hosts.

In this state of bondage to the soil, notwithstanding some mere verbal disputes of modern writers on the proper acceptation of the terms by which the classes of the Anglo-Saxon peasantry were distinguished, it is evident that the descendants of the conquered population, at the distance of four centuries, still remained; and though it is indubitable that many of the indigent Saxons themselves were often reduced to sell themselves and their families into perpetual servitude, yet the distinction expressly made in some of the Saxon Codes between slaves of national and alien blood sufficiently attests the existence of a servile Order in both races. It is among the most pleasing proofs of the benign influence which Christianity, even in an imperfect and corrupted form, exercised over the ferocious spirit of the Barbarians, that, after their conversion, the liberation of the slaves was frequent, and the treatment of the subjugated Britons altogether much alleviated. The Saxon Laws gradually encouraged the practice of manumission, restricted the sale and at length prohibited the exportation of slaves;§ and, in the districts which were torn from the Britons, after the Kings of Wessex had become

Britain.

From

A. D.

449.

to

A. D.

500.

Desolation

of Britain

by the

Saxon Con-

quest.

Fate of the

subjugated

Population.

An univer-

sal condi-

tion of

slavery:

It until ame-

lied by the

introduc-

tion of

Christianity

among the

Saxons.

* Nennius, c. 64. But see the authorities for the actions of Urien, collected by Mr. Turner, vol. i. p. 284-287.

† The authentic details of these wars of Cadwallon are contained in Bede, lib. ii. c. 20. lib. iii. c. 1, 2. Chron. Sax. p. 29. &c.

• *Leyes Sax.* (Wilkins) p. 11, 29, 107, &c.

History.

From

A. D.

449.

to

A. D.

500.

Character

of the

Anglo-

Saxon

Annals after

the comple-

tion of the

Oetarchy.

Confused

series of

savage

crimes and

violent rev-

olutions.

The BRE-

WALDAS; or

predomi-

nant Saxe-

reigns of

the Oet-

archy.

Christians, they extended to their Cornish, a large share of the Civil Rights which were enjoyed by their Saxon, subjects.*

The settlement and conquest of Britain by the Saxon race—the division of Provinces among various bands of the three principal invading Tribes—the gradual formation and localities of their independent States—the fate of the previous inhabitants whom they destroyed, expelled, or enslaved—and the progress of events through which the new population, Language, and social Constitution of our forefathers were permanently implanted in our Island—have presented objects of sufficient attraction to deserve and require a minute and circumstantial relation. But, after the secure establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Oetarchy, there is by no means the same temptation or necessity to pursue the confused and troubled Annals of those eight petty Kingdoms through their dark and bloody vicissitudes of disorder. Even before the invaders had perfected their successes over the Britons, they began to quarrel among themselves. The bonds of their common cause and national consanguinity were fiercely broken; and in their perpetual wars with each other, they shed their kindred blood as profusely and mercilessly as that of the general enemy. Their History thenceforward, until the union of their States under the hereditary supremacy of a single line of Monarchs, is little more than a quick succession of crimes the most sanguinary and cruel, the most violent and treacherous. In the partial and uncertain light which is afforded us to discern the obscure and intricate course of such events, we encounter a series of barbarous revolutions producing only a temporary ascendancy, now in one State or Tyrant, now in another; and exhibiting no better moral lesson than the dismal excesses of uncivilized Society under some of its worst aspects of ferocity.

It were therefore a task equally wearisome and revolting to follow out either the progress of the international Saxon wars, or the fate of the petty dynasties which rose and fell with the fluctuations of victory; and in a rapid and cursory survey of the state of the Island during the remainder of the period embraced in this division of our subject, we shall confine our attention to the general progress of those circumstances, which reduced the number of the Anglo-Saxon States, and prepared their distant consolidation into a single powerful Monarchy. The only relief which is afforded to the ferocious character of the Saxon Annals during these Ages, will be found in the gradual and successive introduction of Christianity into the several States of the Oetarchy; and in its slow but certain influence in mitigating the rudeness and cruelty of the Saxon manners, and ameliorating the political condition of their national Society. But the history of their conversion to the Religion of the Gospel, which, imperfectly as it was effected, is illustrated by many incidents pleasing in themselves and developing the better capacities of the rude Saxon mind, will form the distinct subject of the following chapter.

While we thus disclaim any intention of regularly pursuing the Annals of the dynasties of the Oetarchy, as both perplexing and unprofitable to the reader, some order may be thrown into our notice of the Anglo-Saxon affairs between the independent establishment and the consolidation of their Kingdoms, by tracing the reigns

of a few among the most powerful of the Provincial Sovereigns. This course is obviously suggested by a circumstance, which has seemed to mark something like a principle of national confederation among the Saxon Princes themselves: there was frequently one among their number whose general authority, or at least whose superior power and dignity, was recognised by his contemporaries, under the title of BRETWALDA, the Ruler, or literally *walder*, of Britain. Of the exact nature of this pre-eminence, no particular intimation has descended to us. We know neither whether it was conceded by the voluntary suffrages of the other Powers and States, or arbitrarily assumed and enforced by the ambition of the predominant King; nor yet whether it was a mere title of honour, or more substantially attended by the prerogatives and duties of a paramount sovereignty.* But, in the supposition which most limits the attributes of the Bretwaldas, the progressive condition of the Oetarchy may be appropriately illustrated in the order, first of their ascendancy, and afterwards of that of other Princes who, without being distinguished by the same specific title, appear to have succeeded to the greatest measure of dominion over the Island.

The first Saxon Prince to whom we find the dignity of Bretwalda attributed was Ella, the founder of the Kingdom of Sussex.† As that State was the smallest and least powerful of the whole number, it has been conjectured, with great probability, that this superiority may have been conceded to some pre-eminence which Ella had enjoyed in his native Country, or to some exploits of which the memory has perished.‡ The second Prince who attained the same distinction was Ceawlin of Wessex, grandson of Cerdic. The victories over the Britons, by which, as we have seen, he extended the limits of his own Kingdom, were preceded by the first war among the Saxons themselves. The contest appears to have been provoked by the youthful ambition of Ethelbert, fourth King of Kent, who, prevented from enlarging his patrimonial State at the expense of the common enemy by the interposition of other Saxon territories, endeavoured to seize a portion of Wessex. But his presumptuous invasion of the dominions of Ceawlin was chastised by a severe defeat at Wimbeldon, in which two of his *Ealdormen* or Earls were slain, with the flower of his army; and the victory of the King of Wessex threatened the Kentish Jutes with the subjugation which they had endeavoured to impose on others.§ We are not informed whether it was the moderation or policy of Ceawlin which induced him to respect the weakness of Kent, and to divert his arms against the Britons; but, at a subsequent period in his triumphant reign, his ambition led him, on the death of the second King of Sussex, to add that little State to his conquests. The conclusion of his life was unfortunate. His nephew

* Our only illustration on the dignity and succession of the Bretwaldas is derived from Bede; and, after the Venerable Historian, from the *Saxon Chronicle*. But neither authority has much extended our knowledge beyond the mere verbal signification of the word. Gibbon (c. 38. note 131) considers the reign of the Bretwaldas the effect, not of Law, but of Conquest; and Dr. Lingard (vol. i. p. 106) thinks it "not rash to infer, from the strong expressions of Bede, that the inferior Kings acknowledged themselves their vassals." Yet Conquest at least cannot always be inferred from the possession of the dignity: since Ella, the first to whom it is assigned, is not declared to have subjugated Kent or Wessex; nor were later Bretwaldas always the conquerors of other Saxon Kingdoms.

† Bede, lib. ii. c. 5. *Chron. Sax.* p. 71.

‡ Lingard, *supra*.

§ *Chron. Sax.* p. 71.

* *Leyes Sax.* (Wilkins) p. 20, 71, &c.

Britain.

From

A. D.

449.

to

A. D.

500.

Series of

Bret-

waldas.

I. Ella of

Sussex.

A. D.

450.

II. Ceawlin

of Wessex.

A. D.

565.

A. D.

584.

History. Ceolric having rebelliously allied himself with the Britons, defeated him in a great battle at Wodnesberg, or the mount of Woden, in Wiltshire; and this disastrous event was soon followed by the death of the Bretwalda, and the accession of his treacherous kinsman to the throne of Wessex.*

From A. D. 449. to A. D. 500. **III. Ethelbert of Kent.** A. D. 591. A. D. 597. A. D. 603. The intestine disorders of that State probably averted the subjugation of Kent, and enabled Ethelbert to redeem the disgrace of his early years. For, by some unexplained course of prudence or fortune, he so extended his influence or power, that, after the death of Ceawlin, he assumed the title of Bretwalda, and obtained a recognition of his pre-eminence among all the Saxon States South of the Humber. The happiness of his reign was protracted to the long term of fifty-six years; and his conversion to Christianity was followed by his promulgation of the earliest Code of Anglo-Saxon legislation. During the life of Ethelbert, the Kingdom of Bernicia was engaged in a furious warfare with the Strathclyde or Scottish Britons; and in a memorable battle, the Anglian Sovereign Ethelfrith defeated them with so great slaughter, that, during more than a whole Century afterwards, they never dared to approach the Northumbrian frontiers.†

IV. Redwald of East Anglia. A. D. 616. The death of Ethelbert terminated the ascendancy of his little Kingdom; and the supremacy among the Anglo-Saxon Estates was assumed by the most powerful and numerous of the three Nations. The throne of East Anglia was filled at this juncture by Redwald, the third Prince of the line of Uffa, who is styled the fourth of the Bretwaldas. A signal victory which he obtained over Ethelfrith of Bernicia, in the same year with the decease of Ethelbert, appears to have raised him to the pre-eminence denoted by that title. After his triumph over the Strathclyde Britons, the warlike Sovereign of Bernicia had been stimulated by successful ambition to seize the dominions of his young brother-in-law, Edwin of Deira; and the ejected Prince had found refuge at the Court of Redwald. The adventures of the fugitive, as they are told by the father of English History, form an episode which, amidst the gloomy scenes of the Saxon Annals, interests alike, by the simplicity and minuteness of the narrative, and its illustration of the manners and feelings of the Age. It was after having been driven from a first asylum in Gwynedd, or North Wales, where he had been generously educated by Cailvan, the British King, and after having wandered in secret through several of the Saxon States to escape the indefatigable pursuit of his usurping enemy, that Edwin, arriving at the East Anglian Court, avowed his rank, and implored the hospitality of Redwald. He was kindly received by that Monarch and his Queen, and cheered with assurances of protection; but Ethelfrith no sooner heard of his residence at the East Anglian Court, than he sent repeated messengers to Redwald, first tempting him to deliver up the person of the Royal youth, and afterwards menacing him with vengeance for his refusal.

Adventures of a Saxon Prince. Reflecting on the invariable successes, and dreading the power of the Bernician Tyrant, the East Anglian wavered between the duty of fulfilling his promise to the exile, and the danger of encountering the threatened hostility of his persecutor. At this crisis of his fate, Edwin was sitting alone, at the close of daylight, before the gate of the Palace, when his melancholy suspense was broken

by the voice of a friend, which whispered in his ear that it was time to rise and be away, for that the King had yielded to the demands of his enemy. "And whither," said the young exile, "should I flee? I have already wandered, without finding a shelter, through all the Provinces of the Island: I have here received a pledge of safety; Redwald as yet has done me no evil; and I will not be the first to break the pledge of fidelity. I have long been too familiar with misery to be eager for life. If I am to perish, the shame of my death will not be mine, but my betrayer's; and no death can be more welcome, than that which is the work of Royal perfidy." He remained seated on the same spot, filled with the sadness of his condition, until the shades of night had fallen around him: when an unknown form seemed to rise up before him—in his troubled slumbers as we may believe—and promised him present deliverance and future greatness, if he would listen to that which should hereafter be taught him. The vision, laying a hand upon his head, bade him remember that sign, and disappeared; and Edwin, awaking with this gleam of hope, found his friend a second time by his side with an assurance of safety. The doubtful fidelity of Redwald had been confirmed by the noble sentiment of his Queen, that a King should not sell a distressed friend, nor violate his faith for gold; for that no wealth was so precious and royal as good faith. As soon as Redwald had imbibed courage to maintain the course of honour and humanity, he resolved at once to meet the inevitable consequences of resistance to the demands of the vindictive Ethelfrith; and assembling his forces, he led them towards the territory of Bernicia. On the banks of the little river Idel, in Nottinghamshire, he encountered his adversary, who was already on the march with a small Body of chosen troops to surprise him. Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, the ancient fortune and experienced skill of Ethelfrith at first supported him; and the van-guard of the three divisions in which the East Anglian army had been arrayed, was entirely destroyed, and its leader, a son of Redwald, was slain. But the despair of the father, and the courageous conduct of Edwin himself, inspired firmness into the other East Anglian divisions, and retrieved the first disaster of the combat. In an impetuous onset, Ethelfrith was slain; his followers were easily destroyed or put to flight; and Redwald not only restored his young friend to the throne of Deira, but enabled him to subject Bernicia to his sceptre. The East Anglian King returned in triumph to his own dominions, and maintained until his death the prominent station of Bretwalda, to which his victory, notwithstanding his generous relinquishment of its fruits, had deservedly raised him.‡

On the death of his benefactor, Edwin, already Sovereign of the two Kingdoms North of the Humber, assumed the title of Bretwalda. The rise of the Northumbrian power may be dated from the previous reign of the warlike Ethelfrith; and it was still further advanced by the activity and talents of Edwin. In a series of successful wars, he established his superiority over the Saxons of Wessex and the Britons of North Wales; while he maintained the relations of an amicable supremacy with the successors of Redwald in East

Britain.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.

V. Edwin of Northumbria.
A. D.
623.

* Chron. Sax. p. 20—23.

† Bede, lib. i. c. 34. Chron. Sax. p. 24.

• The use which was made of this vision or dream, in the subsequent conversion of Edwin to Christianity, will be found noticed in the next Chapter.

‡ Bede, lib. ii. c. 12. See, also, Chron. Sax. p. 27.

History. Anglia. His attack upon the West Saxons was caused by a base attempt of their Sovereign Cwichelm, who was envious of his rising fortunes, to procure his assassination. The agent selected for this atrocity, who was invested by Cwichelm with the office of an ambassador, watched his opportunity during an audience to him a dagger at the heart of Edwin. Lilla, a faithful *thegn* or nobelman, with the quick glances of affection, saw the danger of the King only in time to throw himself before the person of his master, and to receive the blow which it was too late to avert. The stroke was so violent, that Edwin was himself slightly wounded through the body of his devoted attendant; but the murderer was immediately overpowered by numbers and killed, though not before, in the desperation of his struggle, he had slain a second Nobleman in the assembly with the same weapon which had pierced the heart of Lilla. Edwin took a signal vengeance for the foul treachery of Cwichelm by invading his dominions, and inflicting so severe a defeat upon the West Saxons, that five of their Chieftains were slain in the battle, and their Country was pillaged by the victors.

A. D.
626.

We are not clearly informed of the provocation which induced Edwin to undertake his subsequent wars against Cadwallon, King of North Wales: but the British Prince is said to have been the aggressor by the invasion of the Northumbrian dominions. As Cadwallon, however, was the son of that Cadfan who had given an asylum to the early youth of Edwin, the circumstances of the contest may suggest a suspicion, that the Bretwalda was less sensible to the impulse of gratitude than of ambition. After repelling the invasion of Cadwallon, Edwin became in turn the assailant, penetrated into the heart of North Wales, conquered great part of the Country, and obliged the British Prince to seek refuge in Ireland. Pursuing his advantage, he reduced the Islands of Anglesey and Man, and extended his sway far beyond that of any preceding Bretwalda, as well over the Saxon as the British States. As a symbol of his supremacy, he introduced a pageantry unknown to his rude Countrymen; and whenever he appeared in public, the *Tufa*, or Roman standard of empire, was always borne before him. It is a more honourable evidence of his power, and of the spirit in which it was administered, that the memory of his vigilant justice was long preserved; and the excellence of the internal police which he established in that Age of violence is pointedly attested by a current proverb of the succeeding generation, that, "in the days of Edwin, a woman with the babe at her breast, might walk from sea to sea without fear of injury or insult." He caused reservoirs of stone to be fixed at convenient distances on all the highways through his dominions to collect the waters of the nearest springs, and chained to them vessels of brass, for the refreshment of travellers. In a state of society, in which no places of entertainment were provided for wayfarers, this considerate provision—suggested to Edwin, perhaps, by his own early experience of fatigue and privations in his wanderings—was gratefully received by his People; and such were the lawless habits of the times as to make it thought worthy of note, that dread of the King's searching justice, or respect for his benevolence, restrained all men from the theft of these cups.*

Rise of
Penda of
Mercia.

Notwithstanding the greatness and virtuous reputation of Edwin, his reign terminated calamitously. Under

the vigorous and able administration of Penda, the grandson of Cridda, a ferocious and warlike Chieftain, the extensive Province of Mercia, which until that period had remained subordinate to the dominion of the Northern Angles, attained sufficient strength for the assertion of independence. Penda, now advanced in years, had long endured with impatience the supremacy of the Northumbrian King, when his aid was besought by the British Sovereign of North Wales, in an attempt to throw off the same yoke. Notwithstanding the national hatred between Saxon and Briton, the similarity of their views formed a sufficient bond of alliance and revolt; and Penda and Cadwallon, uniting their forces, encountered those of Edwin in a great battle at Hatfield, in Yorkshire. The issue of that conflict proved fatal, as we have already seen, to the Empire and life of Edwin, and gave a decided superiority over all the Anglo-Saxon States to the cruel Penda, who appears now first to have assumed the Royal title in Mercia.*

Though this Prince is not numbered by the Saxon Writers among the Bretwaldas, the pre-eminence of his power renders him in effect the most conspicuous among the contemporary Sovereigns of the Island; and the circumstances of his reign will best illustrate the general Annals of all Britain. After the victory of Hatfield, the inoffensive tranquillity of East Anglia next tempted his spirit of cruel aggression. Sigebert, the King of that State, actuated by the mistaken piety of the times, which preferred the devotional retirement of the Cloister to the active duties of life, had assumed the tonsure, and resigned the throne to his cousin Ecgric: but his People, on the alarm of Penda's invasion, distrusting the abilities of his successor, drew him by entreaty or force from his Monastery, and insisted on his assuming the command of their army. Sigebert reluctantly yielded: but refusing to bear arms, as repugnant to his Religious profession, he would assume no other emblem of command than a wand. His military skill was exceeded by the veteran ability of Penda; and both the Royal Monk and the reigning Prince of the East Angles perished on the same disastrous field. A second Bretwalda, in the person of another Northumbrian King, was soon after adiled to the number of the victims whom Penda immolated to his fierce ambition. This was Oswald, the conqueror of Cadwallon, who, probably from his success against the Welsh Prince, had assumed the supreme title, and further justified his claim to it, no less by his pacific virtues than by his subsequent victories over the Scottish Britons, whom he rendered tributary to Northumbria. But, in the eighth year of his reign, he was attacked by Penda, and shared the fate of Edwin. The savage victor, after mutilating the dead body of his adversary, and spreading devastation through Northumbria, laid siege to its Capital Bebbanburgh, or Bamborough. But the strength of that place, situated on a rocky promontory of the German Ocean, defied his assaults, and he resolved to destroy it by fire. For that purpose, demolishing the villages in its neighbourhood, he piled all their combustible materials up near the walls of the city; and so soon as the wind set strongly towards the place, the whole mass was inflamed. The appalled inhabitants were already oppressed by volumes of smoke, and expecting the destruction of their walls from the progress of the fire: when the wind

British.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.

Great Battle
at Hatfield.
Defeat and
Death of
Edwin.
A. D.
633.

Rise of
Penda.

Series of
his victories
and atrocities.

His subjugation
of East Anglia.
A. D.
634.

VI. Oswald
of Northumbria,
Bretwalda.
A. D.
634.

Defeated and slain by
Penda.
A. D.
642.

* Bede, lib. ii. c. 5—16. *Chron. Sax.* p. 27.

* Bede, lib. ii. c. 20. *Chron. Sax.* p. 29.

History. suddenly shifting, turned the conflagration upon its authors; and the panic-stricken Mercians abandoned the siege.*

From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.
who sub-
duces Wes-
sax.
A. D.
643.

After the retreat of Penda from Bamborough, the subjugation of Wessex was the next enterprise which engaged his vindictive and insatiable ambition. Cenwalch, the Sovereign of that State, had incurred his resentment by repudiating his sister. The arms of Penda were as usual victorious; and the West Saxon King was expelled from his dominions. He sought an asylum in East Anglia; and the hospitality which he received from its Sovereign, afforded the ferocious Mercian a pretext for fresh aggression upon that Kingdom.

and again
oppresses
East Ang-
lia.

The Country of the East Angles was again invaded; their army was routed; and a third of their Monarchs perished by the sword of Penda. Though he had already reached the age of eighty years, the spirit of that ruler was still as active and sanguinary as ever; and nothing less than the total destruction of every opponent could now satisfy his pride and cupidity. The Northern Angles continued the peculiar objects of his fury. It was in vain that Oswy, the brother and successor of Oswald, strove, by the tender of submission and tribute, to deprecate his enmity. Penda had sworn to exterminate the whole Nation of the Northumbrians; and in his last invasion of their Country, no fewer than thirty vassal Kings and Chieftains of the Saxon and British race swelled, with their followers, the multitude of his forces. But Oswy and his People were urged

but is him-
self finally
defeated by
Oswy of
Northum-
beria.
and slain.
A. D.
651.

by despair to oppose the most vigorous resistance; and notwithstanding their inferiority in numbers and martial equipment, they so totally defeated the army of the hoary Tyrant, that only two of the thirty vassal Princes who fought under his standard escaped with life; and Penda himself, being hurried off the field in the general rout, was overtaken and put to death. The battle was fought at Winwidfield in Yorkshire; and the waters of the Aere, which had overflowed its banks, swept away a greater number of the Mercians in their flight, than had perished in the conflict. Though perpetrated in an Age so familiar with horrors, the surpassing crimes of Penda were deemed to have provoked the retributive justice of his fate; and the natural sentiment of the People was expressed and preserved in a proverbial saying, that in Winwid's stream were avenged the deaths of the three East Anglian and the two Northumbrian Kings, whose blood had been shed by the Pagan Tyrant.†

The fall of Penda, and the destruction of his army, opened a field for the elevation of Oswy to the dignity and power of Bretwalda. Both Mercia and East Anglia, whose strength had been exhausted in the struggle with Penda, lay prostrate before the victorious arms of the Northumbrian; and annexing the former Province to his own dominions, he established his superiority over all the other Saxon States. The Welsh and Scottish Princes also are said to have become his tributaries; and for a season he vigorously maintained the supremacy expressed by his title. Yet in the later years of his reign, his power was considerably diminished. Under Cenwalch, so soon as that Prince was relieved from the oppression of Penda, Wessex began to emerge into activity and vigour; and some Mercian Nobles, revolting against the Bretwalda, succeeded in recovering the independence of their Country, and placed on its

throne Wulfhere, the youngest son of Penda: whom, amidst the ruin of his House, they had diligently concealed from the search of the conqueror. Under Wulfhere, the Kings of Sussex and Essex courted the friendship, and declared themselves the dependent allies of Mercia; and the recovering power both of that State and of Wessex began to contend with Northumbria for superiority. Oswy, however, died in peace; and with him expired the title and the supremacy of the Bretwaldas.‡

The successive assumption of that dignity by one South Saxon, one West Saxon, one Kentish, one East Anglian, and three Northumbrian Kings, may serve to illustrate the relative importance or influence which the States of the Octarchy had at different periods hitherto enjoyed. But if, upon this estimate, Northumbria had latterly acquired the decided predominance, the superiority had gradually been declining during the last years of Oswy; and after his death it was never recovered. The greater natural strength of Mercia, which had been developed under the energetic, though cruel sway of Penda, was matured by the prudent administration of his son; and Wessex, by the slow but certain progress of its arms against the Britons, had incorporated almost all the Southern and South Western parts of the Island into its territory. The remaining States, Sussex, Kent, Essex, and East Anglia, were each singly unequal to a contest with their more powerful neighbours, and figured only as the allies, or more generally as the subjects, of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. From that time, therefore, the struggle for the supremacy lay among these latter Kingdoms; and when the Saxon Annals cease to be illustrated by a succession of Bretwaldas, we can discover no better order of narration than to pursue the reigns of Monarchs who, in view of the three larger States, predominated over their rival contemporaries.

On the death of Oswy, the Crown of Northumbria passed to his Son Egfrid, who, during his reign, but without the supreme title, endeavoured, on the whole not unsuccessfully, to maintain the predominance of his State over the other Saxon Kingdoms. His most powerful competitor was Wulfhere of Mercia; but he defeated that Monarch, and on his death, even took possession for a time of his dominions; which he, however, shortly restored to Ethelred, the surviving son of Penda, who had married his sister. Subsequently, notwithstanding this alliance, a war arose between Egfrid and Ethelred, which, after a bloody and dubious conflict on the Trent, was terminated by the mediation of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. But the principal triumphs, and the final disaster, of Egfrid's reign, were achieved and suffered in his wars against the Caledonian Britons. That People, soon after his accession, took advantage of his youth, to assert their independence: but he attacked them with vigour so unexpected, and routed their army with so great slaughter, that he compelled them to resume their submission to the Northumbrian Crown. At a later period, he carried his arms into Ireland, then distinguished for the peaceful character of its people, and even for the superior Learning and virtues of its Monastic teachers. Though the inoffensive natives do not appear to have given him any provocation, Egfrid, in the cruel wantonness of ambition, resolved upon their subjugation,

Britain.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
600.
Death of
Oswy.

A. D.
670.
Cessation of
the title of
Bretwalda.

Subsequent
rivalry of
Northum-
beria, Mercia,
and Wes-
sax.

Succession
of predomi-
nant
Princes.
Egfrid of
Northum-
beria.
A. D.
670.

A. D.
679.

His inva-
sion of Ire-
land.

A. D.
684.

* Bede, lib. iii. c. 1—16. *Chron. Sax.* p. 32.
† *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 17—24. *Ibid.* p. 33.

* Bede, lib. iii. c. 25. ad fin. iv. ad c. 11. *Chron. Sax.* p. 34—40.

History.

From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.

A. D.
685.

and, under his General Beorht, despatched across the channel an army, which, though prevented by the brave resistance of the invaded from effecting the purpose of conquest, miserably ravaged their coasts, and burned many of their towns with the Churches and Monasteries. Their wrongs were speedily avenged in the fate of Egfrid; for, in the following year, impelled by the same restless spirit of aggression, he rashly led his followers into the territory of the Caledonians, and being inveigled into the fastnesses of their Northern mountains, he was cut off, with nearly all his army, in a bloody engagement at Drumnechtan. The body of Egfrid was found among the slain, and received an honourable interment from the victors in their Royal Cemetery, in the celebrated Isle of Icolmkill, or St. Columba. The disastrous issue of this expedition encouraged the Welsh, as well as the Scottish Britons, to throw off the yoke of Northumbria; and, under the reign of Aldfrid, the successor of Egfrid, a second defeat, in a similar invasion entrusted to Beorht, in which the Northumbrian leader also perished with his army, still further broke the power of that State. Aldfrid, a pacific Prince, distinguished among his contemporaries for his piety and Learning, did not attempt to preserve the supremacy among the Saxon Kingdoms, which his predecessors had asserted: but contented himself with governing his contracted dominions in the enjoyment of the universal respect, which was accorded to his virtues, both by his own People and the adjacent States.*

Ceadwalla,

A. D.
685.

The same year in which Egfrid perished was marked by the rise in Wessex of Ceadwalla, who became the most distinguished Saxon Prince of his times. The failure of issue in the direct Royal line after the death of Cenwalch, had reduced the Kingdom of the West Saxons to the condition of a turbulent Aristocracy; in which many Chieftains of the race of Cerdic alternately contended with each other for the ascendancy, and conferred the Royal title on one of their number for the exigencies of common defence against foreign enemies. In the vicissitudes of faction produced by this disorderly form of Government, the young Ceadwalla, himself a descendant from Cerdic, was first banished from Wessex, and subsequently raised to its throne. His abilities and fortune, in peace and in war, enabled him not only to maintain that dignity over his own subjects, but to establish his superiority over the Kingdoms of Sussex and Kent. His victorious career was sullied by frightful cruelties; and it was probably the impulse of a repentant conscience which induced him, before he had reached the age of thirty years, to abandon his dominions and proceed on a pilgrimage to Rome, to receive the rite of Baptism from the hands of the Pope. He died very soon after his arrival in the holy city: but his example was followed in the course of a few years by two other Anglo-Saxon Kings, Cenred of Mercia, and Offa of Essex; who travelling also to Rome, there assumed the Monastic profession, and died.†

and Ina, of Wessex.

A. D.
685.

The death of Ceadwalla was followed in Wessex by the long reign of Ina. He was lineally descended from Cerdic; but the irregularity which prevailed in the order of Royal succession among the Anglo-Saxons is evinced in the example of his election to the throne, while his own father and two children of the late King were living.

His elevation, however, justified the national choice; for the martial abilities and achievements of Ina were not inferior to those of the most distinguished of his predecessors; and it was his victorious career which confirmed the increasing power of Wessex. By his successive conquests over the Cornish Britons, he added a considerable territory to his Kingdom; by some unrecorded means he acquired the paramount sovereignty of Essex; and after an obstinate struggle of the People of Sussex to recover their independence, he finally annexed that State to the Crown of Wessex. A war in which he engaged with Ceolred, King of Mercia, produced no other fruits than a sanguinary and indecisive battle at Wodnesbeorg: but he had previously reduced the less powerful State of Kent into complete subjection to his arms. The name of Ina, however, is chiefly indebted for its fame to his efforts as a Legislator; and the Collection of his Laws, which yet survives, avouches his best title to remembrance. In the fifth year of his reign, at a Witena-gemot, or Assembly of the National Council of Wessex, and "with the advice," as it is simply expressed in the exordium to his Code, "of his father Cenred, his Bishops Hedda and Ercenwald, and of all his Ealdormen, the oldest Sages of his People, and a great collection of God's servants," he collected or enacted these Laws, in number seventy-nine.* In such an attempt to reduce the customary and oral rules of judgment, during a rude condition of society, into a series of written jurisprudence, we are not, of course, to expect any approach to a perfect system of legislation; but the Code of Ina entitled him to the gratitude of his People, and its purpose may command the respect even of more enlightened Ages. It determined the scale of those pecuniary compensations for crimes, which were, perhaps, the only restraint upon violence which the fierce spirit of the times would endure; by punishing robberies and frauds which ruined industry, and obstructed the fair interchange of property, it attempted to give security to the trader and the cultivator; and it extended the protection of humanity in some measure even to the domestic bondsman and the serf of the soil.†

As the Laws of Ina mark some of the first advances of the Saxon mind in the work of social order, so the traditional account which has descended to us of the last scene of his lengthened and prosperous reign, may at least serve to exemplify the tone of Religious and Philosophical sentiment which belonged to the same Age. In his declining years, the Consort of Ina had often vainly besought him to withdraw with her from the World, and to exchange the cares of Royalty for the retirement of the cloister. As her eloquence failed to wean the aged Monarch from the habitual passion for Regal state, she had recourse to a singular practical homily against the grovelling objects of all earthly luxury. After giving a sumptuous banquet to their Nobles and Clergy at a country Palace, the Royal pair departed on a journey; but, having travelled a short distance, Ina was induced, by the earnest entreaty of the Queen, to retrace their way. As he again approached the scene of recent festivity, the King was astonished at the silence and desolation which seemed to pervade it. His amazement increased, when, on entering the banquetting chamber, he found its Regal garniture vanished, the apartment overspread with filth and

Britain.

From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.

His conquests over the Cornish Britons.

A. D.
710.

He subjected the Cornish Britons.

A. D.
694.

and Sussex.

A. D.
725.

Laws of Ina.

* Bede, lib. iv. c. 12. lib. v. c. 24. Chron. Sax. p. 49.
† Ibid. lib. iv. c. 15. lib. v. c. 7. Ibid. p. 44—48.

* Wilkins, *Leyes Sax.* p. 14.
† Ibid. p. 14—27.

History. rubbish, and the very couch on which he had reposed occupied by a litter of swine. While he yet gazed in silent disgust on the change, his Queen confessed that it had been prepared by her command: "My lord and husband, behold how shortly may all appliances of human grandeur be converted to the vilest uses! Here are no longer the voices of revellers and parasites, the glitter of silver vessels, or the allurements of exquisite viands. All these are gone like the wind and the smoke, and shall not our enjoyment of such toys soon be as vain and fleeting? See, I beseech you, how disgusting is the transformation in these objects of our solicitude. To still more loathsome changes must our own pampered bodies submit. Unhappy then must we be if their indulgence absorb our minds. Ah! let us not cling to these corrupting vanities, but seek rather the things of Eternity!" But History has suggested some other, and, it may be, better authenticated explanations of the retirement of Ina from the throne.* His frame was oppressed by infirmities, and his mind distracted with the cares of government. The peace of his old age was broken by rebellions; and experience had taught him the difficulty of curbing with an enfeebled hand the restless spirit of a factious and warlike Nobility. He perhaps resolved to descend voluntarily from a station, which he could no longer retain with dignity; and the customs of the times regulated the subsequent purpose of his piety. Having solemnly resigned the Crown in a Witenagemot, he soon after travelled on a pilgrimage with his Queen to Rome: where they both sought a voluntary obscurity, and died in their self-inflicted condition of poverty.†

His abdication. The abdication of Ina was followed by the disorders of a disputed succession, which for a time impaired the power of Wessex, and placed that of her rival State in the ascendant. The sceptre of Mercia was at that epoch held by Ethelbald, an able and active Prince, who soon took advantage of the intestine divisions of the West Saxons to assert the superiority of his throne over all those portions of the Island which lie between the Humber and the Southern Channel. He seems to have been the first Monarch since the Bretwaldas who arrogated to himself the universal Sovereignty of the Anglo-Saxons: for in his Charters he assumed the title of "King of Britain, and King not only of Mercia, but of all the Provinces which are known under the general South-Anglian name;" or, in other words, of all England, unless it should be thought that Northumbria was designedly excepted by the phrase. That Kingdom was governed, during great part of the Southern reign of Ethelbald, by Eadbert, whose successive victories over the Caledonians and Strathclyde Britons enlarged his dominions, and revived the glory of the Northumbrian name. The Mercian King in general respected the power of Eadbert; or, at least, it was only during his absence in the Scottish wars, that Ethelbald ventured to attack his dominions: and the issue of those predatory invasions redounded little to the honour of the aggressor. After a brilliant reign of twenty-one years, Eadbert imitated the example, which so many Anglo-Saxon Princes had already offered, of retiring into a Monastery; and from that event may be dated the rapid and final decline of the Northumbrian power.

* William of Malmesbury, p. 15.

† Lingard, vol. i. p. 198.

† Bede, lib. v. c. 7. Chron. Sax. p. 48—52.

Henceforth Mercia and Wessex were left without a third rival to share their deepening contest for the Sovereignty of the Anglo-Saxon Nation.*

Against the ascendancy, however, which the warlike ability and the fortune of Ethelbald had acquired, the contemporary Princes of Wessex for some time ineffectually struggled. Ethelheard, who had finally prevailed over a competitor, after the death of Ina, and had become the vassal of the Mercian, made a vain effort to throw off his yoke, and was punished with the loss of Somerset, then the chief place in Somersetshire. His brother Cuthred, who succeeded him eight years later, was compelled to serve Ethelbald in his wars against the Welsh; and the united army of the Anglo-Saxons inflicted a severe defeat upon that People, and devastated their Country in several expeditions. At length Cuthred, a Prince of more vigorous character than his late brother, who bore with impatience the exactions of his Tyrant, resolved to emancipate himself and his Country from the Mercian supremacy; and encountered Ethelbald on the field of Burford in Oxfordshire. The circumstances of this great and obstinate battle have been depicted by an ancient Chronicler with unusual spirit and vividness of colouring. In the insolence of confident power, the Mercians fought for dominion and plunder; with the courage of desperation, the West Saxons struggled to escape the worst horrors of subjection. The national standards of the People were directly opposed in the van of either army; and the thickest and fiercest of the fight soon gathered round them. In the onset a gallant Ealdorman, Edelm, once a rebel, but now the most faithful subject of Cuthred, who bore the Golden Dragon, the banner of Wessex, slew with his own hand the standard-bearer of Ethelbald. The West Saxons hailed the deed of their champion with shouts of exultation as the sure presage of victory; the Mercians rushed forward to rescue their standard; and the hostile lines closed in one general and furious death-struggle. The murderous conflict with the sword, the spear, and the ponderous battle-axe—the last the most common weapon of the Anglo-Saxon array,—long hung in suspense, until the Ealdorman Edelm, who figures as the hero of the battle, confronted the Mercian King. Each collected his full vigour for the collision: but Ethelbald was overpowered by the gigantic stature and strength of the champion. Forgetful of his former fame, and preferring safety to glory, Ethelbald, the conqueror of many fields, gave to his yet struggling followers the first example of a precipitate flight, which produced the total rout of his army. This victory of the West Saxons destroyed for a time the supremacy of Mercia; and five years later, Ethelbald lost in battle against his own rebellious subjects, the life which had been only ingloriously protracted by fleeing before his foreign enemies.†

The death of Cuthred preceded that of his humbled rival, for he survived his victory of Burford only two years: but in that interval he undertook another successful expedition against the Britons, and annexed to his dominions a fresh district, torn from the Welsh frontiers. His successor, Sigehyrt, after a brief and tyrannical reign, was deposed and murdered; and the West Saxon Nobles elected in his place Cynewulf, a descendant of Cerdic: in whose long reign of twenty-nine years

Britain.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.
Mercia pre-
dominant
South of
the Humber
under Ethel-
bald.
A. D.
743.

Great battle
of Burford.
A. D.
752.

Defeat of
Ethelbald
by Cuthred
of Wessex.

Death of
Ethelbald.
A. D.
757.

Succession of
Cuthred in
Wessex.

A. D.
755.

* Bede, lib. v. c. ult. Chron. Sax. p. 64—59.
† Chron. Sax. p. 54—56. Huntingdon, p. 341.

History.

From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.
Examples
of personal
fidelity and
revenge
among the
Anglo-
Saxons.
A. D.
784.

there is nothing better worthy of record, than his defeat in a contest with Mercia, which terminated disgracefully by the surrender of the West Saxon territory on the Northern bank of the Thames. The circumstances, however, which attended the death of Cynewulf, throw too curious a light upon some qualities of the Anglo-Saxon character to be passed over in silence. Cyneheard, brother of the last King, having been driven into exile by the jealousy of the reigning Prince, had secretly returned to Wessex, still brooding over long-cherished desires of revenge, when the incautious security of Cynewulf gave him an opportunity of putting them into execution. While Cyneheard lay concealed, with a devoted band of about eighty adherents, whom he had collected in the forest near Winchester, the King one afternoon left that Royal residence but slightly attended, to visit a lady to whom he was attached at Merton in Surrey. The conspirators secretly followed his train; and after his attendants were dismissed for the night to some neighbouring houses, surrounded that to which he had retired, and broke in upon his unguarded slumbers. The Royal victim, roused by their intrusion, seized his sword, and rushing upon their leader, whom he recognised, severely wounded him: but he was overpowered by numbers, and slain, before his attendants, awakened by the clash of weapons and the shrieks of his mistress, could arrive to his assistance. The conspirators offered safety to the Royal servants, and even tempted them, few as they were, by bribes to be gone in peace: but personal fidelity to a Lord was a principle of honourable obligation already deemed as sacred among the Anglo-Saxons, as in the feudal relations of later times; and the faithful followers of the King, rejecting all compromise, fiercely assailed his murderers, and continued the generous but unavailing conflict, until they fell to a man beside their master's body. Even a Briton, in their company, who had been detained as a hostage at the Saxon Court, fought by their side, until he was desperately wounded, and was indebted for his life to the forbearance of the conspirators. The tidings of this dismal tragedy had no sooner reached Winchester, than the Thegns of the Royal household assembled their retainers, and took horse for Merton; where the conspirators had hastily fortified themselves. Cyneheard met the new comers in parley at the barrier, dwelt upon the family wrongs which had roused him to vengeance, asserted his own claim to the Crown which his brother had worn, offered munificently to purchase their assistance in obtaining it, and reminded them that many of his band were their kinsmen. The Royal Thegns indignantly spurned the proposal: declaring that their murdered Lord was not less dear to them than their kinsmen; that, if the latter wished to save their lives, they were free to depart; but that on Cyneheard and the rest of his band, vengeance should be done. The kinsmen of the Royal Thegns, in their turn refused to obtain the proffered safety, by desertion of their Lord: the same boon, they said, had been rejected but yester-even by the King's train, and it should that morn be seen that Cyneheard had followers not less generous in their devotion. The impatient assailants waited no further question to commence a furious onset; the barrier was hewn down by their battle-axes; the conspirators defended themselves with desperation; and the struggle ceased only with the fall of the last of the guilty band. Among the heap of his slaughtered companions, which covered the dead body

of Cyneheard, one youth only was found to breathe. He was the godson of the Ealdorman Osric, who had led the assailants; and reverence for that sacred tie preserved his solitary life.*

The undistinguished reign of Cynewulf in Wessex was eclipsed by the superior power of Offa of Mercia; who, after an interval of anarchy, which followed the death of Ethelbald, had been raised to the throne of that Kingdom. The original claims of Offa to the Regal dignity were founded on his descent from a brother of Penda: but his Crown was laboriously won by the sword; and the first fourteen years of his reign were consumed in Civil wars, during which he shed much blood and committed many atrocious cruelties. His talents were, however, as eminent, as his temper was sanguinary and his ambition unscrupulous; and he had no sooner established his authority in his own Kingdom, than his enterprises began to be formidable to the surrounding States. After having assailed and oppressed the feeble independence of Kent, he turned his arms against the more powerful Kingdom of Wessex; and his defeat of Cynewulf at Bensington, was followed, as we have already stated, by the cession to Mercia of all the territory North of the Thames. This triumph was only the prelude to still more important and permanent conquests from the Welsh. After some vicissitudes of fortune, he finally expelled that People from all their possessions between the Severn and the Wye; filled the intermediate Country with Anglo-Saxon colonies; and effectually repressed the fierce incursions of the mountaineers upon the new settlers, by drawing a ditch and rampart from the mouth of the latter river to the estuary of the Dee. This gigantic work, which was long celebrated under the name of "Claudh Offa," or "Offa's Dyke," and of which some traces remain to this hour, was carried through marshes and rivers and over mountains for a distance of above one hundred miles; and it served in subsequent Ages for the boundary which determined the confines of England and Wales.†

The predominant power of Offa may be determined by the eagerness of the other Anglo-Saxon Princes of the period to court his alliance. One of his daughters, Elfreda, was married to Ethelred, King of Northumbria, whom he had compelled by the terror of his arms to acknowledge his supremacy. Another, Eadburga, was united to Beorhtic, the successor of Cynewulf on the throne of Wessex. The overture of a third Royal suitor for the hand of his remaining daughter, Etheldritha, was followed by an act of horrible treachery, fatal alike to the life of the lover and the fame of Offa. Attended by a numerous retinue, Ethelbert, King of East Anglia, a youthful prince of handsome person, virtuous disposition, and excelling in all the accomplishments of the Age, arrived on the Mercian frontiers to solicit Etheldritha for his bride. The announcement of the purpose of his journey was met by Offa with a warm invitation to proceed, and by solemn assurances of a safe and respectful reception. Thus encouraged, on his arrival at the Court, he was welcomed with the honours claimed by his rank, and the affectionate attentions due to a favoured suitor. But on retiring to his chamber, after the festivity of a banquet, he was basely assassinated. The ancient Chroniclers differ in the

Rein.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.
Offa of
Mercia.
A. D.
757.

Victims
over Wessex
A. D.
777.
And the
Welsh.

Construc-
tion of his
"Dyke."
A. D.
750.

The power
of Offa pre-
dominant.

His pro-
posals were
denied by
Ethelbert
East Angles

* Chron. Sax. p. 59—63. Huntingdon, p. 343.

† Chron. Sax. p. 56—61. Asee, de *Gedra Efredi*, (Wise,) p. 10.

History. share of this most foul and inhospitable murder which they attribute to Offa: but they are unanimous in assigning to his Queen Cynefrida the original guilt of its suggestion. But the subsequent conduct of the Mercian King betrays the purpose of the crime, and stamps on his memory the full infamy of its accomplishment: he immediately seized the East Anglian dominions, and annexed them to his own.*

From A. D. 449. to A. D. 800. And **death of that Kingdom.** A. D. 792. **Death of Offa, and remembrance of his family.** With the natural and pious desire of marking the retributive justice of Heaven, the Chroniclers of the Age before us have felt some satisfaction in tracing the punishment of Offa's crimes by the calamities of his House. Of his three daughters, Elfreda was widowed by the murder of her husband; Eadburga, expelled from the throne of Wessex for her atrocities, died wretchedly in exile; and Etheldritha, the destined bride of the young Ethelbert, horror-stricken at his assassination, fled from her father's Court to the Abbey of Croylund, and there ended her days in mournful seclusion. Cynefrida, the evil counsellor of her husband's blood-stained ambition, perished miserably; and Offa himself survived to possess his ill-gotten Crown of East Anglia only two years, and then sank into the grave the victim of remorse and disease. His son Ecgfrid, who succeeded him, died childless after he had possessed the throne of Mercia only one hundred and forty-one days; and thus, in a few years, the Race of Offa, whose elevation had been purchased at the expense of so much bloodshed and guilt, disappeared for ever.†

Correspondence of Offa and Charlemagne. The reign of Offa is memorable, among other circumstances, for the opening of an amicable intercourse between the Anglo-Saxon States and the Carolingian Empire. It was that learned Englishman, Alcuin, the Preceptor of Charlemagne, who seems to have originated an epistolary correspondence between his great pupil and the Mercian King. It commenced by the humane intercession of Charlemagne with Offa to obtain the pardon of some noble Anglian exiles; and was improved into the establishment of provisions for regulating the commerce of their dominions. In Letters, which are still extant, Charlemagne terms Offa his dearest brother, and greets him with presents: but those friendly relations were interrupted by the very means employed to cement them. Charlemagne, in pledge of his amity, having offered his natural son, Charles, as a husband for one of the daughters of Offa, the Mercian King assented, upon condition of obtaining a Princess of the Carolingian House for his legitimate heir, Ecgfrid. Though the Frankish Monarch had hitherto addressed Offa as a Prince of not inferior dignity to himself, his pride conceived such unreasonable offence at the assumption of equality implied in this counterproposal, that he suddenly suspended all intercourse between his Court and that of Mercia, and even forbade altogether the importation into his dominions of the woollen gowns, which already formed an article of English manufacture. But his own subjects, as well as those of Offa, suffered so much inconvenience from the suspension of this traffic, that he soon allowed Alcuin to exercise his mediation successfully for the re-establishment of a friendly intercourse between the two Governments.‡

The protection which the Court of Charlemagne meanwhile afforded to an illustrious Anglo-Saxon exile, led at a subsequent period to a closer intercourse between the predominant English State and the Frankish Empire. After the tragical fate of Cynewulf, the Nobles of Wessex, exerting their customary right of election, had raised Beorhtric, one of their Order of the race of Cerdic, to the vacant throne. The elevation of the new King had been opposed, or his jealousy at least was excited, by the rival pretensions of Egbert, another scion of the same Royal stock; and the youthful Prince was compelled to consult his safety by retiring, first to the Mercian, and afterwards to the Carolingian Court. By the great Monarch of the Franks Egbert was received with kindness; and the period of his exile at the most civilized and intellectual Court of the times was beneficial to the enlargement of his mind, and the cultivation of his natural talents. He is said to have attended Charlemagne in several of his military expeditions; and the superior acquirements which he subsequently displayed in the arts of war and government, may reasonably be referred to the experience which he had gained in the service of his accomplished and powerful protector.*

Egbert seems, during the life of his enemy, to have made no effort to reestablish himself in his native land; and for sixteen years Beorhtric reigned undisturbed over Wessex. To conciliate the friendship of the formidable Offa, and to induce him to withdraw his protection from Egbert, the King of Wessex had solicited and obtained the hand of one of the daughters of the Mercian; and the alliance by which he thus sought to secure his throne, became eventually the occasion of his destruction. His Queen, Eadburga, was a woman of arrogant temper and vicious passions. With a spirit as ambitious and unprincipled as that of her father Offa, she acquired a complete ascendancy over the more feeble mind of her husband, and subjected both himself and his Kingdom to her despotic sway. Her jealousy of his partiality for a young Nobleman of the Court at last induced her to mingle a deadly potion for the favourite; and Beorhtric, accidentally partaking of the poisoned chalice, shared the same fate with the intended victim. The murderess eluded the vengeance with which her husband's subjects would justly have visited her crimes, by a timely flight to the Continent, with considerable treasures which she had accumulated: but the Witena-gemot of Wessex, strangely extending to her whole sex the indignation provoked by her wickedness, enacted a law by which the future consorts of their Kings were excluded from participating in the Royal titles and prerogatives. Eadburga sought the usual refuge of the Carolingian Court, and laid splendid offerings from her treasure before the throne of its Monarch. In reply to a jesting inquiry from Charlemagne, whether she would wed him or his son, she declared her preference for the latter, because he was the younger. In real or affected displeasure, the King taunted her with the assurance that, if she had chosen differently, he would have transferred her to his son; but, as it was, she should have neither. He assigned to her a station under the discipline of the Cloister, which he perhaps deemed better fitted than a new marriage for the correction of her Morals and the expiation of her guilt; and he endowed her with possession of a

Britain.

From A. D. 449. to A. D. 800. Affairs of Wessex. Reign of Beorhtric. A. D. 784.

Exile of Egbert, at the Court of Charlemagne.

Death of Beorhtric.

Story of Eadburga.

* Chron. Sax. p. 65. *Vita Offa*, (apud Matthew Paris, Ed. Watts.) p. 23.

† *Vita Offa*, p. 24, 25. Auser, p. 10, 12.

‡ *Epistola Caroli Magni*, (apud Dom Bouquet,) vol. v. p. 620. See also Bouquet, *Ibid.* p. 315—620; and Alcuini, *Ep.* 61.

* Chron. Sax. p. 63. Malm. lib. ii. c. 1.

History wealthy Convent, with the title of Abbess. But even in this retreat, she continued to indulge her depravity, until the public scandal of her conduct compelled her ignominious expulsion. In her last years, after many adventures, she wandered into Italy, dragging on in squalid vice and poverty a miserable and loathsome existence; and accompanied only by a little girl, the daughter and widow of two Anglo-Saxon Kings she was reduced to beg her daily bread in rags through the streets of Pavia, where she terminated an abandoned life by a deplorable death.*

Accession of Egbert to the throne of Wessex, A. D. 800.

Introduces a new Epoch in the Anglo-Saxon Annals. By the decease of Beorhtric, Egbert had become the only surviving Prince of the line of Cerdic, from whom he derived his origin through Iuigils, the brother of Ina; and the hereditary attachment of the Nobles and People of Wessex to the Race of the victorious founder of their State, was evinced by their unanimous recognition of the claim of his last descendant.† Egbert was immediately recalled to his own Country; and his unopposed accession to the throne of Wessex introduces a new Epoch in the Anglo-Saxon Annals. The Island was approaching a condition peculiarly favourable to the lasting predominance of a single Power. It now presented in effect only a Triarchy. Three of the petty Kingdoms of the Octarchy, Kent, Essex, and East Anglia, had already permanently fallen under the virtual sovereignty of Mercia, whose Western boundaries had been extended to the foot of the Welsh mountains: but that State itself, which since the death of Offa and the extinction of his family, had been ruled by the vigorous sceptre of Kenwulf, a collateral descendant from the family of Penda, was destined after his death, by its intestine disorders, to become an easy prey to the better administered power of Wessex. That Kingdom,

Distractions of Mercia,

which had already absorbed Sussex and the greater portion of the territory of the Cornish Britons, was sufficiently prepared, under the active and able pupil of Charlemagne, to overmatch its ancient rival. Neither in the North was any countervailing Power left to check the West Saxon ascendancy. The remaining Kingdom, composed of the two more ancient Principalities of Deira and Bernicia, had, since the death of Eadbert, been continually convulsed by revolutions so numerous, so incessant, and so ferocious, that Charlemagne, to whom one of their Princes had fled, after some vain efforts to interpose his good offices in appeasing their discords, stigmatized the Northumbrians as a nation faithless and intractable, and worse than the very Pagans.* Favoured by the distracted state of Mercia and Northumbria, the genius of Egbert finally triumphed over every opposition; and although the title of the first Monarch of all England, which has sometimes been given to him, is neither justified by facts, nor was ever claimed by his own assumption,† his general supremacy over the contemporary Kings of the Island, revived a long suspended dignity in his person as the Eighth Bretwald of the Anglo-Saxons, and established that permanent and paramount Sovereignty in the Crown of Wessex, which under his descendants ensured the complete Union of the Octarchy into the KINGDOM OF ENGLAND.

Britain.
From
A. D.
449.
to
A. D.
800.
And Northumbria.

Supremacy of Wessex thereafter permanent.

Egbert, Eighth Bretwald of the Anglo-Saxons.

* Malms. p. 26.

† Mr. Turner, vol. i. p. 441, has distinctly disproved the assertion. Egbert styled himself no more than King of the West Saxons, as his predecessors had done; and as indeed his successors, until Athelstan, continued to do. Even the great Alfred, though sometimes called *Primus Monarcha* by the Saxon Chroniclers, retained the old style, and was not in strict truth King of all England, since Danish Princes divided the Sovereignty with him; and Athelstan was properly the earliest Monarch of the whole Anglo-Saxon nation.

‡ Chron. Sax. p. 72.

* Asser, p. 10—12.

† Chron. Sax. p. 68.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SAXON CHURCH.

History. In order that this subject may be discussed with greater perspicuity, it is necessary to give a brief yet comprehensive view of the Religious state of Britain before the Saxon invasion. A sketch of the History of the Island after its conversion to Christianity from Druidical Paganism, will properly precede its second recovery from the superstitions of its Saxon conquerors.

Britain converted to Christianity in the Apostolic Age. It is an opinion commonly received, that Christianity was first planted in Britain in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar; but that event may be fixed with more probability after the victory of Claudius, when the Romans began to colonize the Island, and to establish magistrates and jurisdictions. To what particular Apostle Britain is more immediately indebted for its knowledge of Christianity, it is not easy to determine. Yet, although it may be difficult to ascertain who was really the first Apostle of the Britons, there is no difficulty in showing that the honour does not belong to some names for whom it has been claimed. It was not James the son of Zebedee, as some have conjectured, for he suffered martyrdom before the dispersion of the Apostles; it was not Simon Zelotes, as others have supposed, for he was killed in Persia; it was not Saint Peter, for he was the Apostle of the Circumcision; it was not, according to any authentic evidence, Joseph of Arimathea, for the monastic records adduced in support of that opinion bear strong marks of forgery.*

Probability that Christianity was planted in Britain by St. Paul. The testimonies which prove that a Christian Church was planted by some one of the Apostles, and probably by Saint Paul, are entitled to grave consideration. Among these we find Eusebius,† a man high in the estimation of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor born and proclaimed in Britain. He had, therefore, an opportunity of learning from the Emperor, the actual state and the origin of the British Churches. That Historian, having proved that the Apostles of Christ who preached the Gospel to the World could not be impostors, among other arguments suggests that it would have been madness in men so illiterate, who understood only their native tongue, to attempt to deceive mankind by preaching the Christian doctrine in the most remote Cities and Countries. In the number of those Countries he specifies those which are called the British Islands.‡ Theodoret§ also, in his eunu-

ration of the different nations converted by the Apostles, names the Britons; and in another part of his History, speaking of the labours and success of Saint Paul, he says, that after his release from confinement at Rome, that Apostle went into Spain, and thence carried the light of the Gospel to other nations, and to the Islands which lie in the Ocean. These testimonies are confirmed by circumstances of great probability. Saint Paul had leisure and opportunity to visit Britain, and he had sufficient invitation and encouragement to extend his missionary travels thither. The proofs brought by some Ecclesiastical Writers, for particular reasons, to show that Saint Peter was the original Apostle of Britain, are slender in comparison with the evidence in favour of Saint Paul; but the controversy is of use in showing, from the concurrence of two opposite parties in the fact, that Christianity was planted in Britain soon after the death of its Divine Author.

The Gospel having been introduced into Britain, a Christian Church subsisted there, though not always in an equal degree of vigour, till the Persecution of Dioclesian.* It then acquired new strength and reputation from the pious fortitude of its martyrs. Though the names of only three of those Confessors have been recorded, yet all Historians agree that numbers suffered in Britain with the greatest constancy and courage.† The first Martyr is said to have been Saint Alban, who lived in the town of Verulam, which had a Roman colony, and who had been converted from Paganism by a Priest to whom he had afforded protection from the general Persecution.

Though Constantine, the Roman Governor of Britain, had an inclination to favour the Christians, yet it was not in his power to dispense with the edicts of the Emperors, and he complied so far with them as to demolish the Churches. This act however was compulsory, and it was forgiven on account of his subsequent conduct when he succeeded to the Imperial crown. Though he died a Pagan, yet he granted to the Christians a free exercise of their Religion, and protected

Of the Saxon Church.

British Churches under the Persecution of Dioclesian.
A. D. 303.
to
A. D. 305.

* Some are willing to believe, on the authority of Bede, that under the reign of Marcus Antoninus, Lucius, King of Britain, addressed himself to Eleutherus, the Roman Pontiff, for teachers to instruct him in the Christian Religion. But the traditions of the British Writers are so blended with fiction, that this fact does not merit insertion in the body of our narrative. Still there is undoubted proof that the Gospel was widely extended in Britain before the close of the 11d Century; Britannorum successu Romanorum, Christo erit subdita. Tertul. advers. Jud. c. 7.

† St. Alban, Aaron, and Julius.
‡ Gildas, sec. 8. Bede, lib. i. c. 6, 7.

* "We have not one testimony which reaches to the point concerning Joseph of Arimathea which is not originally taken from the Glastonbury Legends." Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. c. 1.

† Euseb. Dem. Evang. lib. iii. c. 7.
‡ Evi vñs uatupñs Repreñatñs rñsñs.
§ Theod. tom. iv. Scrm. 9.

History.
Constantine
succeeds.
A. D.
306.

them from injury or insult. This Emperor, it is well known, died at York, and succeeded in securing the throne to his son Constantine. From the accession of Constantine must be dated the reestablishment of Christianity in the British Islands. The happy change is thus described by Gildas: "After a Persecution of ten years, its authors were taken off by remarkable judgments, the Christians were brought back to a state of ease, the victorious Cross was displayed, the churches were rebuilt, and the holy solemnities kept without any disturbance." At that period a church was erected at Verulam in honour of Saint Alban, and the town was called by his name.

Three British Bishops
present at the Council
of Arles.

A. D.
314.

But the first decisive evidence of the settled condition of the British Churches, is found in the number of Bishops which attended the Council of Arles. The Canons of that Council were subscribed by Eborius, Bishop of York, Resitutus, Bishop of London, and Adelphus, Bishop of the Third Province, into which Britain was then divided, and which was sometimes called *Britannia secunda*.^{*} We are not, however, to conclude that there were no more than three Bishops at that time in Britain, for it was the custom of every National Church to send a deputation of its Prelacy to a General Council. There is every reason to suppose that the Christians in Britain were always under an Episcopal administration, and that the British Church was governed in conformity with the rest of Christendom. When the Emperor Constantine first summoned a Council, a number of Bishops appeared from Britain proportional with other Provinces of the Empire. The Apostolical succession of the British Bishops was undisputed, and their subscriptions were received without any question of their authority; an argument sufficiently convincing that their character was as well authenticated as that of the other Prelates.

No direct
evidence
that any
British
Bishops
were present
at the Council
of Nice.

A. D.
325.

When the Christian Church was disturbed by the Arian Heresy, and the Council of Nice was convened to compose its divisions, there is no direct evidence that any Bishops from Britain were present. But it must be remembered that the subscriptions to the Canons of the 1st Nicene Council are confused and imperfect even in the best copies; and there is a strong presumption, although not a direct proof, that the Bishops of Britain were summoned, and that some of them appeared. Eusebius relates, that it was the intention of Constantine to procure as large an assemblage as possible of Bishops from all parts of the Empire, and for that purpose his summons was universal. In the Epistle of the Emperor to the different Churches, it is distinctly expressed that there was a necessity for all Bishops to meet together, in order to settle and determine the true Christian Faith.

British
Bishops at the Council
of Ariminum.

A. D.
359.

There is only a strong presumption of the appearance of any British Bishops at the Council of Nice, but for their presence at the Council of Ariminum and Sardica,† there is equally positive evidence as for their attendance at the Council of Arles. They subscribed the definitions in favour of Arianism, but their subscriptions were extorted by the Emperor Constantius, and it is probable that after their return they followed the example of the Gallican Church by re-establishing the Nicene Faith. In the time of Julian,

Athanasius mentions the Orthodoxy of the Britannic Churches.*

Arianism, it is probable, only slightly infected the British Churches;† they were more corrupted by the diffusion of the Pelagian doctrine. The errors of Pelagius have indeed been charged originally on the British People, and his fierce and contentious spirit has been attributed to National temperament.‡ Several Bishops of Britain were seduced by Agricola, a disciple of Pelagius, and Prosper, speaking of the efforts of Celestine to eradicate the Pelagian Heresy, says, that it had taken possession of the soil from which it originally sprang.§ Yet the opposition to Pelagianism in Britain was vigorous and persevering, and the British Bishops, distrusting their own sufficiency to encounter it, called in the aid of their Gallican neighbours.|| Lupus and Germanus, Bishops of great reputation, accepted the invitation, and in a conference with the Pelagians at Verulam,¶ they defended the Orthodox Faith in so convincing a manner, that they left Britain, as they supposed, confirmed in the principles of pure Christianity. But no sooner had they returned to Gaul than Pelagianism again raised its head, and Germanus undertook a second voyage to Britain, in company with Severus.** Despairing of convincing the Pelagians by argument, Germanus procured their banishment by an edict of Valentinian, and from that time, according to the testimony of Bede, the British Churches continued sound and orthodox.

Besides the suppression of Pelagianism, the Gallican Bishops rendered other aid to the British Church, in the institution of schools, and in the introduction of a Liturgy. Germanus and Lupus were in this instance, as well as in the confutation of the Pelagian doctrine, the principal benefactors to our Island. They consecrated several Bishops, and they founded a Cathedral at Llandaff, over which Dubricius, a disciple of Germanus, was placed. The authority of Dubricius was archiepiscopal, but how far it extended is uncertain. The celebrated Monastery of Baunchor, a place distant about ten miles from Chester, was founded also about that time.†† It is observed of that Monastery, that the members of it united learning with devotion, and differed from many other monastic institutions in which labour was associated with ignorance.

Such was the Faith and Learning of the British Church; its Liturgy and Ritual were those of Gaul, derived, as it is said, from Saint John, through Irenaeus and Polycarp.‡‡ It is acknowledged by the Romanists that the Liturgies of Rome and Gaul were different; and Charlemagne affirms not only that there was a difference, but that the Gallican Churches were unwilling to change their ancient service, and to practise a conformity with the Church of Rome.§§

* Athan. ad Jov. p. 246.

† The charge of Arianism is preferred against the British Churches by Gildas and Bede. Gildas, Ep. 12. Bede, lib. i. c. 8. 10. 17.

‡ Bede, lib. i. c. 10.

§ The Pelagians are called the enemies of God's grace, *Salem sua origine accipientes*. Prosper, v. Coll.

¶ Bede, lib. i. c. 17.

|| Matt. West.

** Bishop of Trier, Bede, lib. i. c. 21.

†† Bede, lib. ii. c. 2.

‡‡ Spelman, Brit. Conc. tom. i. p. 167.

§§ Stillington, Orig. Brit. c. 4.

* Birmond, *Council Gallie*: tom. i. p. 9.

† Sulpit. Sever. lib. ii. Britain was then comprehended under Gaul.

Of the
Saxon
Church.

Conference
at Verulam.
A. D.
446.

History.

Having described the establishment, we must now give an account of the declension of the British Church.

On the subjugation of the Island by the Saxons, whose progress we have already traced, Christianity appears to have maintained itself only in Wales and in Cornwall. In Wales we find the Schools of Dubricius and Illutus; and also Saint David, whose name is still preserved in the Saxon Church.* The tutelary Saint of Wales was educated under Paulinus, a disciple of Germanus; he then visited Jerusalem, where he received Episcopal consecration from the Patriarch; and soon after his return was held, at a place called Llandewey, the famous Synod of Brevy,† a general Convention of all the Bishops and Clergy of Britain on account of the Pelagian controversy. Saint David was present at that Synod, and by his authority and eloquence suppressed Pelagianism. There also he was chosen by general consent Archbishop of Caerleon, the See of which he removed to Menevia.

Church of Cornwall.

The Church of Cornwall is involved in yet greater obscurity than that of Wales.‡ Two British Bishops, we are told by Bede, assisted Wini, Bishop of Winchester, at the consecration of the Archbishop of York; but whether they were Bishops of the Cornish Britons, tributary to the West Saxons, or whether they were Bishops of South Wales, there is not sufficient evidence to determine. Thus much is certain, that the Christians in Cornwall were numerous, and that they preserved their ancient rites and usages till the latter end of the Fifth Century.

With the exception of Wales and Cornwall, however, the light of Christianity was extinguished in Britain, and the natives complied with the Paganism of their Saxon conquerors; and since those conquerors remained in their primitive ignorance for more than a century and a half, the Ecclesiastical History of England presents nothing but a few unconnected traditional events, till we come to the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

For a long time the conversion of the Saxon nation had attracted the compassionate attention of the Bishops of Rome; and Gregory the Great, who had cherished the wish with more than common zeal, at length found that circumstances were favourable to its completion. It was at the end of the VIth Century of the Christian Era, and about one hundred and fifty years after the first invasion of England by the Saxons, that Ethelbert, the King of Kent, received intelligence that a number of men, clad in a foreign garb, and practising several

unusual ceremonies, desired to be admitted to his presence. This band consisted of Augustin, a Monk of the newly-founded Order of Benedictines, with forty of his associates, who had landed in the Isle of Thanet, the same place on which the Saxons had made their hostile descent.

At his first interview with these strangers, Ethelbert heard them in the open air, on a principle of Druidical superstition, in order to counteract the effects of their enchantments.* Augustin delivered the purport of his mission through a Gallic interpreter. Its favourable reception had been secured by Bertha, the Queen of Ethelbert, daughter of Charibert, King of the Franks, and herself a Christian. A place in the city of Canterbury, the Capital of the Kingdom of Kent, was allotted for the reception of Augustin and his companions. They entered in solemn procession, preceded by two persons bearing a cross of silver, and a painted figure of Christ, and singing Litanies as they proceeded, to avert the Divine wrath from the unbelievers. As Ethelbert soon avowed his own conversion, the principal part of his subjects, and especially his Nobles, followed his example, induced, as it is said, by many signal miracles performed by Augustin and his companions, but, undoubtedly, influenced by the extraordinary zeal of the missionaries, and the sanctity of their lives. The new Religion, adopted by a Prince so respected as Ethelbert, soon spread itself through all that part of England which lies South-West of the Humber.

It is probable that the Druidical Order did not at that time subsist among the Anglo-Saxons, or else that it had greatly declined in authority and reputation, since Christianity experienced little or no opposition from the Pagan Priesthood. On the contrary, some of that Body were among the foremost in embracing the new doctrine. But even if Druidism did not then flourish in its former vigour, still the Religion of the Anglo-Saxons was derived from a Druidical source, and the capital objects of their worship were trees, stones, the elements, and the heavenly bodies.

In the change of the National Religion, care was taken to render the transition from Paganism to Christianity as little violent as was possible in any change from Error to Truth. It was a maxim with Gregory, under whose auspices the mission was undertaken and conducted, that the Pagan Temples should not be destroyed, especially when they were well built, but that the Idols having been previously removed from them, they should be consecrated by more holy rites to better purposes. He was unwilling wantonly to offend the prejudices of the People by a profanation of those objects which had long been regarded with veneration, and he carried his compliance so far as to connive at their ancient sacrifices. He ordered that oxen should, as usual, be slaughtered near the churches,† and that the indulgence of ancient festivities should accompany the celebration of new ceremonies. Whatever popular customs were found not absolutely inconsistent with Christianity were retained.‡ Even the names of some of the Christian Festivals were taken from those of the Heathens, which had been observed at

Of the Saxon Church.

Ethelbert, King of Kent, converted to Christianity.

General account of the progress of Christianity in England.

Change from Paganism to Christianity gradual.

Augustin holds in Kent. A. D. 596.

* It is the just complaint of Bollandus, *Act. Sancti*, that nothing is interesting about Saint David, which was written near his own time; and what is exact is so mingled with fable, that it is impossible to find out the truth. Giraldus and John of Tinnmouth have written his life. An edition of Giraldus has been published by that generous patron of learning Sir R. C. Hoare.

† Giraldus says it was a convention both of clergy and laity.

‡ "We know scarcely any thing of the early transactions of the Welsh or the Cornish, before the Saxons invaded them, and so twisted their own History with that of the native Britons. Thus two large communities which had been composed each of united Tribes of Britain, and enlightened by all the rays of the literature of Rome, even more enlightened still by the myra of the Gospel, sunk back into the darkness of their original History; and they owe the main knowledge of their own Annals immediately after the Roman departure, to those rude Barbarians who had come from the shores of the Baltic, and whom they had half raised into knowledge, while those had wholly depressed them into ignorance. So much heavier is the scale of ignorance in man than that of knowledge."—Whitaker, *History of the Cathedral of Cornwall*, p. 2.

* *Fetris unus augurio*, says Henry of Huntingdon, p. 321.

† *Bede*, *Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 30*.

‡ Deer were at a certain season brought into St. Paul's Church in London, and laid on the altar, and this custom subsisted until the Reformation. Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*.

History. the same time of the year. The names of the days of the week also were retained, though derived from Pagan Deities.

Prudence of the first missionaries. The prudence of the missionaries in the gradual propagation of Religious Truth, and their activity in disseminating their doctrines, were joined with a superiority in the Arts of Civil life. When Christianity was first preached in Sussex, that Country was reduced to the utmost distress, by a drought which had continued during three years. The barbarous inhabitants, destitute of any means to alleviate the calamity of famine, frequently united in bodies, and precipitating themselves from the cliffs were either drowned or dashed in pieces by the rocks. Though a maritime people, they were ignorant of fishing, and this ignorance probably arose from a remnant of Druidical superstition, which forbade the use of food so procured. In this extremity, Wilfrid, their first Christian preacher, collecting nets, plunged into the sea, at the head of his attendants, and having first provided sustenance for their famishing bodies, he soon disposed their minds to receive his spiritual instructions.

Wilfrid. Not only was the introduction of Christianity attended by the progress of Civilization, but with another blessing, that of Liberty. The Christian Kings sometimes made donations to the Church of lands which they had obtained by conquest from their Heathen enemies, and the Clergy, so soon as they had baptized their new vassals, accompanied the sacred rite with manumission. Such conduct naturally endeared the persons as well as the doctrines of their teachers, to a People who saw Religion and Freedom advancing with equal steps. These monks, indeed, deserve the praise of enlarged and generous views for the improvement of mankind. In a Canon wherein the Clergy were prohibited from alienating their lands, among other charitable exceptions to the rule, it was specified that they might do so for the release of slaves by purchase. This duty which they were most careful to practise, they were not less earnest in enforcing on their flocks. Whenever they imposed penance, they permitted no other commutation than acts of charity and beneficence. They urged their penitents to the enfranchisement and redemption of slaves, and to the repair of public works; and they practically taught that no offences could be expiated, unless by some act which contributed to the happiness and welfare of Society.

Christianity attended by civilization. The marriage of Ethelbert to a Christian Princess, was, as we have seen, the mean of introducing Christianity into his dominions; and similar influence contributed to extend it through the other Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, the respective Sovereigns of them being generally converted by their Queens. Ecclesiastical establishments were gradually formed, as they were demanded by the Religious wants of the People, or as these wants were anticipated by the piety of the Saxon Princes. Augustin erected the Cathedral of Christ Church in the City of Canterbury, and founded there a Benedictine Abbey called after his own name; and having received Episcopal ordination from the Bishop of Arles, he was invested by Pope Gregory with a jurisdiction over all the Saxon Prelates.*

Progress of Christianity in the other Saxon Kingdoms. As the Anglo-Saxon Church was established through the Popes, they were naturally solicitous to preserve its dependence on the See of Rome, and for the period of a century from its foundation, the English Primacy was

filled by foreigners nominated by the Roman Pontiffs. By these foreign Prelates considerable accessions were made to the originally scanty stock of Saxon Literature, the largest as well as the most valuable of which additions arose from Theodore, the seventh Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter. He was a Greek by birth, a man of lofty spirit, of enlarged views, and of cultivated talents. Unexpectedly raised to his high station, he laboured with singular activity to render his attainments useful to the comparatively barbarous people committed to his pastoral charge. He first introduced the study of his native Language into the Island; he brought with him a number of books in different faculties, and among them a magnificent copy of the Works of Homer. Under his patronage a school was founded at Canterbury, and thus both the great fountains of knowledge, the Greek and Latin Tongues, were opened in England.

The labours of Theodore were not confined to the British Isles, they are recorded in the Annals of the general Christian Church. Among his other works, he reduced to a regular Science, that branch of the Ecclesiastical Law which is commonly known by the name of Penitential Discipline; and published his celebrated *Penitential*,* by which the Clergy were taught to distinguish sins into various classes, both as to their degrees of guilt, and their publicity. He discriminated the degrees of guilt, according to the nature of the offence, its consequences, the intention of the offender, the time and place of commission, and the circumstances under which it was committed. The *Penitential* likewise contained the different modes of proceeding against offenders; it pointed out the penalties suitable to the various classes of transgressors; it prescribed the different forms of consolation, of exhortation, and of absolution; and it detailed in an ample and accurate manner, the duty of those who were appointed to receive the confessions of penitents. The discipline of Theodore, though he was of Grecian extraction, was eagerly adopted by the Latin Churches, and in a short time it passed from Britain into all the Western Provinces. It was universally practised until Penitentiary Discipline assumed a new form, under the title of the Canon of Indulgences.

As yet the Anglo-Saxon Church has been considered only in regard to its triumph over Paganism, and its beneficial influence on the Morals and Laws of a barbarous nation; it remains to consider the contests between the Anglo-Saxon and the ancient British Church which still existed in the Northern and Western parts of the Island. In these struggles the governors of the Anglo-Saxon Church have incurred severe reproach. The Roman mission of Augustin has been set forth with so much pomp, and its charitable motives as well as its salutary effects have been so highly extolled, that the conversion of the Saxons has been ascribed solely to the Christian zeal of the Popes. This is not surprising; but it is not with equal justice that the Saxon Historians have reproached their neighbours the British Christians with having suffered the invaders to live in Pagan darkness, without endeavouring to enlighten their ignorance. It was impossible that any Christians under Saxon oppression could have been fit instruments for the conversion of their persecutors, and it was

Of the Saxon Church

Theodore, seventh Archbishop of Canterbury.

His Penitential.

Contests between the Anglo-Saxon and the British Churches.

* The *Penitential* of Theodore is yet extant, though mutilated and imperfect. An edition was published at Paris in the year 1679, by Petit.

* Bede, *Hist. lib. i. c. 23.*

History unlikely that the conquerors, engaged in foreign and domestic wars, should have been favourably disposed towards the Religion of their vassals. The reproach is therefore unjust and groundless.

Augustin Metropolitan of Eng-land. It has been already related, that so soon as Augustin had communicated to Gregory an account of the success of his mission, he received from the Pontiff the pall, the emblem of Metropolitaneal dignity. Had the English missionary been contented with the title and office of a Bishop, there would have been no room for censure; but that he should aspire to the dignity of a Metropolitan when he had no Suffragan under his jurisdiction, has laid him open to the charge of vanity and ambition. He was, it is true, solicitous to correct the anomaly, as soon as possible, after his return from Arles, and he founded an Episcopal See at Rochester, of which Justus, one of his companions, was constituted the first Bishop.

Justus, Bishop of Rochester. Augustin being invested by Gregory with the Primacy of Britain, and with a jurisdiction over its Bishops, together with a commission to teach the unlearned, to confirm the weak, and to punish the obstinate, applied himself with the greatest anxiety to reduce the British Bishops to conformity with the Church of Rome. Instead of propagating the Christian Faith among unbelievers, his chief exertions were directed to the extension and enlargement of his own authority, and that of his patron Gregory.

State of the British Churches. The Gospel having been preached in Britain either by the Apostles of Christ or by their immediate followers, the British Churches had as yet always observed the customs and ceremonies prescribed by their first teachers. Their forms were remarkable for simplicity, whereas Augustin introduced a number of pompous ceremonies borrowed from the Romish ritual. The Britons maintaining but little intercourse with the rest of the World, had scarcely any communication with the Bishops of Rome, and considered them as no more than Diocesan Bishops, or at the highest as Patriarchs, on whom their own Church had no dependence. But Augustin, out of the abundance of his gratitude to that See from which he derived his own authority, sought to gain from the British Prelates an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff over the whole Christian Church.

Conference between Augustin and the British Bishops. For that purpose he secured the cooperation of Ethelbert, and succeeded also in obtaining a conference with the British Bishops on the borders of the County of Worcester.* The Synod being assembled, Augustin proposed first, that the Britons should embrace the unity of the Catholic Church, and then cooperate with him and his Clergy in converting the Pagan natives. This proposition, however reasonable at first sight, was not received with approbation; Augustin was unable to prevail on the British Bishops to admit the slightest change in their ancient customs. The Historians of this period relate, that, finding his arguments ineffectual, he caused a blind man to be introduced into the assembly, whose restoration to sight, after useless similar attempts by the Britons, he effected by his prayers. But even against this miracle the Britons were impenetrable, and all the concession which Augustin could obtain was, that they would take into consideration the propositions which he had submitted, and would come to a determination in a future Synod.

Of the Saxon Church. The Britons having returned from the conference, and considering that their obstinacy might draw on them the resentment of Ethelbert, applied themselves to a consideration of the propositions. Not being able to come to any conclusion among themselves, they solicited the advice of an Anchorite of great reputation for sanctity and wisdom: and besought him to give an opinion on this difficult question; whether they ought to quit the customs and usages of their ancestors, and adopt those of Augustin? His answer was, that he saw no reason why they should adopt any alterations in their Religion, simply on the bare request of a stranger; but since the essence of Religion consisted in love and unity not in forms, if the stranger were a holy man and sent from God, they should follow him. This answer occasioned a second question, by what marks they could discern whether he were a holy man or not? The answer of the Anchorite was worthy of his reputation: he told them to judge the character and pretensions by the conduct of the man who supported them; if he were meek and humble, then they might conclude that he was the disciple of Him who had taught men to bear his yoke; but if the stranger were haughty and arrogant, then it was certain that he could not be sent from God, whatever might be his pretensions. The Britons still unsatisfied, demanded what were those marks of gentleness and condescension by which they might discern of what spirit the stranger was? "His spirit," the Sage replied, "you will discern in this; let him and his companions first come to the Synod, and if on your approach he shall rise up in condescension and love, and greet you, then look upon him as a servant of Christ, and submit to whatever he shall ordain; but if he shall contemptuously refuse to rise up to you who are the greater number, then let him see that you despise his insolence, and disclaim his authority."*

Second conference. After some time had been consumed in these deliberations, the British Bishops, seven in number, with Dinoh, Abbot of Banchor, and some other learned men, consented to meet Augustin at a second conference. The Archbishop and his companions were seated in the place of meeting before the Britons entered, and as Augustin did not rise from his seat to receive them, they acted in conformity with the advice of the Hermit, and opposed all his overtures of union with great spirit and perseverance. After a violent contest, the Archbishop addressed them in these words: "In many things you act contrary to our customs as well as to the usages of the Catholic Church; notwithstanding, if you will submit to my authority in these three matters, namely, in observing the Easter Festival after our manner, in using the same rites and ceremonies with the Church of Rome, and in joining with us to convert the Saxon Pagans; in all other things which you do contrary to our customs, we will bear with you." To this demand, the British Bishops answered, that they would not comply with any one of the three particulars, neither would they acknowledge him for their Archbishop. Augustin, fired with indignation at this refusal, answered them with threats, and plainly intimated, that if they would not accept peace from their brethren, they must expect war from their enemies; and if they would not preach the word of life to the Saxons, they should themselves suffer death.

Such is the account delivered by Bede of this Synod,

* The place has been since called Augustin's Oak.
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* Bede, *Hist. Ecc. lib. ii. c. 2.*

History.
Speech of
Dunsth,
Abbot of
Banchor.

but the British writers, as may be learned from Leland, give a different view of the transaction. He relates, that Dinoth, Abbot of Banchor, disputed with great ability, and spoke at great length, against submission to the authority of the Bishop of Rome, or the Bishop of Canterbury, and that he defended the authority of the Archbishop of Caerleon, or Saint David's. "You propose to us," he said, "obedience to the Church of Rome; are you ignorant that we already owe a deference of love and charity to the Church of God, to the Bishop of Rome, and to all Christians? Other obedience than this to the Pope we know not, and this we are always ready to pay. But for a superior, what need have we to go so far as Rome, when we are governed under God by the Archbishop of Caerleon, who hath authority to superintend our Churches and our Ecclesiastical affairs." The Abbot of Banchor went so far as to censure the Pope, for permitting the usurpation of Augustin, telling him and his companions that it was their duty if they were good Christians, to restore their unjust and tyrannical power into those hands from which they had received it.

Thus the project entertained by Augustin, of establishing his power as Metropolitan over the whole British Island, was defeated. But the Saxon Historian has added, that Ethelfrith, King of Northumbria, sent a large army into Wales, and not only gained a signal triumph over the British near Caerleon, but slaughtered the Ecclesiastics, and particularly the Monks of Banchor. If this event happened during the life of Augustin, and at his instigation, he must, in addition to his acknowledged haughtiness and ambition, be charged with cruelty and revenge.

Having related the state of the Anglo-Saxon Church at the death of Augustin, we proceed next to describe its advancement, under Lawrence, who succeeded him in the See of Canterbury, and whom he had consecrated for that end, a short time before his death. In the scheme of Ecclesiastical government which Gregory had transmitted, he directed that the Primacy should be removed from Canterbury to London, at the death of Augustin; and Mellitus, one of the companions of Augustin, had been consecrated Bishop of that See. But the scheme of Gregory was found to be impracticable, and his authority was disavowed. The City of London was not yet converted to Christianity, and therefore could not be the See of the Metropolitan of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Ethelbert, likewise, while he lived, would not permit the removal of the Primacy from his own Kingdom, nor the subjecting of his Bishops to the jurisdiction of a Bishop of London.

Lawrence, therefore, was both the second Archbishop of Canterbury, and the second Primate of the Anglo-Saxon Church; and he not only imitated the vigour of his predecessor, but supported his authority by the assiduity of his preaching, and the strictness of his life. He resumed the project of reducing the Britons under the Papal authority, but without success; and he then wisely transferred his exertions towards an object, by success in which they were fully rewarded. By the interest of Mellitus, the conversion of the East Saxons inhabiting the Counties of Middlesex and Essex was happily accomplished. He appeared at the Court of Sebert in his Episcopal character, and that Prince, together with a multitude of his subjects, embraced the Christian Religion and were baptized. The Abbey Church of Westminster was built on the site of a Heathen

Temple dedicated to Apollo, and was consecrated by Mellitus to the honor of God, and dedicated to Saint Peter. Another stately edifice, intended for the Cathedral, was erected on the ruins of a Temple of Diana, and was consecrated to Saint Paul.*

Neither Ethelbert nor Bertha long survived Augustin, and on the death of the former, Paganism revived in the Kingdom of Kent, and threatened the destruction of the British Church. Eadbald, the son and successor of Ethelbert, either had never been converted to Christianity, or, as soon as he possessed the crown, had renounced it. His morals were licentious, and the cause of his apostasy, or his aversion from Christianity, is said to have been an incestuous connection which he had formed with his father's wife. The Archbishop had remonstrated with him in a manner becoming a Christian teacher, but his reprimands were received with disgust. The King was a latitudinarian in principle as well as a libertine in practice, and he encouraged his subjects to restore the Pagan idolatry. Notwithstanding the zeal and assiduity of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the Bishop of Rochester, and of the Clergy in general, the defection of the People from Christianity was great. The calamities of the Christians were increased by the death of Sebert, King of the East Saxons, for notwithstanding his own recent conversion, his three sons, who jointly succeeded him, had not sincerely renounced Idolatry. They kept their profession, indeed, secret during the life of their father, but he was no sooner dead than they openly avowed Paganism, and gave their subjects also liberty to profess it. A Persecution of Christianity commenced, and Mellitus was commanded to leave the Kingdom of the East Saxons.

The condition of the Church of Kent, although depressed, was not, like that of the East Saxons, destroyed, and thither Mellitus fled for protection. After a consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester, it was concluded that an open resistance against the general apostasy would be fruitless, and that their personal safety demanded their immediate return to Rome. Mellitus and Justus, Bishop of Rochester, immediately departed, and thus deserted the cause in which they had engaged. Lawrence also resolved to follow them, and on the evening before his intended desertion of his pastoral charge, he caused his bed to be brought into the Cathedral, purposing to take his rest there on the last night of his stay. But according to the legend which Bede has transmitted to us, Saint Peter appeared to him in a form more appalling than that of an unsubstantial vision, for, after reproaching the cowardice of the Primate, the Apostle inflicted on him a severe flagellation. On the next day, Lawrence appeared before the King, bearing the marks of the discipline which he had undergone in the preceding night, and having given an account of the manner in which he had received his castigation, the King was so affected, that he changed both his faith and morals, and became a Christian and a new man.†

Eadbald being converted by this miracle or stratagem, sent to France to recall Mellitus and Justus to their dignity and duty. Those fugitives returned about a year after their flight, and the Bishop of Rochester was reinstated in his See by the King of Kent. The inhabitants of London having refused to admit Mellitus,

Death of
Augustin.
A. D.
611.
Lawrence
second
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

His dili-
gence in
preaching
and exem-
plary life.

Mellitus,
Bishop of
London.

Of the
Saxon
Church.

Death of
Ethelbert.
A. D.
616.
Eadbald.

Persecu-
tion of
Christianity
in the
Kingdom of the East
Saxons.

Mellitus
seeks re-
fuge in
Kent.

Mellitus
and Justus
retire into
France.

Contri-
ance of
Lawrence.

Conversion
of Eadbald.

Mellitus
third Ar-
chbishop of Canter-
bury.
A. D.
619.

* Bede, *Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 3.*

† *Ibid. lib. ii. c. 5, 6*

History.
Japhet
Archbishop
of Canterbury.
A. D.

Conversion
of the King-
dom of North-
umbria.
624.

Marriage of
Edwin and
Ethelburga.
A. D.
628.

Paulinus.

Edwin dis-
posed to
receive Chris-
tianity.

Edwin delibe-
rates on his subject.

Eadbald afforded him an honourable retreat in Kent, till the death of Lawrence, when he succeeded to the Primacy. Mellitus continued in that station about five years, without much exertion for the advancement of Christianity, and at his death, Justus, the only surviving Bishop consecrated by Augustin, was raised to the Archbishopric.

With the exception of the abortive attempt to plant the Anglo-Saxon Church in the Kingdom of the East-Saxons, its limits had as yet been bounded by the Kingdom of Kent; it next extended itself into the Kingdom of Northumbria. Northumbria at that time was governed by Edwin, the most powerful Prince in the Saxon Heptarchy, whose proposed alliance was eagerly accepted by Eadbald. Their connection was to be cemented by a marriage between Edwin and Ethelburga, the sister of Eadbald; but as Edwin was still a Pagan, Eadbald insisted that it was not lawful for his sister, who had been educated in the Christian Faith, to contract a marriage with an Idolater. Edwin readily stipulated not to oppose the Religion which the Princess had embraced, and to grant liberty of worship both to herself and her retinue; and more than this, he added, that if on examination he found the Christian Faith more worthy of belief than that in which he had been educated, he was inclined to conversion.

On such a satisfactory basis, the treaty of marriage between Edwin and Ethelburga was completed, and when the Princess left her brother's Court for that of Edwin, she took with her Paulinus, one of the missionaries who had been sent by Pope Gregory, and who had been consecrated to the Episcopal order by Justus.* At his first arrival in Northumbria, Paulinus seems to have made little progress in converting either the King or his subjects; but after Ethelburga had been delivered of a daughter, and Edwin had been dangerously wounded by an assassin, these two events altered his prospects. The King was inclined to believe, that the prayers of Paulinus had contributed towards the happy parturition of Ethelburga; and his own imminent peril also had disposed his mind to serious reflection. As a proof of the change in his sentiments, he consented that his infant daughter, together with eleven other persons of his Court and family, should be baptized by Paulinus;† and since the assassin who had attempted his life was employed by the King of Wessex, he promised to renounce Idolatry, if the God of the Christians would avenge him of his enemy.

As soon as Edwin had recovered from his wound, he marched at the head of a large army into the dominions of the King of Wessex, yet although he returned crowned with victory, yet he deferred the entire performance of his vow.‡ He at once, indeed, disengaged himself from Idolatry, but when the Queen and Paulinus urged him to proceed further, he answered that the adoption of a Religion different from that in which he had been educated was a matter which required a solemn and mature deliberation. For some time, he continued in a state of suspense, or rather of neutrality, until Pope Boniface attempted to remove his doubts. The Pontiff wrote to Edwin, pointing out the folly of the Pagan worship;§ and to Ethelburga also, exhorting her to renew her arguments and persuasions with the

King, and never to remit her prayers to Heaven for a blessing on her endeavours. But for a long time the Epistles of Boniface, the entreaties of Ethelburga, and the instructions of Paulinus, were equally ineffectual. Edwin was not to be won unless by conviction, and he examined the evidences of the new Religion with candour and impartiality.

At length he avowed his assent to the truth of Christianity, influenced by the dexterous application which Paulinus made of an event which we have already related in the earlier part of the King's life,* or as the Monkish Historian would persuade us, by the intervention of a positive miracle. Paulinus having heard the circumstances of the vision seen by Edwin when a wanderer and a guest at the Court of Redwald, one day entered the King's apartment as he was pursuing his meditations on the opposing Religions, and advancing with a solemn air, imitated the action of the imaginary figure, and placed his hand on the head of the Northumbrian Prince. "Do you understand," inquired Paulinus, "the meaning of this token?" Surprised at the question, yet recollecting the divine oracle, Edwin is said to have prostrated himself at the feet of Paulinus; who, preventing this act of humiliation, reminded the King in a tone of authority, that it was his duty to obey the injunction of God, by submitting himself to the Religion which that God had revealed. Edwin immediately resigned himself to the direction of his spiritual guide, and yielded an implicit assent to the Christian Faith.†

How much of this supernatural appearance ought to be attributed to the credulity of the Age, it is unnecessary in this place to inquire. The fact which now demands relation is the manner in which Edwin procured the conversion of his subjects. He had held frequent conferences with Coifi, his Pagan High Priest, on the arguments which Paulinus urged in favour of Christianity, and Coifi perceiving from these conversations the bias of his Sovereign, resolved not to oppose his wishes. When Edwin, therefore, summoned a Council to inquire the sentiments of his Nobles concerning the new Religion, and to propose that if they participated in his own feelings they might all be baptized together, Coifi, in the order of precedence, rose first, and thus addressed his Prince and the assembly: "You see, O King, what is now preached to us. I declare to you most truly, what I have most certainly experienced, that the Religion which we have hitherto professed, contains no virtue at all, and as little utility. No one of all your Court has been more attentive than I have been to the worship of our Gods; and yet many have received far richer benefits, far greater honours, and have prospered more in all that men transact or pursue than I have. If then, on due inquiry, you shall perceive that those new things which are preached to us will be better and more efficacious, let us hasten to adopt them without any delay."

The King, pleased with this address, applied to the Priest next in dignity, who enforced the opinion of Coifi, in the following manner: "The present life of Man, O King, seems to me, if compared with that after period which is so uncertain to us, to resemble a scene at one of your wintry Feasts. As you are sitting with your Ealdormen and Thegns about you, the fire blazing

Of the
Saxon
Church.

His dream.

Yields his
assent to
Christianity.

Discussion
on the sub-
ject in his
Witen-
agemot.

* Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 9.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Saxon Chron.* 28.

§ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 10.

* Ch. ix. p. 385.

† Bede, lib. ii. c. 12.

3 F 2

History. in the centre, and the whole hall cheered with its warmth, and while storms of rain and snow were raging without; a little sparrow flies in at one door, roams around our festive meeting, and passes out at some other entrance. While it is among us, it feels not the wintry tempest; it enjoys the short comfort and serenity of its transient stay; but then plunging into the winter from which it had flown, it disappears from our eyes. Such is here the life of Man. It acts and thinks before us, but, as of what preceded its appearance among us we are ignorant, so we are of all that is destined to come afterwards. If then, on this momentous future, this new doctrine reveals anything more certain or reasonable, it is in my opinion entitled to our acquiescence."⁸

The other Royal counsellors exhibited similar dispositions. Paulinus was immediately summoned, and having stated the arguments in favour of Christianity, Coifi declared aloud that there was no further room for doubt. "Formerly," he said, "I understood nothing that I worshipped. The more I contemplated our Idolatry, the less Truth I found in it. But this new system I adopt without hesitation, for Truth shines around it, and presents to us the gifts of eternal life and blessedness. Let us then, O King, immediately anathematize and burn the Temples and altars which we have so uselessly venerated." To show the sincerity of his conversion, or the warmth of his zeal, the High Priest, on being asked who would be the first to profane the Idols and their Altars, answered, "I will; as I have led the way in adoring them through my folly, I will give the example of destroying them in obedience to that wisdom which I have learned from the true God." Placing himself at the head of the other Priests, Coifi, armed with a sword and lance, and mounted on one of the King's chargers, proceeded to the Heathen Temple, hurled his lance at the Idol, and assisted in burning his sanctuary to the ground.†

Edwin having declared his conversion, was baptized at York, with two sons by a former wife, and Hilda his niece; and all the Nobility and courtiers followed his example. His love for Christianity incited him to propagate it beyond his own dominions, and his efforts were first directed to Eorpwald, King of the East Angles, the son of Redwald. Sigebryht, the brother and successor of Eorpwald, not only contributed to the dissemination of Christianity in East Anglia, but applied himself so closely to the study of it, as to be called by the Chronicler "Most Learned."

Edwin having enjoyed a long reign of prosperity, was destined to experience a reverse of fortune. Five years had not elapsed after his conversion, before he was slain in battle, and Paganism once more overspread his dominions. Of the Northumbrian Christians some fell with their Prince on the field, and others were put to death. Ethelburga and her children, accompanied by Paulinus, were compelled to fly for safety into the Kingdom of Kent.

The affairs of the Northumbrian Church remained in a calamitous state, until Oswald ascended the throne;

he first restored external peace, and then endeavoured to reestablish Christianity. But instead of recalling Paulinus, who was now Bishop of Rochester, he sent for a Scottish Bishop called Aidan to convert and instruct his subjects. Aidan having received Episcopal consecration engaged with alacrity in the undertaking. His success was indeed great, yet not greater than his assiduity merited; he not only instructed the Pagans in the principles of Christianity, but he was an eminent example of holiness and charity. At his desire, the King of Northumbria, without any regard to the appointment of Gregory or the succeeding Popes, removed the Archiepiscopal See from York to a small Isle at the mouth of the river Lindis, known by the name of Holy Island. Here Aidan discharged all the important duties of a Bishop, diligently preaching the word of God, and exhibiting a model of primitive simplicity totally unlike the pomp of the Romish missionaries. The See of York was for many years neglected; its Bishops were reduced to the state of Diocesan Bishops, and went into Scotland to receive consecration.

Having thus related the foundation of the Northumbrian Church, we now turn to that of Wessex, which was planted about this time, by the care of Birinus. He came into England already invested with the Episcopal character, and with the sanction of the Bishop of Rome. It was his original design to preach the Gospel in the interior of the Country where no Religious instructor had preceded him; but happening to land in the territories of the King of Wessex, and finding that they were overspread with Paganism, he thought it unnecessary to go further. Here then he entered on his office, and performed it with effect. The King of Wessex was tributary to the King of Northumberland, and the two Princes therefore joined in a grant to Birinus of the city of Dorchester near Oxford, where an Episcopal See was founded, and where Birinus continued to edify his converts both by instruction and example until his death.

Leaving the Church of Wessex, the order of time demands that we should revert to the Church already founded in the Kingdom of the East Angles. It has been mentioned, that Eorpwald had embraced the Christian Faith, but that he had been murdered by his subjects, and his people had relapsed into Idolatry. Sigebryht, his brother, had also been compelled by a faction to retire into France. A Prince of his endowments could not without profit inhabit a Country in which civilization had far advanced. He devoted himself to study, and his recreation was found in the correspondence and conversation of literary men. Convinced of the vanity and falsehood of Paganism, he embraced Christianity as a revelation worthy of God. One of his chief companions and instructors was Felix, a Burgundian Bishop, from whom he received the sacred rite of Baptism. No sooner was Sigebryht enabled to return to his own Country and Kingdom than he endeavoured to introduce among his subjects the learning which he had imbibed in France, and above all other things, to establish the Christian Faith. Whether he sent for Felix, or whether Felix came voluntarily into England, it is not material to determine. As soon as that Bishop arrived, he applied to Honorius, then Archbishop of Canterbury, either for advice in the exercise of his sacred function, or for authority to assume Episcopal jurisdiction. Honorius approved and promoted the design of Felix,

Of the
Saxon
Church.
Aidan a
Scottish
bishop sent
for by
Oswald.

Appointed
Bishop of
Holy Island.

Church of
Wessex.
Brenus.

Bishop of
Dorchester
near Oxford.

Church of
the East
Angles.
Sigebryht,
King of the
East Angles.

His conversion.

Felix.

Edwin
slain in
battle.

A. D.
633.

Oswald
King of
Northumbria.

A. D.
634.

* Bede, lib. ii. c. 13.

† The scene of this event was a little to the East of York beyond the river Derwent, at a place, in the time of Bede, called Godmund-dunham, and still called Godmundham, or the home of the mound, or protection of the people. Bede, lib. ii. c. 13.
‡ Flor. Wig. 233, 234.

Of the
Saxon
Church.

History. who was received at the court of Sigebyrht with the highest marks of respect, and the city of Dummock, now called Dunwich, in the County of Suffolk, was assigned for his Episcopal residence. The King and the Bishop cooperated in the erection of schools, and some Historians ascribe the foundation of the University of Cambridge to the munificence of Sigebyrht.

Church of the East Saxons. From the Church of the East Angles we must recur to that of the East Saxons. Mellitus, as we have seen, had been expelled from London, and when he became Archbishop of Canterbury, he used his utmost endeavours to recover his ancient flock from their apostasy. But his efforts were vain, and it was reserved for the English and Scottish Clergy to accomplish what had been left unfinished by the missionaries of Rome. Between Oswy, King of the Northumbrians, and Sigebyrht, the third King of the East-Saxons, the existence of a firm friendship occasioned frequent interviews. During those meetings Oswy frequently turned the conversation to the errors of Paganism, and urged his friend to inquire into the grounds of the Religion in which he had been educated.* The inquiry was followed by the conversion of Sigebyrht to Christianity, and the new convert was baptized by Finan, Bishop of the Northumbrians. Chad, a Northumbrian Priest, and an Englishman by birth, had long been employed as a missionary in the midland Counties, and he was induced to transfer his spiritual labours to the Kingdom of the East Saxons. He received consecration from Finan, assisted by two other Bishops, and was placed in the Episcopal See of London, from which Mellitus had been expelled forty years before.

Church of Mercia. The next Kingdom which was converted to Christianity was the powerful State of Mercia. Penda, its King, was remarkable for his cruelty and pride; and during a long reign had been actively opposed to a Religion so alien from his own temper as Christianity. But that tyrant was at last brought to tolerate though not to profess the Gospel.† He had a son endued with qualities the reverse of his own; and the young Prince being enamoured of a daughter of the King of Northumbria named Atheledda, embraced the Religion of his future Queen. He returned to the dominions of his father accompanied by Atheledda and four Priests; and the whole Kingdom of Mercia was in consequence brought under the Christian Faith.

Church of the South Saxons. Last of all, we turn to the South Saxons inhabiting the Counties of Surrey and Sussex, the latest in their conversion to Christianity. The long continuance of that Kingdom in Idolatry, must be attributed to its subjection to the King of Wessex, and its ultimate conversion to the persecution of Wilfrid Bishop of York, who fled thither for safety. Edilwarch its King, although educated in Paganism, had married Edda, a Christian Princess, and no sooner did Wilfrid appear at his Court, than he encouraged the Bishop to undertake the conversion of his subjects. Wilfrid proceeded to establish a Church, and by the influence which he possessed with the King, a Bishopric was founded, and a Cathedral built at Selsey.

Technically divided into Anglo-Saxons. Having thus described the manner and the instruments by which Christianity was established in every one of the States of the Anglo-Saxons, it is necessary to observe, that the Kingdoms of Kent, of the West

Saxons, and of the East Angles, derived their Faith solely from Rome, while the remainder of England, containing the whole territory from the Friths of Edinburgh to the Thames, was for the most part indebted for Religious instruction to the Scottish or Irish missionaries. On that account, there was a great diversity in the customs and ceremonies of the different Churches, which soon gave rise to factions. Every Prince established such an Ecclesiastical polity as suited the extent of his dominions; and with the exception of Kent, no Kingdom on the first settlement of its Church had more than one Episcopal See, with a Bishop independent of any Metropolitan.

Religious parties. It has been seen that in the conference between Augustin and the British Bishops, he promised an indulgence in many of their ancient rites, on condition of their submission to the Romish method of celebrating the Festival of Easter, and of administering the Sacrament of Baptism. But it appears that both the Britons and the Scots had a Liturgy distinct from that of Rome, the former using the Liturgy of the Gallican Church, the latter one peculiar to themselves.* The whole Island may therefore be said to have been divided into two parties; on one hand the Scottish Clergy and all their adherents, on the other hand the French and Italian Ecclesiastics with their followers. The Church of Kent, which espoused the side of Rome, and asserted the superiority of its own Primate, had the principal share in the contest. It was soon discovered that there could be no external communion between the two parties, without a submission of one or the other, or without a mutual recognition of independence. The British and Scottish Churches, therefore, could not possibly accede to any terms of communion with the Church of Kent, unless by submitting to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of consequence to the See of Rome.

Aldfrid joint King of Northumbria. The manner in which those Churches, which had hitherto so vigorously opposed the Romish missionaries, at length yielded their independence is now to be related. Submission was first made by the Northern Churches, whose Country had once been the nursery and support of the Scottish Ecclesiastics. Aldfrid, the natural son of Oswy, King of Northumbria, and a partner in his father's throne, had been brought over to the Church of Rome by Wilfrid his preceptor, a warm defender of the Catholic Easter and of the Ecclesiastical tithes. The seeds of dissension being thus sown, were not long in coming to maturity. Since the two great parties followed different cycles in finding Easter, it sometimes happened, that while the King was celebrating the Paschal Festival with joy, the Queen was engaged in the humiliation and austerities of Lent. Discord in the Church soon created a division in the State. The Romish party possessing stronger zeal and greater activity, soon prevailed on Oswy to yield; and if a judgment may be formed from the event, the assembly which he called to discuss the matter, was summoned rather for the purpose of defending his own reputation than of determining the question at issue. The way being thus prepared, a Synod or conference took place at the Monastery of Whitby in the County of York. At the head of the Northern English party were Oswy himself, Hilda, Abbess of the Monastery, Coleman, Bishop of the Northumbrians and successor of Finan, together with all the Scottish and English Eccle-

Synod of
Whitby.Coleman,
Bishop of
Northumbria
espouses the* Bede, *Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 22.*† *Ibid. lib. iii. c. 21.** Called the *Census Sctorum*.

History.
Northern
party
against
the
Church
of
Rome.

siasties, secular and monastic, who had received ordination in the Northern Churches. On the other side appeared Eadflæda, the Queen of Oswy, Alfrid, his natural son and partner of his dominions, Wilfrid, the preceptor of Alfrid, Agilbert, Bishop of the West Saxons, with Agathon, a Priest in his retinue, Roman, Eadflæda's confessor, and James the Deacon, an assistant of Paulinus, who superintended the Churches of York. The venerable Chad, who having been educated by the Scottish Bishops adhered to their view of this question, was allowed to be the interpreter of both parties.

The King opened the meeting in a short speech, reminding all who were assembled, that since they professed to serve the same God, and to expect the same heavenly kingdom, they ought to observe the same rule of life, and a uniformity of worship. It was their business, therefore, to inquire which side of the question was supported by the soundest arguments, and to acquiesce in the evidence which might be laid before them. Having said this, he commanded Coleman to state the manner in which the Church of Rome celebrated Easter, and to defend his own conformity with that Church. Coleman replied, that the manner in which he celebrated Easter was that which he had received from those who sent him into England, and which they received from their forefathers. "This rite," he said, "is the same which, according to Ecclesiastical History, was celebrated by Saint John and all the Churches under the government of that Blessed Apostle."

When Coleman had enlarged on this argument, the King commanded Agilbert to declare the manner of his observance, whence it originated, and by what authority he still conformed to it. Agilbert declined the task on account of his ignorance of the English Tongue, notwithstanding there was an interpreter, and he requested that his disciple Wilfrid should be permitted to be his substitute. The King consented, and Wilfrid spoke to this effect: "The manner of celebrating Easter practised by us, we ourselves saw generally practised at Rome, where the Apostles Peter and Paul lived, taught, suffered, and were buried. The very same observance we saw in the rest of Italy and in France. Moreover, we are informed, that in Africa, Asia, Egypt, and Greece, the inhabitants, however differing in Language and manners, universally celebrate Easter at the same time with us. So that the inhabitants of two remote Islands, contend with a foolish obstinacy against the whole World."

Since the aim of Coleman and his party was rather to defend their own usages than to convince their opponents, they persisted in appealing to the authority of St. John and Columba. But Wilfrid, after justifying St. John, asked Coleman with an air of triumph, whether he presumed to put Columba in the balance against St. Peter the Prince of the Apostles? What answer Coleman made to this question Historians do not inform us, but they proceed to relate, that the King, struck with Wilfrid's inquiry, decided in favour of the Romish observance of Easter. This great point being settled, there yet remained another, concerning which the two parties differed quite as widely, namely the Ecclesiastical tonsure. But of this controversy we know nothing more than that the Romanists were equally successful in it.

The King having delivered his decision, Coleman resigned his Bishopric in disgust, and the Nobility and Clergy who adhered to him expressed great dissatisfaction at the event. Coleman retired into Ireland, his

Coleman
resigns his
Bishopric.

native Country, and by this retreat gave to his adversaries all the advantage which they desired. Tada, a deserter to the Romish party, succeeded to the Bishopric, and dying a few months after, Wilfrid, the opponent of Coleman, was appointed Bishop of Northumbria by the King's solicitation.

In this manner a way was opened for the submission of the British and Scottish Churches to the See of Rome. The event was, however, in some degree retarded by the relapse of the Northumbrian Court into its ancient usages, while Wilfrid was absent in France; but it was accomplished soon afterwards by the succession of Theodore to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury. Egbert, King of Kent, shortly after he ascended his throne, consulted Oswy on the necessity of filling the Primacy then vacant, and of making a provision for the Episcopal succession of the English Church. After a mature deliberation the two Princes resolved to appoint an Englishman to fill the office, and in pursuance of their resolution fixed on Wighard, a Priest of the Church of Kent. Thus elected, he was sent to Rome with commendatory letters both from Oswy and Egbert, and was entertained there with respect and kindness. But while the ceremonial for his consecration was preparing, he died of a Plague, which was likewise fatal to most of his retinue. This incident, while it proved a disappointment to Oswy and Egbert, furnished Vitalian the Pontiff with a favourable opportunity of appointing the head of the English Church by his own single authority. Without any communication with the two Saxon Princes, he determined to send over a Prelate of his own choice; and at first he fixed on Adrian, a Neapolitan Monk, who was skilled both in the Greek and Latin Tongues, but the humble Monastic declined the situation. On the urgent demand of the Pontiff, Adrian recommended Theodore, whom we have before mentioned, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and the Pope accepted the recommendation, on condition that Adrian would accompany his nominee to England. Two motives operated with the Pope in making this stipulation; the one, that Adrian might be useful in propagating the Christian Religion; the other, and the more powerful, that Theodore might be restrained from introducing the customs or dogmata of the Greek Church into the British Isles.

Theodore, the most learned of all the Prelates who had as yet possessed the See of Canterbury, had no sooner arrived, than he applied himself to secure the favour and assistance of the several Saxon Princes. For that purpose he travelled over the greater part of England, instituted a visitation of its Churches, introduced the Romish custom of celebrating Easter, and brought the people to an entire conformity with the Romish Church. One of the principal objects of his visitation seems to have been the case of Wilfrid, who had distinguished himself at the Synod of Whitby, and in consequence had been appointed Bishop of Northumbria. Yet he was not permitted to enjoy this Bishopric, but had retired to his own Monastery of Rippon. Many circumstances encouraged Theodore to attempt the restoration of Wilfrid. Chad, one of the disciples of Aidan, who was settled in the Bishopric, was an eminent example of Apostolic piety, and indefatigable in the exercise of his pastoral functions. When he was reprimanded by Theodore for usurping the rights of Wilfrid, and for receiving consecration from the Bishop of Winchester, he answered with an uncommon modesty,

Of the
British
Church.
Wilfrid no
coele.

Wighard,
an English
man, now
succeeded to
the Primacy.
His death.

Adrian, a
Neapolitan,
refused the
English
Primacy.
Recommended
Theodore.

Theodore,
seventh
Archbishop
of Canterbury.
A. D.
661.

Wilfrid
passed a
few years
at the Monastery
of Rippon.

Theodore
renewed
the visitation

History. that he always thought himself unworthy of the Episcopal character; that he undertook it not by his own choice, but at the command of his superiors; and that if there were any defect in his title, he would cheerfully resign his trust and retire. Theodore, with all his haughtiness, was overcome by such humility, and dissuading Chad from relinquishing his Episcopal function, said that he would overlook the defect of title and remedy it. Wilfrid was restored to the Northumbrian Bishopric, and Chad was soon recalled from the monastic seclusion to which he had retired, to investiture with the Bishopric of Lichfield.

Chad re-
solved to
the Bishop-
ric of Lich-
field.

Theodore
encourages
Learning.

While advances were thus rapidly making towards a union of the Saxon Churches under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore endeavoured to prove that this union would operate to the public good, and not to his own aggrandizement; he proposed, therefore, that the youth should be instructed in the Greek and Latin Languages, in Geometry, Music, Astronomy, Arithmetic, and other useful branches of Learning; and he associated Adrian with himself in the prosecution of his scheme. Having incited the Saxons to a love of Learning, by his own instruction and example, he sent for foreign masters and established schools. So assiduous was his labour, and so successful were his plans, that many Saxons could soon speak the Latin and Greek Tongues with as much fluency as their own. A school for Greek was founded in a village of Wiltshire, called from this circumstance Greek-lade, and afterwards corruptly Cricklade, the teachers of which repairing to Oxford, are supposed to have laid the foundation of that University.

While the qualities of prudence and benevolence must be ascribed to Theodore, it must not be concealed that he was ambitious and overbearing. He well knew that teachers brought from Rome would practise the usages of that Church, and, that possessing greatly superior attainments to the British and Scottish Ecclesiastics, they would control, if not eradicate, their opposition. The intended union of the Saxon Churches was thus accelerated. Notwithstanding the death of his two friends, the Kings of Kent and Northumbria, Theodore had so far ingratiated himself with their successors and also with the other Saxon Princes, that he obtained their consent to a general Assembly or Synod, which met at Hereford, a place in Hertfordshire, probably that which is now the principal town of the County. Besides the Archbishop, there were present Bisi, Bishop of the East Angles, a delegate from Wilfrid, Bishop of Northumbria, Putta, Bishop of Rochester, Leutherius, Bishop of the West Saxons, and Winfrid, Bishop of the Mercians. These were all the Bishops at that time in England, and they had all been raised to their stations by the influence of Theodore.

When the assembly was met, Theodore exhorted them, in the name of Christ, to advise with unanimity, and to determine with sincerity. He enjoined them to observe inviolably those ordinances which had been canonically decreed by the Fathers. Then recommending peace, charity, and godly unity, he asked them severally whether they consented that the Canonical Decrees should be maintained? The Bishops severally consented, and Theodore producing a collection of Canons from the ancient Councils, in which he had marked ten which he thought necessary in the existing state

of the English Church, urged that they should be inviolably observed. The 1st Canon, which was indeed the foundation of the union, was a uniformity in the observance of Easter. The 11d directed that no Bishop should usurp or invade the Diocese of another. The 11ld made it unlawful for any Bishop to give unnecessary trouble to any Religious Houses. The 1Vth provided that monks should not, unless for sufficient cause, remove from one Religious House to another; and the Vth laid the same prohibition on the Secular Clergy as to their Dioceses. The Vth forbade a Bishop or a Priest to exercise his function out of his Diocese without permission of the Bishop of that Diocese. The VIth proposed an annual Synod. The VIIIth regulated the priority of Bishops. The IXth regarded the augmentation of the number of Bishops. The Xth regarded marriages, that none should be allowed contrary to the Canons, that incest should be severely punished, and that the liberty of divorce should be restrained.

Such were the Acts of this Synod; and that no contention might afterwards arise concerning their meaning, nor any false transcripts be published, they were committed to writing by a public notary, and confirmed by the subscription of every Bishop present. This being done, the Archbishop pronounced the following sentence and dismissed the assembly: "Whosoever shall endeavour to infringe these our definitions, conformable to the Decrees of ancient Canons, and confirmed by our unanimous subscription, let such a one know that he is separated from our communion, and from the exercise of all sacerdotal offices."

The Romish writers assert that this Synod was convened by the authority of the Pope, and that Theodore presided in a Legatine capacity; but the assertion is not borne out by the facts, for Bede has attributed it to the sole authority of Theodore. It may rather be said, that the Synod was called with the consent of the Saxon Princes, and that to their consent Theodore was also indebted for his Metropolitan dignity. It may fairly be concluded, that the consent of the Saxon Princes originated in reasons of convenience and policy, not in a belief in the right of the Roman Pontiff to any supremacy over the Saxon Church. But whatever were their motives, and whatever were the grounds on which the union was formed, we have in the Synod of Hereford, the first assembly of the Saxon Church under a common Metropolitan.

Though no other terms of communion were mentioned in this Synod than the Romish observance of Easter, yet it appears from the *Penitential* of Theodore, that the Bishops who had been consecrated by the Scots or Britons, were not to be permitted to exercise their function without an imposition of hands from, what he calls, a Catholic Bishop. This regulation, ungrateful as it must have been in itself to the British and Scottish Clergy, was aggravated by the unyielding strictness with which it was enforced.

Soon was his authority questioned and opposed, and he adopted the most violent measures to support it. The first who felt the effects of his displeasure was Winfrid, Bishop of Lichfield, who had been consecrated by Theodore himself, and had been present at the Synod of Hereford. He was deprived for nonconformity, and availing himself of the usual retirement of a monastery, he quietly retreated and passed the remainder of his life in religious contemplation. About two years after this deprivation Wilfrid

Opposition
to a heathen.

* Camden, *Britannia*.

History.
Deprivation
of Wilfrid
by Theo-
dore.

also was condemned to the same fate. His disgrace, if it may be so called, might partly arise from resistance to the authority of Theodore, but that was not the only cause. His secular pomp had long drawn on him the jealousy of the Northumbrian Court, and even of Egfrid the King; and his influence in persuading the Queen Consort to quit her regal state for monastic retirement, had aggravated Egfrid's dislike into open hostility. A complaint was preferred to Theodore, who came by the King's desire into Northumbria to hear and judge it. Some Historians have ventured to assert that the Archbishop was bribed to support the interest of the King, and to decide against Wilfrid. But it is certain that Theodore willingly consented to his deprivation, and not contented with this act of power, that he divided the Diocese of York into three portions, and erected a new See at Holy Island.

Appeal of
Wilfrid to
Pope
Agatho.
A. D.
678.

The deprivation of Wilfrid occasioned a remarkable event in the History of the Anglo-Saxon Church, namely an appeal from the decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Roman Pontiff. Wilfrid, accompanied by a number of his followers, repaired to Rome, at the time when Agatho I. was employed in arranging the VIth General Council against the Monothelites. It is more probable that Wilfrid went thither voluntarily, than that he was summoned, but it is an unquestioned fact that he presented a petition of appeal to the Pontiff.* It set forth the injustice of his treatment, that he had been expelled his Diocese without being convicted of any crime, and that Theodore, unsanctioned by any other authority, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, had divided the Bishopric of York, and appointed a Bishop to each division. The petitioner referred himself wholly to the Apostolic See, and was willing to acquiesce in its decision with all imaginable submission. Wilfrid told his wrongs with such eloquence and earnestness, that Agatho and his counsellors were of opinion that he ought to be restored to his Bishopric, and if the interests of Religion demanded that the See of York should be divided, yet that the coadjutor ought to be appointed by Wilfrid.† The cause being thus decided, he was required to return, to show the decree of the Pontiff and his Council to the King of Northumbria and the Archbishop of Canterbury, a command which the triumphant Prelate obeyed with alacrity.

His restora-
tion decreed
by the Pope.

Theodore
refuses obe-
dience to
the Decree.

Notwithstanding that Theodore had been educated at Rome, and had owed his advancement entirely to the favour of the reigning Pontiff; notwithstanding, also, the recent and formal union of the Saxon with the Romish Church promoted by himself; yet he refused obedience to the sentence restoring Wilfrid. As for the King of Northumbria, he was so far from acquiescing, that he upbraided Wilfrid for having obtained the decree by fraud or bribery. Pretending to suspect, or really suspecting, that it was an imposture, he called together his Nobles and Clergy to examine into its authenticity. When it was found impossible to entertain any reasonable doubts on this subject, instead of obeying the sentence, he was advised to punish Wilfrid by imprisonment. The Bishop was accordingly committed to a most severe confinement, his property was confiscated, and his attendants were dispersed. In this miserable condition he languished nearly a year, and at length obtained his liberty, in consequence of the solicitation

Wilfrid is
imprisoned
by Egfrid.

of the King's aunt, and on condition that he should never again set his foot in the Kingdom of Northumbria.

Of the
Saxon
Church.
Jurisdiction
of the See of
Rome not
acknow-
ledged in
England.

Throughout these proceedings against Wilfrid there is the strongest evidence that the Bishops of Rome possessed no acknowledged jurisdiction over the Anglo-Saxon Church; and that the deference usually shown towards them was limited by policy and convenience. With regard to doctrine, the homology of England to the Metropolis of the Western Church was unreserved, and in the Heresy of the Monothelites, which at that time divided the Christian World, Theodore appeared on the side of Rome with promptness and vigour. When we consider the depressed state of Learning in his Age, and the great abilities of Theodore, there cannot be any reason for wonder that Agatho should have invited him to Rome, in order to write against the prevalent Heresy. Declining the invitation, he was not less zealous in opposing the Monothelites in the Country committed to his spiritual care. With the consent of the Kings of Northumbria, of Kent, and of the East Angles, he convened a Synod at Hadfield, for the purpose of opposing its progress.

Synod at
Hadfield.
A. D.
680.

The conduct of Theodore in that Synod fully justified the reputation which he had obtained. The whole Kingdom of Mercia, comprising the midland Counties of England, had then only two Bishops; Wilfrid was in prison; and the whole number of Bishops assembled could not have exceeded ten. Yet the proceedings were conducted with the greatest decorum and discretion. Not only was the Heresy of the Monothelites condemned, but a permanent standard of doctrine and discipline was established for the Saxon Church. The Council being assembled, Theodore, who presided, delivered a summary of the Christian Faith, as it was laid down in the Scriptures, in the Creed, and in the General Councils. The Bishops present having declared their unanimous assent to this exposition, proceeded to make a particular Confession of their Faith with relation to those doctrines which had been questioned or opposed by Heretics, testifying the agreement of the Synod in the decisions of the Catholic Church, as set forth in the first five General Councils. And lest this declaration might be thought too general, or liable to evasion and misinterpretation, the Synod expressed its special assent to the Decrees of the Council called by Pope Martin against the Monothelite Heresy. Theodore having brought the Synod of Hadfield to the issue which he intended, its Decrees were drawn up, and signed by all the Bishops present.

The Christian Religion being now generally professed throughout England, Wilfrid, who had been banished from Northumbria, employed his labours between the South and West Saxons. But Egfrid having been killed by the Picts, and Aldfrid, his brother, who had been Wilfrid's pupil,* having succeeded, the ambitious Prelate was inspired with a sanguine hope of regaining his former station. He had found that the authorities of the Bishop of Rome was little regarded in England, and therefore he prudently determined to show a deference to the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which he had formerly opposed. The services which he had rendered to the Church among the South and West

* Cornwald, a Monk, appeared as the advocate of Theodore.
† Bede, lib. iv. c. 12—19. Ed. 24—31.

* Aldfrid is thus described by Aleuin: *Qui sacris fuerat studiis imbutus ab omni aetate prima, valido sermone ornatissimus acer et ingenio, idem at simul atque magister.*—De Pont. 749.

History. Saxons since his exile, had softened the resentment of Theodore, and a reconciliation was sought by the Primate. A conference between these two Bishops took place at London, in the presence of Erconwald, Bishop of that See. Theodore made the first advances, acknowledging his fault, and implored forgiveness. "I am warned," he said, "by my present age and infirmities, that my death will not be long delayed. I beseech you graciously to forgive me." Desirous to prove the sincerity of his contrition, he offered to resign the Archbishopric to his former rival, since he knew no one so worthy of governing the Church.

Nothing could be more praiseworthy than the temper which these reconciled Bishops displayed. Wilfrid received the apology with candour and frankness, forgiving all past injuries and offering assurances of future friendship. To accept the Archbishopric without the sanction of a General Council was a thought which Wilfrid could not entertain, and he only wished to be reinstated in his Bishopric of Northumbria. Theodore cheerfully wrote letters of recommendation to Aldfrid, and to Eelfrida, the King's sister; and, in consequence, Wilfrid was invited to return. Bosa, Bishop of York, was removed to the Bishopric of Holy Island, at that time vacant by the resignation of Cuthbert, and Wilfrid was appointed Bishop of York. With the Episcopal revenues, he also repossessed the Monasteries of Hexham and Rippon.

Death of Theodore.
A. D. 692. In the year following this memorable reconciliation, Theodore died, but unfortunately his death did not put an end to the turbulence or the troubles of Wilfrid. No sooner was he placed in the See of York, than he experienced opposition on every side. His contentious spirit alienated his Sovereign and pupil Aldfrid, who unable to bear his inuperious temper, drove him from the See of York, and from the Kingdom of Northumbria. Wilfrid sought refuge in Mercia, and obtained the Bishopric of Leicester, which, however, he had not possessed long, before he provoked Ethelred, King of Mercia, to banish him.

Not contented with having drawn on himself the enmity of two Princes, he engaged in a contest with Brithwald, the successor of Theodore, at the time when he most needed the protection of an Ecclesiastical superior. He had been banished from the See of York almost eleven years, when a Council was called by Brithwald, at the suggestion of Aldfrid and Ethelred, to investigate his conduct. At first he refused to appear before the Synod, being apprehensive of his personal safety, but having been promised a safe-conduct, he presented himself. His deportment was so improper, that a general sentence of deprivation was pronounced by the Archbishop, though the other Bishops implored that the sentence might be mitigated. He was allowed therefore to return to his Monastery of Rippon, on condition that he would cease to exercise his Episcopal functions. It was natural to expect that terms so humiliating would not only be rejected by Wilfrid, but would heighten his resentment. He protested vehemently against the proceedings of the Synod, reproached the Bishops with ingratitude, and threatened to appeal to the Pope. The Synod exhibited great firmness, but Aldfrid displayed a violence equal to that of Wilfrid. He even proposed to deliver the refractory Prelate to summary death, but the Bishops insisted on the safe-conduct, and Wilfrid was permitted to depart. Old as he then was, his spirit was unbroken, and he hastened

to Rome. Presenting himself before the Pope, he set forth the injustice of his treatment, and implored redress. It happened that a Provincial Council was at that time sitting at Rome, and two Legates from Brithwald appeared before it, to vindicate the proceedings of himself and the Anglo-Saxon Bishops.

Wilfrid on his own behalf, and the two Legates on the part of Brithwald, submitted the case to the Pope in Council. The chief, or rather the only accusation preferred against Wilfrid was, that he had refused to submit to the authority of an English Synod. Wilfrid stated in his defence, that he had never refused obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury, unless his decisions were contrary to the Apostolic See. The appeal itself, as well as the defence, inclined the Pope to favour Wilfrid, and he was pronounced innocent. Instead, however, of issuing any decree, the Pope wrote to the Kings of Northumbria and Mercia, desiring that a Synod might be called by the Archbishop, in which Wilfrid should be present; that the Bishops of York and Hexham should be summoned; that after hearing all parties they should endeavour to settle the quarrel at home, but that in case it could not be adjusted, the disputants should attend at Rome, and the cause should be again referred to the Pope and his Council.

With this declaration in his favour, it might be supposed that Wilfrid would have hastened home, but as he had once before experienced the danger of returning with a favourable determination of the Pontiff, he requested that he might be permitted to remain, and to pass the short remnant of his life at Rome. This request was not granted. He was enjoined to return, under the specious pretext that his presence was necessary to the English Church and Kingdom, and he therefore took a reluctant leave, and tardily obeyed.

No sooner had he returned than he directed his application in the first place to Brithwald, on whom he so far prevailed as to promise a revision and mitigation of the sentence of deprivation passed in the former Synod. He then went to the Court of the King of Mercia, and as Ethelred his foe had quitted his Palace for a Monastery, Cened the reigning Prince was not unwilling to favour his pretensions. The only obstacle remaining to his restoration was the King of Northumbria, and he sent two Ecclesiastics to Aldfrid, soliciting that he might be allowed to attend that Prince with the letters and determination of the Roman Pontiff. The solicitation was refused; Aldfrid, with the advice of his Council, declared that he would not reverse the decisions of an English Synod, in consequence of any letters from the Apostolic See.* But the King having been shortly afterwards seized by a violent sickness, and thinking that his malady was a divine judgment in consequence of his disobedience to the commands of the Pontiff, made a vow to restore Wilfrid in case of his recovery, and in case of his death bequeathed the performance of it on his successor. After a lingering illness, Aldfrid died, and his son being an infant, the crown was usurped by Eudulph. Wilfrid was well known to Eudulph, and confidently expected his immediate recall; but he was deceived, for in reply to his overtures, he was sternly told, that if he did not leave the Kingdom of Northumbria within six days, all his friends and followers should be put to death.†

* "As you choose to call it," was the language of Aldfrid to the two Ecclesiastics.—*Eddias, Fil. Wilfrid, c. 41.*

† *Eddias, Fil. Wilfrid.*

Of the Saxon Church.
He appeals to Rome.

Cause of Wilfrid is decided at Rome in his favour.

Wilfrid returns to England.

His reception by Brithwald and the King of Mercia.

and by Aldfrid.

Death of Aldfrid.
A. D. 725.

History. The reign of the Usurper, however, was short, and Wilfrid having some interest in the Council of Osered, the lawful heir, succeeded in obtaining a Synod to revise the proceedings against him. The place of its assembly was near the river Nidd, where Brithwald agreed to meet him. The Archbishop, after a short prayer for peace, stated the manner in which Wilfrid's Cause had been determined at Rome, and read the Epistles from the Pontiff to the Kings of Northumbria and Mercia. He avowed his own reconciliation with Wilfrid, and recommended that the deprived Bishop should be reinstated. But when the Letters of Pope John were produced, and obedience to the Pontiff enjoined under the penalty of degradation, the assembled Bishops appealed to the authority of their own Provincial Council, and refused to alter its decisions. Nevertheless, what they refused to do in compliance with the commands of the Roman Pontiff, they did from another motive. The Abbess Elfleda declared the vow made by her brother in his last sickness, a declaration which was confirmed by the Regent of Northumbria, and the Bishops after first withdrawing for the purpose of deliberation, came to the following resolution: That the Bishop of Hexham should be removed to the See of York vacant by the death of Bosa, and that Wilfrid should have the Bishopric of Hexham, together with the Abbey of Rippon. Further than this, they refused to go either in compliance with the solicitations of Elfleda and the Regent, or in regard of the memory of their deceased King.

Synod of Nidd.

Wilfrid restored to the Bishopric of Hexham.

His death. Restored to a part of his honours and emoluments at the age of seventy-six, Wilfrid did not long enjoy them. About four years after he repossessed the Bishopric of Hexham, he died at Oundle, in Northamptonshire, an Abbey of which he was the founder, and his body was removed to Rippon, where it was buried with great funeral pomp. Notwithstanding his deprivations and exile, the magnificence of his living, and his munificent foundations, he left great wealth, which he directed to be divided into four portions. The first and largest part he bequeathed to the Churches of St. Mary and St. Paul in Rome for masses to his soul; the second part he gave to the poor; the third to the monasteries which he had founded; and the fourth to his friends and servants.

Scheme of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Conjointly with the death of Wilfrid may be noticed a scheme of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which subsisted independently of the Heptarchy or Octarchy, though the Dioceses were commensurate with the different Sovereignities. It consisted of seventeen Bishoprics under one Metropolitan. Of these, the Kingdom of Kent had two, Canterbury and Rochester; the Kingdom of the East Saxons one, the Bishopric of London; the Kingdom of the East Angles was divided between the Bishoprics of Dunwich and North Elmham; the Bishoprics of Winchester and Sherborn comprehended the Kingdom of the West Saxons; the extensive King-

dom of Mercia had not less than five Bishoprics, and these were fixed at Lichfield, Leicester, Sydnacester, Worcester, and Hereford: the entire Kingdom of the South Saxons was within the Diocese of Solesbury; and lastly, the Kingdom of Northumbria had four Sees, York, Holy Island, Hexham, and Withern.

In this state stood the Anglo-Saxon Church at the death of Brithwald, and such is its state as described by Bede. These Bishops were subject to the jurisdiction of one Metropolitan, till Egbert presided over the See of York. His brother being King of Northumbria, he took the advantage which this alliance gave him, in conjunction with personal merit, and obtained the pall, the characteristic of Archiepiscopal dignity. Yet though some of the successors of Egbert obtained the same honour, and the Archiepiscopal title was conferred on them, it is doubtful whether the Archiepiscopate of York was completely settled until after the Norman Conquest.

At the latter end of the VIIIth century, the whole Kingdom of Mercia was taken out of the Archiepiscopate of Canterbury by Offa. That restless Prince resolved to make his Church as well as his Kingdom independent. For that purpose, he obliged his Bishops to yield obedience to the See of Lichfield, the Metropolis of his Kingdom, and he obtained from Pope Adrian a pall for his Bishop. Besides the natural inquietude and ambition of his temper, Offa had an antipathy to Lambert, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and accused him to the Pope of encouraging Charlemagne to make a descent on England. Whether this was a true charge is uncertain, but not long after the separation of Mercia from the jurisdiction of the See of Canterbury, Offa invaded the Kingdom of the East Angles, and subverted its Ecclesiastical as well as its Political Government. He placed the whole Kingdom under the Archbishop of Lichfield;* by which means the Bishops of Hereford, Worcester, and Sydnacester, in addition to the Mercian Bishops of Elmham and Dunwich, became suffragans of that See. Lambert strenuously opposed the diminution of the jurisdiction of the ancient See of Canterbury; he sent several appeals to Rome; but the affair having been settled by Offa and the Pope, he was obliged to yield. He even quitted his See and retired into France, till he was brought back by the persuasions of the celebrated Alcuin.†

Thus we have traced the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Church, as well as the progress and extent of its submission to the See of Rome. Its future History will be resumed hereafter, and the changes will be then described which took place in its polity, before and at the Norman Conquest.

* Higbert, Bishop of Lichfield, was selected by Offa to be the Metropolitan; but the pall was not conferred till the time of Adolph, Higbert's successor.—Malina. sec. 15. Spelman, Cæsar. p. 302.

† The reader is referred on this subject to Wharton's *Anglica Sacra*.

Of the
Saxon
Church.

Egbert first
Archiepiscop
of York.

Mercia
withdrawn
from the
See of Can-
terbury by
Offa.

Archiepiscop-
ric of Lich-
field.

Conclusion

HISTORY

CHAPTER LXII.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE.—FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE OF THE ROMANS, TO THE END OF THE VIIIth CENTURY.

FROM A. D. 476. TO A. D. 800.

History. At the Epoch of the final destruction of the Roman Empire in the West, the Eastern Division of that stupendous fabric of Universal Dominion still continued to present the majestic remains of pristine grandeur, and retained at least the outward aspect of splendour and power. It had sustained the rude shock of successive Barbarian irruptions, less through the courage of its defenders, than by the passive solidity of its structure, and the natural strength of its position; and it had witnessed and survived the prostration of the more ancient edifice of the Roman glory before that irresistible deluge, which, after bursting through its external bulwarks, had recoiled and swept past its walls to overwhelm the whole surface of Western Europe. The receding current of invasion forsook the devastated Provinces between the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Mediterranean: the remoteness of the Asiatic and African dependencies of the Empire had protected them from a similar desolation. At the period, therefore, when the sword of Odoacer destroyed the last vestige of the Augustan Sovereignty in the West, the Eastern successors of Constantine still boasted an extent of dominion little diminished since the original partition of the Roman World. Of the Eastern Empire,—or to substitute a familiar title which more appropriately describes its principal Nation and Language, and expresses its protracted duration, the **GREEK** or **LOWER EMPIRE**,—the European portion comprehended the Provinces of Greece with its Islands, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thrace, and Mæsia; or the whole vast tract of Country bounded by the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, the Euxine, and the Danube. Its transmarine possessions included Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Lybia.

If we ask by what conservative force the People of these various and distant Countries, formed of discordant races, and animated by no common sentiment of patriotism or loyalty, were held together under the same sceptre, we shall rise from the inquiry only to echo the general surprise of Historians that, in the mere inheritance of the Laws and Arts of Rome, consisted all the strength of the Eastern Empire. We shall be astonished to observe that, with no firmer bond of Government than the habitual reverence which the Roman Institutions, all corrupted as they were, still commanded over the popular mind, that Empire could preserve its existence; not by the manifestation of those qualities which are the usual safeguards of human power, nor through the exercise of political wisdom in its Chiefs, or of generous energies in its People; but

amidst the total absence of virtue in both:—in despite of the inherent vices of a continually degenerating despotism, the base intrigues of a dissolute Court, the insolent factions of a luxurious Capital, and the depraved character of a predominant population of Greeks, shameless alike in their turbulence and their perfidy, their slavery and their cowardice.

During the expiring throes of the Western Empire, the throne of Constantinople was unworthily filled, as we have seen,* by the Isaurian Zeno. The commencement of his wicked and pusillanimous reign was disturbed by the intrigues of the Empress Verina, his mother-in-law, and the widow of his predecessor Leo, misnamed the Great. In the palace of the Eastern Empire, the influence of women and of eunuchs was supreme; and the ambition of Verina easily excited a revolt against the husband of her daughter. By the success of the conspiracy, the Isaurian was compelled to take refuge in his native mountains; and Basiliscus, the brother and creature of Verina, already infamous for his cowardice or treason in the Vandalic war,† was raised to the vacant throne. Except to mark the depravation of morals, the quarrels of a profligate Court are little deserving of Historical record. The usurper rewarded his sister for the diadem which she had bestowed on him by the murder of her lover; and it was an offended paramour of his own wife who assisted the vengeance of Verina. By a second conspiracy of the Palace, Basiliscus was hurled from the throne, Zeno was recalled, and the restless spirit of Verina was again displayed in the excitement of another revolt and the support of a second usurper. But this new enterprise, which she maintained in the Provinces until the close of her life, terminated unsuccessfully; and Zeno continued to hold the sceptre in his feeble grasp until the period of his natural death. His reign is chiefly memorable for the art, or good fortune, with which he diverted the dangerous force of the Ostrogoths from the ruin of his own Empire to the conquest of Italy; and the only faint shadow of glory in the life of Zeno is reflected from the alliance of the great Theodoric, who subjugated, and condescended to rule, the fairest portions of the dismembered Western Empire under the nominal supremacy of the Despot of the East.‡

The Eastern Empire.

From A. D. 476. to A. D. 800.

Reigns of Zeno, the Isaurian, A. D. 474.

* Vide p. 264 of this Volume.

† Ibid. p. 266.

‡ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 111. 113, &c. and Marcellinus (in *Chron. Evangelium*) passim. Procopius, (*De Helio Gothi*) lib. i. c. 1. Jornandes, c. 52—57.

History. On the death of Zeno, the marriage of his widow Ariadne with Anastasius, a respectable officer of the Imperial household, produced the elevation of her new husband to the throne of the Cæsars. The private virtues of Anastasius placed his life in strong contrast to that of his predecessor: but his domestic reign of twenty-seven years was undistinguished, except by a Civil war, of which Religious discussions formed the pretext; and, of its foreign events, the most remarkable was the defeat of the Imperial forces in a contest, jealously and rashly provoked with the more vigorous power of Theodoric.* Anastasius was succeeded by Justin, an illiterate Dacian peasant, who had risen by his military merit, during a service of fifty years, to the command of the Imperial guards, and who was seated by their suffrages on the vacant throne. The new Emperor, at the epoch of his accession, was already advanced in years; and he gradually resigned the Civil administration of government to his nephew, Justinian, whom he had previously drawn from obscurity in Dacia, and educated as his heir. The design of this adoption expanded with the fortunes of Justin, and shortly before his death he was induced or compelled, by the influence which his artful and aspiring nephew had gained over the Senate, to admit him to a full participation in the honours of the purple. On the decease of his uncle, Justinian became the sole Ruler of the Empire, and commenced a long, a memorable, and, on the whole, a glorious reign, of thirty-eight years.†

Accession of Justinian.
A. D. 527.
Domestic events of his reign.

History of the Emperress Theodora.

The internal and the foreign transactions of the Empire during this busy period are sufficiently various and important to deserve a distinct enumeration;‡ and our notice may first be engaged by those domestic events in the government of Justinian which illustrate the personal merits and actions of the Monarch, and the condition and resources of his dominions. Of the peculiar character of his reign no inconsiderable share is attributable to the influence of the extraordinary woman who was raised by his affection from the lowest degradation to the partnership of the purple. This was the famous Theodora, a comedian, a courtesan, and an Empress. Without imitating the purrulent taste with which a great Historian has laboriously polluted his pages by exhausting the scandalous chronicle of her vices,§ it is only necessary to observe, that the origin of Theodora was vile; that her youth was educated in the theatre of Constantinople, and consumed in an abandoned licentiousness which deepened the shame of a disgraceful vocation; and that on a repentant or artful retirement from a life of public and vagrant infamy, she accidentally attracted the notice of the Patrician Justinian, retained sufficient beauty to captivate his fancy, and developed mental endowments which fixed his attachment, and finally ensured his confidence and respect. The Roman law forbade the marriage of a

Senator with a woman of servile origin or theatrical profession: but Justinian was resolved to raise his concubine to the dignified station and sacred rights of a wife; and during his uncle's life his influence obtained an Imperial edict which relaxed the morality of the ancient jurisprudence, declared a glorious repentance open to the females of the theatres, and permitted them to contract the most honourable unions. The nuptials of Justinian and Theodora were immediately solemnized; she shared the subsequent exaltation of her husband; and on his accession to the purple, he gave the highest proof of the constancy of his attachment and the unbounded measure of his esteem, by associating her in honours which, in the earlier Ages of the Empire, his predecessors had denied to the most virtuous of consorts. She not only shared his coronation, but was seated on his throne as an equal and independent colleague; and the oaths of allegiance were administered to the Provincial Governors in the joint names of Justinian and Theodora, as Emperor and Empress of the East.*

The fidelity of Theodora to Justinian from the hour in which she became his concubine may be safely inferred from the silence of a malignant satirist: his reproaches of her arrogance and her avarice may be received with suspicion. Her anxiety, by burying herself in the retreat of a rural palace, to escape from the adulation of a Capital to which her infamy had been too familiar, may have been as much the impulse of disgust and shame as of pride; and a portion, at least, of her treasures was expended in various pious and charitable foundations, of which the most remarkable and munificent attested her sympathy for the unhappy of her sex, and was devoted to the benevolent purpose of reclaiming them from guilt and misery. Yet it must be admitted that the evidence of her cruelties is better established, at least by the unanimous consent of her enemies. They may have exaggerated the atrocities which were believed to have been perpetrated in her peculiar and secret prisons under the palace: for, as it has been well observed, darkness, if it be propitious to cruelty, is likewise favourable to calumny and fiction. But if the report of her Historians may be credited, the living accusers of her tyranny were the suffering and mangled objects of her resentment, and the spoiled orphans of the victims who had perished under her vengeance. It would appear that ambition was the master passion which had subdued or absorbed her more grovelling vices; and the cruelties which are odiously opposed to her better qualities, were probably the dictates of her political fears. To the wisdom of her counsels, Justinian himself has bequeathed a questionable testimony; but it is certain that he was more than once indebted for the safety of his throne to the strength of her resolution. In balancing the weight of her virtues and her vices, a large allowance is due to the demoralizing influence of her education, the corruption of her Age and Country, and the precarious tenure of her power. Upon this estimate some indulgence and even honour may be claimed for the memory of a woman, who raised herself from the infamy of the theatre to the dignity of the throne, whose moral energies were equal to a conqueror over the habitual licentiousness of her youth, and whose mental firmness and

The Emperress Theodora.
From A. D. 476. to A. D. 600.

Estimate of her character.

* Jornandes, c. 58. Marcellinus, Chron. p. 44—48.

† Marcellinus, Chron. p. 49, 59, &c. Zosarus, lib. xiv.

‡ The principal authority for this period is Procopius, the Secretary of Belisarius, from whose various pages both the foreign and domestic events of the reign of Justinian may be collected. But the testimony of Procopius, notwithstanding the elegance and skill of his narration, is impeached by its base contradictions; and in his public History and his more secret *Anecdotes*, he doubly disgraces himself by his adulation and his malignity.

§ Gibbon (c. 40.) has nowhere betrayed the lamentable corruption of his mind more disgustingly than in the eagerness with which he has here taken up the grossest indecencies from the *Anecdotes* of Procopius.

* Novell. viii. lit. 3.

† Ibid. viii. lit. 1.

History. prudence sustained the administration of an Empire. After a reign of twenty-two years she sank under the slow tortures of a cancer; and with her expired the last symptoms of vigour in the government of Justinian.*

From A. D. 476. **To** A. D. 500. **Furious** of the Circus. When that Emperor ascended the throne of the East, the peace of Constantinople had been long distracted by the violence of two factions, which derived their origin from the Chariot races of the Circus. In these ancient Games the drivers were now distinguished by the different colours of their dresses; and the absurd ardour which the idle population of a luxurious Capital felt in the issue of every contest was shown in the espousal of a chosen hue. But of the four usual colours of Red, White, Green, and Blue, it was principally the last two which obtained and divided the favour of the populace; and these badges of festivity were gradually converted into the emblems of Political and even of Religious party. In the decline of the two Empires of the West and East, no sign can be adduced more indicative of the contemptible levity of the public spirit than the origin of these infuriated factions both at Rome and Constantinople, not in the manly opposition of Principles but in the frivolous contests of the Circus. For, not merely the common herd, but Patricians, Senators, and Emperors, were enrolled among the supporters of the Blue and Green colours, encouraged their follies, and indulged their excesses. These soon swelled into tumultuous and bloody combats between the factions, which disturbed every Festival; and on one occasion, in the reign of Anastasius, the Greens are said to have drawn their concealed weapons and treacherously murdered three thousand of their Blue opponents.† The Provinces and Cities of the East imitated the pernicious example of the Capital; and the disgraceful brawls of the Theatre were suffered to give birth to two powerful parties, whose deadly hostility outraged the majesty of the Laws and convulsed every portion of the Empire. The feeble though pompous administration of government was alternately assailed and protected by the opposition of these factions; and Emperors were not ashamed to purchase the security of their throne by an alliance with one and the oppression of the other. Before his accession, Justinian had displayed his partiality for the Blue Faction, who supported his claims to the throne and professed to share his zeal for the purity of Religion. At the commencement of his reign, they presumed on the Imperial favour to satiate a furious vengeance upon their opponents, and to fill the Capital with their licentious excesses. An edict of Justinian, which repeatedly declared his resolution to enforce the equal administration of justice, was as often eluded by the superior influence of the triumphant faction; and the public anarchy increased with impunity, until the insolence of the Blues and the despair of their adversaries threatened a total dissolution of the powers of government.‡

In the fifth year of his reign, Justinian was at length provoked to make a serious and impartial effort for repressing the disorders of Constantinople by the execution of some notorious assassins of both factions. This act of equal justice served only to produce a momentary truce and union between Blues and Greens to resist the Imperial authority. A violent sedition was excited, in which the combined insurgents burned the Palace of the metropolitan Prefect, massacred his attendants, and spread a conflagration which destroyed the Cathedral of St. Sophia, a portion of the Imperial Palace itself, and a great number of public and private edifices. The rioters even proceeded to place a reluctant nephew of the Emperor Anastasius on the throne; and the fortunes of Justinian must have perished in the same hour, if they had not been sustained by the firmness of a woman. In the universal panic of the courtiers, Theodora alone preserved courage to oppose the proposition for an ignominious flight; her spirit overcame the timidity of her husband; and the obvious and easy expedient of rekindling the animosity of the factions was successfully adopted. The Blues, reminded of the danger of an union with antagonists whom they had long outraged and oppressed, were persuaded to return to their allegiance; with their aid the deserted Greens were surrounded and assailed in the Circus or Hippodrome, the nursery and citadel of faction, by the Imperial forces under Belisarius; and thirty thousand of the insurgents were slain in a merciless and indiscriminate slaughter. The unfortunate and involuntary usurper was made prisoner and executed; and an Imperial edict suppressing the Games of the Theatre marked the close of a sedition which, from the cry of the insurgents, *Nika*, (Conquer!) has obtained its distinction in the disorderly annals of the Byzantine Empire. But the revival of the Chariot races of the Hippodrome, a pernicious concession to the darling passion of the People, which was granted in a few years, revived the same scenes of disorder; and the baleful struggle of the two factions was perpetuated by the weakness and vices of the Government.*

Immediately after this exposure of the internal disorders which disgraced the feeble administration of Justinian, it might seem a forced and unnatural transition to introduce an eulogy of his legislative labours: yet the same epoch strangely exhibits the impotence of the Laws and the triumphs of Jurisprudence. This contradiction belongs less to the character of the Emperor than to the condition of the Empire: and the aspect of mingled splendour and weakness presented by the Byzantine Annals, faithfully reflects the theory and practice of its government. The factions of the Circus and the disputation of the Courts, simultaneously divided the anxiety of Justinian; and at the moment when the wildest ebullitions of popular license threatened the safety of his person and the duration of his reign, he was actively engaged in a design which has immortalized his name as a Prince and perpetuated his authority as a Legislator. This noble and memorable enterprise had for its object to digest, to reconcile, and to explain the accumulated Civil Jurisprudence of Republican and Imperial Rome. In the Age of Justinian such a reformation had become equally desirable and

The Eastern Empire
From
A. D.
476.
To
A. D.
800.
Furious
sedition of
the *Nika*.
A. D.
582.

* From the original evidence collected by Gibbon (*ubi supra*) it is not difficult to form a candid estimate of the conflicting qualities of Theodora. Many passages of her life suggest an obvious parallel between her character and that of Catherine of Russia; not will the comparison be unfavourable to the Eastern Empress. Her genius was, probably, not inferior to that of the famous Czarina: her moral reformations are honourably contrasted with the personal dissoluteness which survived and disgraced the elevation of Catherine to a throne.

† Marcellinus, *Chron.* p. 47.
‡ Theophrastus, p. 142. Procopius, (*De Bello Persico*.) lib. i. c. 24. Gibbon, *ch. xl.*

* Procopius, (*De Bello Persico*.) lib. i. c. 26. Marcellinus, *Chron.* p. 54. 56. Theophrastus, p. 155–158. Zoonar, lib. xiv. ad p. 63. Gibbon, *ubi supra*.

History,
From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
500.

Reforma-
tion of the
Roman
Law.

Publication
of the Jus-
tinian
Code.
A. D.
529.

THE INSTI-
TUTES,

and PAN-
DECTS,
A. D.
533.

difficult. During a period probably of above one thousand years, since the original enactment of the Twelve Tables of the Roman Law, the statutes of the Republic and the edicts of the Emperors had been incessantly multiplied; and the confused and often contradictory mass of Jurisprudence was swollen by the commentaries of lawyers into countless volumes of various reputation and authority, which divided the opinions and distracted the judgments of the Courts.*

The merit of originating so stupendous a work of revision must be conceded to the personal resolve of Justinian: but the principal agent whom he employed was his subject Tribonian, an illustrious lawyer, whose genius, alike in its grandeur, and the meanness which sullied it, has not unsapiently been compared to that of Bacon.† To the learning and discretion of Tribonian, aided by the counsel of nine other jurisconsults of eminence, Justinian, in the first year of his reign, intrusted the duty of revising the ordinances of his Imperial predecessors; and the selection, which expunged the contradictions and superfluities of these enactments, was diligently accomplished in fourteen months. The work, composed, by imitation perhaps of the number of the Twelve Tables of the Roman Law, in as many Books, was then confirmed by the signature of the Emperor, and distinguished by his name; and the JUSTINIAN CODE was solemnly proclaimed as the universal Law of the Empire. A labour of far greater extent and more arduous execution was next assigned to Tribonian with an increased number of associates: to compose a general commentary on the spirit and substance of the ancient and existing Jurisprudence; to pass judgment on the conflicting opinions and decisions of previous Civilians; and to extract from the most celebrated of their innumerable Treatises, the approved principles and deductions of the Science. In three years the whole of this design was completed by Tribonian and his coadjutors, and its execution was ratified by the authority of their master. Under the title of INSTITUTES, the elementary principles of Law were defined and promulgated in a distinct and invaluable Work, of which the publication in IV Books,‡ immediately preceded the appearance of the grand and ultimate digest, in the shape of commentaries, on the whole circle of Roman Jurisprudence. The term of PANDECTS, or general receivers, denotes the comprehensive object of these Books, fifty in number; and their authority was intended and declared to supersede the use of the voluminous texts of various antiquity, of which they formed the abridgement or abstracts. Thenceforth, the three Works of the Code, the Institutes, and the Pandects, were to form the complete and only recognised system of Jurisprudence; and all earlier provisions were discarded as either obsolete and valueless in themselves, or embodied into the perfect collations of Legal Wisdom.§

The merits of these Works, when fairly weighed against the difficulties of their execution, have com-

manded the admiration of all subsequent Ages: the vain boast of their perfect sufficiency was shamed in the Age itself which produced them. In less than six years after the publication of his Code, Justinian acknowledged its deficiencies by promulgating a new and improved edition, in which, besides many supplementary decisions on the disputed or contradictory edicts of his predecessors, no less than two hundred new laws of his own were introduced. Nor were even these revisions and additions adequate to satisfy the wants of the tribunals, or the restless passion of legislation; and every year in the long reign of Justinian was marked by the production of some new Edict, or Novel Law. Of these, many were subsequently repealed by himself, and others were rejected by his successors: but the remaining number of the Justinian Acts, under the general term of NOVELLS, were collected after his death: their authority has been admitted in conjunction with that of the Code, the Institutes, and the Pandects, into the general system of the Imperial Legislation; and they form the fourth great division of that famous body of Jurisprudence which is still emphatically distinguished as THE CIVIL LAW.*

The praise and censure of this celebrated collection of written Reason are equally foreign to our present subject. The general excellence of its rules and the usual equity of its decisions in the business of social life have been universally admitted: but the political character of the system is stamped with the spirit of arbitrary monarchy; and the slavish principles which it inculcates,† were fitted only for the purposes of an oriental despotism, and have rendered it deservedly odious to the advocates of freedom.‡ These features, however, of the Civil Law, should not in fairness be objected to detract from the credit which is due, both to Justinian and his counsellors, for the grandeur of the design and the careful industry of the compilation. They were called upon in their situation to legislate for the wants not of a free nation, but of a People for Ages degraded from the rights, and incapable of appreciating the uses, of liberty. Nor was the manly spirit of personal independence, which breathed in the ancient Laws of the Roman Republic, any longer suitable to the Jurisprudence of a Greek Empire, of which every subject was confessedly the slave of the Prince. The corruption, indeed, of ancient legal texts into the servile language of arbitrary power was a Historical forgery: but it is a far heavier reproach against the honour and justice of Justinian, if the suspicion be well founded, that the frequent changes of Law which appear in the Novels are so unimportant, that no other cause can be found for them than the base venality of a Prince, who shamelessly sold both his judgments and his laws.§

The transmission of the Civil Law to the States of Western Europe, in which it has become naturalized, forms a doubtful and curious chapter in the History of Jurisprudence and of Nations. We may reject the

The East-
ern Empire.
From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
500.

and the
Novels.
A. D.
563.

Merits of
the Civil
Law.

History of
its transmis-
sion to mo-
dern times.

* Tassonus, *Histoire de la Jurisprudence Romaine*, fol. p. 1—73. Heineccius, *Historia Juris Romani*, No. 112—349.

† Gibbon, ch. xlv.

‡ Gibbon, who eulogizes the method of the *Institutes*, has failed to observe how closely the order of their division is imitated in that admirable compendium of our own Law—the *Commentaries* of Blackstone.

§ Tassonus, 295—354. Heineccius (*Hist. Juris Rom.*) No. 384—404, and a reference is always implied to the more modern text of Gibbon, whose XLIVth Chapter contains an excellent digest of the history and principles of the Roman Law.

* Tassonus and Heineccius *ubi supra*. Ludewig, *Vitæ Justiniani*, p. 250—253.

† Witness the famous maxim (Inst. 1. 2. 6.) *Quod principis placuit, legis habet vigorem*.

‡ Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Introduction, sec. 1. p. 4, 5.

§ The internal evidence of these changes is thought by a great authority to confirm the secret accusations of Procopius. *Cervarations sont la plupart sur des choses de si petite importance qu'on ne voit aucune raison qui eût dû porter un législateur à les faire à moins qu'on n'eût été poussé par l'histoire secrète, et qu'on ne dût que se prêter vent d'ignorer ses jugemens et ses loix.* Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, ch. xx.

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From
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vulgar tale which attributes its adoption in the Italian Schools to the discovery of a copy of the Pandects at Amalfi in the sack of that city by the Pisians in the XIIIth Century; for it is certain that Lectures on these Books were read in the University of Bologna a few years before that event.* The introduction of the Jurisprudence of Justinian into Italy was a necessary result of the conquest of that Peninsula; and the government of the Imperial Exarchs must at least have perpetuated its authority in the Italian Provinces during more than two centuries. The immediate causes which after the Dark Ages led to the revival of its scientific study, are involved in obscurity; but when the German Emperors attempted to establish the title of their succession to the universal monarchy of the Cæsars, they eagerly enlisted the services of a crowd of Civilians, who were prepared to deduce the loftiest maxims of Imperial prerogative from the arbitrary doctrines of the Institutes. In another cause, the zeal of the Romish Clergy laboured to establish the authority of the same system of Jurisprudence; and the method and principles of the Canon, were founded on those of the Civil Law. The growing fame of the latter system occasioned its reception also among the Free Municipal Communities of Italy and Germany; from those Countries its study was disseminated by its clerical and lay professors throughout Europe; and while, in most of the continental nations, it is still closely interwoven, under different modifications, with local varieties of Jurisprudence, the Civil Law has in our own Country extended and retained its influence over the ordinary Tribunals of Scotland and the Ecclesiastical and Maritime Courts of England.†

Tales of
Justinian.

The reformation of the Roman Jurisprudence was not the only great work which adorned the reign of Justinian. A love of magnificence may have been indulged in his architectural designs; but both his zeal for the honour of Religion and his laudable precautions for the defence of an unwelcome Empire were evinced in the construction and repair of numerous Ecclesiastical, Military, and Civil edifices. The majestic Cathedral of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, which he rebuilt entirely after the earlier fabric had been consumed by fire in the sedition of the *Nika*, remains to this hour a splendid and venerable monument of his piety and taste; and both the Capital and Provincial Cities were decorated by his care with numerous other churches, inferior only to that more famous structure in grandeur and beauty. The fortifications which lined the banks of the Danube, and those also which covered the internal European Provinces, were assiduously augmented in strength and number; the Asiatic frontier on the side of Persia was protected by many new fortresses; and if the multiplication of these artificial bulwarks reveals the real weakness of the Empire, it at least avouches the provident forethought and indefatigable exertions of Justinian for the security of subjects whose courage was insufficient, without such aid for their own defence.‡

The avarice and the profusion of Justinian have been

* Gibbon, ch. xlv. 86. 89. notes, threw some suspicion on this tale, for which the only original authority is an anonymous and undated *Mean* chronicle: but Mr. Mülls, (*Travels of Theodor Ducat*), vol. ii. p. 78. 79, has completely exploded the fable.

† Backhaus, Introduction, sec. 1. p. 11—20. *Gibbon*, *ch. xlviii.*

‡ Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, ch. 32.

§ The principal authority for the public works of Justinian is Procopius: (*De Edificiis*;) and the flattering homage of these VI Books may be weighed against the malignant depreciation of his secret History, or Book of Anecdotes.

condemned by his secret satirist with equal virulence; and some authority is given to both charges by the rapacity of his administration, and the debts which he bequeathed to his successor. But it is among the incurable vices of a corrupted despotism that the imposts of Government are aggravated by the venality of its officers; and Justinian has perhaps been unjustly reproached for disorders which were inherent in the times, and for ministerial extortions which it was alike beyond his power always to detect or to control. A large portion of his lavish expenditure was consumed, not in purposes of selfish luxury, but in the construction of Churches, Fortresses, Bridges, and Aqueducts; and the merit of these useful public works may excuse the cost of Palaces, and even atone for the more expensive ambition of conquest. The sale of honours and offices, the imposition of onerous taxes, and the injurious privilege of monopolies, were the usual disgraces of the Imperial Government; but some earnest though vain efforts to check the progress of venality by rigorous legislative enactments,* prove that Justinian was not insensible to the shame which it entailed upon his administration; and a more honourable example may be adduced of his desire to advance the internal prosperity of his Empire by the promotion of the industrious Arts. By his liberality, some Persian monks were bribed to effect the secret and difficult introduction of the silkworm from China into the Eastern Empire; under his encouragement his subjects soon learned to rival the Chinese in the treatment of the insect and the manufacture of its produce; and to the enlightened views of Justinian is Europe originally indebted for the establishment of one of the most useful among the occupations which minister to the purposes of elegant luxury.†

To these circumstances in the juridical and domestic administration of Justinian which have given celebrity to his reign, is to be added the more dubious fame of foreign conquest. When he ascended the throne, he found the Empire engaged in a war with the Persian Monarchy, over whose vast extent the Dynasty of the Sassanides still exercised their hereditary dominion. After a truce which was observed between the Roman and Persian Empires for nearly eighty years, the reigns both of Anastasius and Justin had been consumed in desultory hostilities with Kobad, the nineteenth Sovereign of his House; and under the reign of his son Chosroes, so renowned in Oriental Romance under the more proper appellation of Nushirvan, the contest was still protracted, little to the glory of the Byzantine arms, until the penetration or good fortune of Justinian intrusted their direction to a commander, whose martial spirit and genius were worthy of the best ages of the Roman Republic or Empire. This was the famous Belisarius: the submissive servant of a jealous despot; the dupe, or domestic slave, of a licentious and domineering wife; but a consummate General in the field, a hero in personal prowess, a merciful and prudent victor, and a sagacious Statesman. By birth a Thracian peasant, Belisarius had enrolled himself in the private guard of Justinian before the elevation of that Prince to his uncle's throne; but we know nothing positively of his early life and services until the new Emperor promoted his fidelity to a command in the Persian War. The natural genius of Belisarius for war was of that

The Eastern
Empire.

From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
500.

Internal
administration
of the Empire.

Introduc-
tion of the
silk worm.

A. D.
552.

War of
Justinian.

Rise of Be-
lisarius.

The Pers-
ian War.
A. D.
529.

* Novellæ, viii. tit. 3.

† Procopius, l. viii. (miscellæ *De Belle Gothico*) c. 17. Theophaues, p. 39. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 69.

History. lofty and decisive cast, which has little to borrow from the experience and rules of the science. At the head of an army inferior in numbers and dispirited by recent defeats, he encountered and totally overthrew a Persian host on the plain of Dara. In the following campaign, his skilful movements baffled the design of a second Persian invasion of Syria, and saved that wealthy Province from impending ruin.* Soon afterwards, the impatience of Justinian to embark in projects of conquest in the West induced him to submit to the dishonour of buying Peace from Persia; and Belisarius, who, in the sedition of the *Nika*, had meanwhile signalized his devotion to the cause of Justinian, by his defeat of the insurgents, was selected by his Imperial Master for the conduct of the VANDALIC WAR.

THE VANDALIC WAR. Since the failure of the expedition against Carthage under Basiliscus, in the reign of Leo, which we have elsewhere recorded,† the Vandalic Kingdom of Africa had been no further assailed by the arms of the Eastern Empire. But the internal divisions of the Vandals themselves now tempted the ambition of Justinian. Gelimer, an aspiring Chieftain of the Royal line, had dethroned his Sovereign Hilderic; and the reign of a usurper and an Arian was equally detested by a faction of the Vandals and by his Catholic subjects, the descendants of the Roman Provincials. The ostensible and immediate pretext under which Justinian covered his design for the conquest of Africa, was the pious desire of obtaining the release of the deposed Monarch of the Vandals, his personal friend and the tolerant protector of the Catholics. But the claim of universal dominion had been easily supposed to descend upon all the successors of Constantine; and after the extinction of the Western Empire, the Cæsars of the East assumed the sole title of Roman Sovereignty. The recovery of the deserted Provinces of the West was regarded by the Court of Constantinople not as an enterprise of lawless conquest, but as the assertion of an indefeasible right; and the distraction of the Vandalic Monarchy was hailed by Justinian as an auspicious occasion for the reestablishment of the Roman dominion over the Prefecture of Africa.‡

The resources of the Empire were earnestly collected for the Vandalic war; but their accumulation is a memorial of declining strength. Less than seventy years had elapsed since a force of eleven hundred vessels and one hundred thousand men had been despatched from the port of Constantinople for the reconquest of Africa:‡ the utmost efforts of Justinian could assemble for the same enterprise only six hundred vessels and thirty-five thousand soldiers and mariners: of these, but fifteen thousand were land forces; and their heterogeneous composition falsified their title to the proud name of a Roman army. The guards of Belisarius, who had been enlisted in his private service, and suffered, in consonance with an usual and dangerous abuse of the age, to devote themselves by an oath of fidelity to the personal fortunes of their leader, formed the flower of his host: the remaining bands were composed chiefly of Isaurians, Heruli, Huns, and other Barbarians. Wherever war has arisen into a service, the infantry are the strength of armies; and the large proportion of

five thousand horse to an irregular array of only ten thousand foot, the chief dependence placed on this cavalry, and their prevailing use of the bow, all mark the decay of the Roman Art. But the defects of military spirit, of discipline, and of organization, were all counterbalanced by the personal character of one man; and in the motley squadrons of Belisarius, the qualities of the ancient Legions were supplied by the valour and genius of their leader.

After a tardy navigation from Constantinople to Sicily, Belisarius led his fleet over to the African coast, and effected the disembarkation of his troops at a spot distant about five days' journey from Carthage. For the defence of their Capital, the Vandals were compelled to risk an engagement; but neither their dissensions, nor the absence of a part of their force in the Civil war of Sardinia, nor the skill of Belisarius, would explain their successive and easy defeats by the far inferior numbers of the Imperial army; if, during a century of luxurious indulgence in a warm and enervating climate, they had not utterly degenerated from the valorous qualities of their Northern ancestors. After a feeble struggle, Gelimer himself set the example of flight, and the subjugated descendants of the Roman Provincials, in hereditary hatred to their conquerors, gladly opened the gates of the Capital and other Cities to their Imperial deliverers. The Vandals, who in three generations had multiplied from their original number of fifty thousand warriors to one hundred and fifty thousand men, besides women and children, secured their lives by an inglorious submission; and in a single campaign the ancient Roman Province of Africa was completely reduced under the dominion of the successor of Constantine. Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles, all dependencies of the Vandalic Kingdom, followed its fate. The usurper Gelimer himself, after removing the last obstacle to the ambition of Justinian, by the murder of his captive, Hilderic, the lawful King of the Vandals, and ally of the Emperor, was finally compelled to surrender to the generosity of his conqueror, and conducted to Constantinople: where, by the Imperial bounty, he was permitted to pass the remainder of his life in affluence and peace.*

Belisarius had no sooner increased his previous claims to the Imperial favour by the rapid conquest of Africa, than he encountered the envy of an intriguing Court, and the fears of a suspicious master. To refute the secret charge of an intention to seat himself on an independent throne in Africa, the hero abdicated the government of Carthage, and with the courage of innocence immediately returned to Constantinople. His voyage was attended by his guards, with the spoils and captives of the Vandalic war. His presence put to shame the accusations of his enemies and the apprehensions of his Sovereign; his brilliant services extorted the admiration of Justinian; and Belisarius deservedly obtained the honours of a Roman Triumph, the first which the City of Constantine had ever witnessed, and the last which History may deign to record. The modesty or prudence of the conqueror declined the full measure of those honours of which he was equally worthy with the earlier heroes of Rome, and instead of mounting a triumphal car, Belisarius marched on foot in the procession at the head of his veterans.

The success of the African war had only served to

* Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, lib. i. c. 12—18.

† Vide p. 266 of this Volume.

‡ Procopius, *De Bello Fundacio*, lib. i. c. 7.

§ Theophaues, p. 99. Zonaras, lib. xiv.

* Procopius, *De Bello Fandal.* lib. ii. ad c. 9.

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From A. D. 476. to A. D. 500.

Conquest of Africa by Belisarius.

A. D. 534.

The Gothic War.

A. D. 535

Military. inflame the ambition of Justinian with the thirst of further conquests; and in the year after the overthrow of the Vandalic Monarchy, Belisarius was appointed to the command of a second expedition for the subjugation of the Gothic Kingdom of Italy, and the recovery of that ancient seat of the Empire. The origin, the events, and the issue of the Gothic War, have been already more appropriately embraced in a former Chapter under the Annals of Italy; and a reference to those pages* may briefly supply the narrative of the continued achievements of Belisarius, the completion of his labours by the more fortunate Narses, and the reduction of all Italy under the sceptre of Justinian.† His conduct to Belisarius after the conquest of a second Kingdom, was a disgraceful aggravation of the unfounded jealousy which he had before displayed. A second time was the progress of the hero arrested in his glorious career, by the suspicions of the Emperor; and a second time did his ready obedience to the mandate of recall disprove the insinuation that he aspired to the throne of a conquered Province. The exigencies of a new Persian war were made the pretext for his removal from Italy; and soon after his arrival at Constantinople, he was despatched to the Eastern frontiers of the Empire.

The second Persian War. While the pride of Justinian had sought its indulgence in the subjugation of Africa and Italy, the Asiatic Provinces had been abandoned in a defenceless condition to the assaults of the powerful Monarch of Persia. Tempted by the withdrawal of the Imperial forces, or alarmed for his own ultimate security by the report of their Western conquests, Chosroes resolved to anticipate the probable aggressions of Justinian; and bursting into Syria with an immense army, he penetrated without resistance to its Capital, and after consigning Antioch to the flames, extended his ravages throughout the Province to the shore of the Mediterranean. His progress was checked only by the appearance of Belisarius; and the genius of the conqueror of Carthage and Rome never shone more conspicuously than when, with a feeble and disorderly army, which he dreaded to expose in an encounter, the skillful activity of his movements in two successive campaigns compelled the Persian Monarch to withdraw his host with precipitation and loss from the prosecution of his successes.‡ After these bloodless victories, the removal of Belisarius to his second command in the Gothic war, disclosed the value of his presence in both extremities of the Empire; and Syria was again exposed, by the incapacity and weakness of the Imperial commanders and armies, to the Persian ravages. But, without pursuing the vicissitudes of a long and indecisive warfare, it is sufficient that we record its termination in an inglorious Treaty, by which the Emperor of the East became the tributary of the Persian.§

Successors of Belisarius. In an Age of degeneracy, the virtues of a hero acquire additional lustre by contrast; and the fame of Belisarius merits the peculiar celebrity which it has obtained, by the rare and inexplicable superiority of his great qualities to the debasing spirit of the times. His achievements fill the largest space, and supply the most interesting objects, in the wars of Justinian; and the History of that Emperor's reign may be concluded little to his honour in that of the man, whose accom-

plished offerings to its glory he repaid with an increasing measure of ingratitude. The domestic fortunes of Belisarius were not happy; and some fond weakness of spirit is discernible in the confiding husband of an imperious and abandoned woman, who tyrannized over his affections while she was faithless to his honour. A close intimacy and a bitter enmity, which alternately prevailed between his wife Antonina and the Empress Theodora, were equally injurious to his domestic peace and his political prosperity. His slow detection and lenient punishment of the infidelity of Antonina during the last Persian war, were followed by a strange scene of humiliation, in which, at the command of the Empress, he was reconciled to his infamous wife, and submitted to the ignominy of a double slavery to both women. At the conclusion of the same war, upon an ambiguous charge of treason, in opposition to all the preceding and subsequent tenour of his life, his person was disgraced, and his treasures confiscated; and still, such was the confidence really reposed by the Emperor in the patient integrity of the formidable subject whom he had so cruelly injured, that Justinian dared to intrust him with the retrieval of the Gothic war. But abandoned to the resources of his unassisted genius, without troops and without supplies, the former conqueror of Italy could only imperfectly sustain the weight of a neglected cause; and he was condemned to remain the mortified spectator of the Gothic successes, until his solicitations through Antonina obtained his recall. The Imperial support which had been denied to him was afterwards freely rendered to the eunuch Narses; and Belisarius survived to learn that the fruits of his Italian services had been gathered by a rival, who was indeed no unworthy successor to his station. After his return to Constantinople, the appointment of Belisarius to the highest dignity in the Imperial household marks a capricious tribute to his services; and while he thus reposed on his laurels, the last years of the aged hero were crowned with a victory which saved the Emperor and the Capital. A sudden and fierce invasion of the Bulgarians, a barbarous people of Slavonic race, who carried their ravages from the Danube almost to the gates of Constantinople, struck terror into the heart of Justinian and his people. Their pusillanimous fears rested the sole hope of protection on the spirit of a feeble veteran; and the last exploit of Belisarius and a handful of his guards, justified the public dependence.* His defeat of the Bulgarians, and the acclamations which attested the popular gratitude, revived the suspicions of Justinian; and while both the jealous despot and his injured champion were rapidly descending into their graves, the Monarch inflicted the last unmerited blow upon his preserver. Upon an unfounded charge of his share in a conspiracy in which two officers of his household were implicated, his person was imprisoned, and his fortune again sequestered. His innocence was soon recognised, and his honours and wealth were restored; but his death was probably hastened by grief and resentment at this bitter aggravation of insult and injury, for he survived his release only a few months.†

The death of Belisarius was soon followed by that of his ungrateful master; and the retributive judgment of posterity has perpetuated the name of Justinian in

The East-
ern Empire.

From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
800.

His dis-
grace.

Second
command
in Italy.
A. D.
544.

And last
victory over
the Bulgarians.
A. D.
559.

Base ingrati-
tude of the
Emperor.

Death of
Belisarius,

and of Jus-
tinian.
A. D.
565.

* Vide pp. 282, 283 of this volume.

† Procopius, *De Bellis Gothicis*, lib. i.—iii.

‡ *Ibid.*, *De Bellis Persicis*, lib. ii. c. 1—28.

§ Agathias, lib. iv. c. 142.

* Agathias, lib. v. p. 155—174. Theophanes, p. 198.

† Theophanes, p. 204. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 69. The popular fiction that Belisarius was deprived of his eye and reduced to beggary, has been clearly exposed by Gibbon, ch. xlii.

History.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

800.

reproachful association with the wrongs of his illustrious General. The memory of the Emperor has thus deservedly incurred nothing but disgrace from the exploits of the hero, who achieved the chief glories of his reign. His treatment of Belisarius is altogether indefensible: but with this exception, his character appears in favourable opposition to the selfish and furious vices which deformed the lives of the Byzantine Cæsars. His reign of thirty-eight years occupies a space more memorable than Centuries of their weakness and tyranny; and a large share of the importance of this epoch is derived from the personal qualities of the Sovereign. The blameless morality of his private life, his habits of industrious application to business and science, and the general clemency of his disposition, are admitted even by Writers who have sought occasion for ridicule in his anxiety for the interests of Religion, and his zealous observance of devotional exercises. The useful merit of his extraordinary activity in the Civil administration of his Empire, may have been depreciated by errors of judgment or conduct, but it was more probably defeated by the resistance of incurable abuses. The distinction between the personal vanity and generous ambition of Princes is not easily defaced: but the desire of fame was the master passion of Justinian; and if it was sometimes displayed in projects which lavished his treasures and multiplied exactions from his People, that was at least no vulgar self-love which numbered among its monuments many magnificent public edifices, the recovery of the ancient Provinces, and the reformation of the ancient Jurisprudence of Imperial Rome.*

Rapid decline of Justin II's Empire.

Those successful enterprises, although the impulse of only a transient and fallacious rigour, have given an extraordinary interest to the reign of Justinian, and entitled the narration of its events to occupy a far greater space than any period of equal length in the inglorious series of the Byzantine Annals. Beyond this epoch there is little temptation to linger over the worthless catalogue of despots, whose reigns were with few exceptions neither dignified by personal virtue, nor illustrated by memorable undertakings; and the fleeting vicissitudes of two Centuries may with propriety be dismissed in fewer pages than have been devoted to the transactions of thirty-eight years. From the death of Justinian to the accession of Heraclius, an interval of nearly half a century is marked by the rapid decline of the Empire; by the loss of Northern Italy through the Lombard conquests; by the frequent ravages of the Persians in the Asiatic Provinces; by the incursions of the Bulgarians and Avars from the banks of the Danube to the gates of Constantinople; and by the distractions of internal rebellion and revolution.

Reigns of Justin II

A. D.

565.

This period is filled by the reigns of four Princes: Justin II., Tiberius II., Maurice, and Phocas. The first of these, one of the seven nephews of Justinian, rested his pretensions to the throne on the common title of that consanguinity, and owed the preference of his claims over those of his relations to an intrigue of the Palace. Though his personal intentions were good,

his public administration was disorderly and calamitous; his feeble reign was disgraced by the establishment of the Lombards in Italy, the unresisted settlement of the Avars on the Danube, and the last conquests of the great Chosroes in Asia; and the only benefit which Justin conferred upon the Empire was his adoption of the virtuous Tiberius, the commander of his guards, for his Imperial colleague and successor.⁶ The merit by which Tiberius had raised himself from obscurity, justified the choice of his patron, and was honourably displayed in the foreign and domestic government of the Empire. His vigorous preparations provided for the successful defence of Syria against the Persians; and the repulse of Chosroes was the principal event of a brief reign, which was closed by disease too soon for the happiness of his People.⁷ On his death-bed he bestowed the hand of his daughter, and the diadem of the Empire, on Maurice, a soldier of fortune, who had honourably risen by qualities similar with his own, and who continued on the throne to emulate his principles and example. During the reign of Maurice, the Civil wars of the Persians gave some respite from their assaults to his Asiatic Provinces; and the restoration of the grandson and heir of the name of Chosroes, to the throne of the Sassanides, by the alliance and the auxiliary arms of the Emperor, was followed by an advantageous Peace in the East. This success enabled Maurice to recall his troops to the defence of his European Provinces from the oppression of the Avars; a Tartar Nation, who in the reign of Justinian had approached the frontiers of the Empire in their flight before a still more formidable Scythian race, and first revealed to Europe the existence of their conquerors the TURKS. The cruel inroads of the Avars, the annual scourge of the Empire, were with difficulty repelled; but the licentious spirit of the Imperial armies was more fatal to Maurice than the fury of the Barbarians. The vices of the Age, and the disorders of the Empire, were incapable of correction by the virtuous efforts of a single individual. The introduction of reforms was resisted by a meeting of the troops, and a sedition of the Capital; Maurice was abandoned by his faithless guards; and after a vain effort to escape he was inhumanly murdered with five of his sons, by the command of the rebel Phocas, who was raised by the troops from the rank of a simple centurion to the throne of the Empire.⁸ The usurper proved himself a monster of cruelty; and his ignominious and tyrannical reign of eight years was closed by a well-merited fate. The Green faction of the Hippodrome, who had powerfully favoured his elevation, was abetted by his ingratitude; the unanimous voice of the Capital approved the revolt of the Exarch or Governor of Africa; and the approach of an armament, which that officer despatched from Carthage against the tyrant under his son Heraclius, was welcomed by the people of Constantinople. Phocas was seized and beheaded; and Heraclius was invested, by the united suffrages of the Clergy, the Senate, and the Populace, with the Imperial title.⁹

* The character of Justinian, of which a candid examination even of the evidence of Procopius, when cleansed from the palpable malice of the *Anecdotes*, leaves a favourable impression, has been too harshly treated by Gibbon, who could not forgive the attachment of the Emperor to the cause of Religion. The whole narrative of the reign of Justinian, otherwise among the most splendid efforts of that great Historian's genius, is deformed by the unhappy mental obliquities which delighted in the insult both of piety and decency.

⁶ Theophanes, *Chronograph.* p. 204—210. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 70—72. Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 1—11.

⁷ Theophanes, p. 210—212. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 72. Evagrius, lib. v. c. 13.

⁸ Theophanes, p. 213—244. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 73—80. Evagrius, lib. vi. c. 1—24.

⁹ Theophanes, p. 242—250. Zonaras, lib. xiv. p. 80—82. Nicephorus, *Breviarium Historicum*, p. 1—8.

History.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

500.

Accession

and reign

of Hera-

clius.

Contrast of

his youth

and vigour.

Considered

conquest of

the Asiatic

Provinces

and Egypt

by the Per-

sians.

The Euro-

pean Pro-

vinces re-

captured by

the Avars.

Heracles

commences

his deliver-

ance from

the Enig-

ma.

A. D.

622.

His trium-

phant

career.

The reign of Heraclius, which was illustrated by the last triumph of the Roman arms over the Persians, and disgraced by the first successes of the Saracens, is a memorable era in the Annals of the Eastern Empire. The character of Heraclius himself is among the strangest contradictions in History. During the first twelve years after his accession, the promise of an enterprising spirit which had been given in his adventurous attempt against the tyrant Phocas, was belied by the slothful dissipation of his life, and an apparent insensibility both to his own honour, and the glory and the safety of the Empire. Under the fair, and perhaps sincere, plea of avenging the cruel fate of his benefactor, Maurice, the second Chosroes had indignantly refused the alliance of his assassin, declared war against him, and wrested the greater part of Syria from his dominion. But when Heraclius announced the fall of the common enemy, Phocas, and proposed a renewal of friendship between the two Empires, the ambition of the Persian Monarch had been too eagerly excited by his success, to be restrained by the feeble appeal to his consistency and justice. Abandoning without shame the original motive of hostilities, he pursued his career of conquest; and Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Asia Minor were successively overrun by his armies, and fell an easy prey to his assaults. His want of a navy alone saved the European Provinces, and prevented the total destruction of the Empire: but his cavalry penetrated to the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont, and a Persian camp was maintained for above ten years in sight of Constantinople itself. Meanwhile the ferocious Avars annually devastated the European Provinces; and the remains of the Roman Empire were reduced to the walls of its Capital, with the remnant of Greece and Italy, the Prefecture of Carthage, and a few cities on the Asiatic coasts.

In this extremity of dishonour and calamity, Heraclius, to the amazement both of his hopeless subjects and his insolent enemy, suddenly shook off the sloth of years, and arose a patriot and a hero. The narrative of his subsequent exploits might seem to belong rather to the creations of Romance than to the records of History; nor have the meagre though florid pages of the Byzantine Chroniclers satisfactorily explained the causes of that alternation of supineness and vigour in the personal conduct of the Emperor, of which they have supplied the authenticated results. In his first campaign, Heraclius, abandoning his Capital to be defended by its own strength against the Avars, and unable to oppose a front to the Persian hosts which threatened its safety from the opposite shores of Asia Minor, landed far in their rear on the coast of Cilicia. His troops, few in numbers, and weaker in spirit, were reinforced from the maritime garrisons, and were gradually restored to discipline and confidence by his ability and example. A signal victory was the honourable reward of his exertions, and the Persian invaders of the Empire began already to feel the weight of his presence in Asia, when he was recalled to Constantinople to repel a fresh menace of the Avars. His temporizing policy purchased a short respite from the assaults of those rapacious Barbarians; and again embarking from the Capital, he directed a new attack upon his Persian enemies from the opposite quarter to that in which he had last disquieted them. Disembarking at Trebizond on the Euxine, he at once boldly led a small but now well-disciplined and gallant army through the Armenian moun-

tains into the heart of Persia, and obliged Chosroes to recall his armies from their pursuit of conquest to the protection of his own devastated territories. During five glorious campaigns, the course of Heraclius was frequently almost lost to the knowledge of his own subjects at Constantinople, until they finally experienced the full effects of his victories in the retreat of the Persians from Asia Minor. The danger of the Metropolis of the Empire had meanwhile been imminent. In concert with the Generals of Chosroes, an immense army of the Avars had advanced to its walls, and subjected the luxurious population to the horrors of a siege; while the Persians, though prevented from crossing the Strait by the Grecian fleet, destroyed the Asiatic suburbs, and aggravated the terror and conflagration which were spread by the Barbarians on the opposite shore. But the Senate and People were animated by the spirit of Heraclius, and assisted by a succour of twelve thousand regular troops which he sent by sea to their relief, and the host of the Avars were finally compelled either by the courageous operations of the defence, or the want of provisions, to retreat from the walls. The last encounter of the Roman and Persian armies, which completed the deliverance of Constantinople, had for its scene the far distant plain of Nineveh. The host of Chosroes was totally defeated; and the flight of the Great King was followed by the ordinary spectacle of an Oriental Revolution. He was murdered by his son; and the parricide hastened to conclude a Peace with the conqueror. The original limits of the two Empires were restored; and Heraclius returned crowned with glory to his Capital.*

The trophies which he had won were among the most honourable that ever rewarded the arms of an absolute Prince: yet his victories were almost equally fatal to his own subjects and to his enemies. The result of the long and desolating contest between the Byzantine and Persian Monarchies left them in a common state of exhaustion, and prepared the easy triumph of the followers of Mohammed over both. Under no circumstances, perhaps, would the slaves of Heraclius or Chosroes have been capable of resisting the free and vigorous fanaticism of the Moslems: but the epoch at which Mohammed issued the tremendous precept of conquest and conversion, was singularly favourable to its success. The Persian power was disorganised by foreign defeats and intestine disorders; the Eastern Empire had only been rescued from destruction by an overwrought and unnatural effort of expiring strength, which subsided into the languor of a hopeless decay. The personal character of Heraclius aggravated the weakness and danger of his Empire. After his return from the Persian war, he relapsed into the sluggish spectator of the public calamities; the only efforts of his mind were uselessly excited in theological disputations; and when the progress of a new and more formidable enemy disturbed his indolent repose, he proved himself incapable of being a second time effectually roused by the sense of shame or the voice of duty. The laurels of his reign withered in the Syrian war against the Saracens; his flight before their arms renewed the dishonour of his youth; and a meridian life of glory was sullied by an old age of sloth and ignominy.†

* Theophrastus, p. 250—278. Nicephorus, p. 8—16. George Pisd. (Acras and Bell. Avaricus) passim.

† Theophrastus, p. 278—283. Nicephorus, p. 16—18.

The East-

ern Empire.

From

A. D.

476.

to

A. D.

600.

and final

success.

A. D.

625

Reverses of

his reign.

The Sarac-

ens inva-

sions and

conquests.

A. D.

632.

to

A. D.

640.

Disaster

and death

of Heraclius.

A. D.

641.

History.

From
A. D.
476.

to
A. D.
800.

Reigns of the
descendants of
Heraclius:

Constantine III.
and Heraclonas.

A. D.
641.

Constans II.

A. D.
641.

Constantine IV.

A. D.
668.

Justinian II.

A. D.
685.

Exile of the
Heraclian Dynasty.

A. D.
711.

Interval of
anarchy.

Philipppus.

A. D.
711.

Anastasius II.

A. D.
713.

Theodosius III.

A. D.
716.

During the last years of Heraclius, and throughout the reigns of his feeble and vicious successors, even to the close of the period before us, the foreign affairs of the Eastern Empire are disgracefully involved, and have been briefly traced, in the progress of the Saracen conquests. The domestic Annals of the Byzantine Palace are little worthy of a separate notice: since their passive uniformity is relieved only by the alternation of voluptuous pleasure and atrocious crime. The progeny of Heraclius were seated on the throne of the East for seventy years after his death; and this period is occupied with the reigns of five Princes, each of whom is almost equally destitute of ability or virtue. By his last Testament, Heraclius declared his two sons, Constantine III., and Heraclonas, the equal heirs of the Empire: but the elder survived this association only a few months; and it was believed that he had been poisoned by his step-mother Martina. His death was revenged by a popular tumult, in which Martina and her son, after suffering a horrible mutilation, were condemned to end their days in banishment; and Constans II., the youthful son of Constantine, was raised to the throne. As he advanced towards manhood, the character of the new Emperor developed the most atrocious qualities; and the sacrifice of a brother's life to his inhuman jealousy may sufficiently characterise the spirit of his reign. He was driven by the imprecations of his subjects into a voluntary exile from the Capital, and was murdered by his domestics in a bath at Syracuse. His eldest son was immediately proclaimed as his successor by the Senate and People of Constantinople: but the character of Constantine IV., was little less flagitious than that of his father. It was equally stained with fraternal discord; and the pretensions of his two brothers to an effectual participation in the Imperial dignity were cruelly punished by the Emperor with mutilation and imprisonment. The commencement of the reign of Constantine IV. was indeed illustrated by the first Saracen siege of Constantinople and the repulse of the Moslems: but the Emperor had no share in the honour of the defence; and his whole life was equally inglorious and worthless. With the name of his son and successor, Justinian II., we may impatiently close the enumeration of the Heraclian Dynasty. His tyranny provoked an insurrection; the vicissitudes of his deposition, his exile, and his restoration, are equally uninteresting; and a second rebellion, which was aroused by his cruel revenge, and closed by his own murder together with that of his son, extinguished at once the life of Justinian II. and the race of Heraclius.*

This catastrophe was followed by six years of anarchy, into which were crowded the troubled reigns of no less than three Emperors, Philipppus, Anastasius II., and Theodosius III. Of these ephemeral Princes, the first owed his elevation to his principal share in the revolt against Justinian, and was himself assassinated in a conspiracy of the Palace. His secretary and successor, Anastasius, was innocently compelled by the conspirators to assume the purple, and by a mutiny in the fleet to resign its possession. Theodosius, from an obscure office in the Customs, reluctantly ascended the vacant throne, and submitted in his turn to the superior fortunes and energy of a new pretender, the leader and choice of the

Asiatic troops, who derived the most honourable claim to the diadem from the imminent danger of the Empire, and justified his election by its deliverance from foreign assailants. This was Leo III., by birth an Isaurian, whose reign is illustrated by the foundation of a Dynasty, the repulse of the Saracens in their second siege of Constantinople, and the origin of the great Schism on Image Worship. But the defeat of the Moslems in their gigantic enterprise against the Capital of the East has been already related; and the particulars of the contest on Image Worship will be more appropriately placed under the Ecclesiastical division of our subject. The consequences of the Emperor's Religious zeal were disastrous for the interests of his temporal dominion; and the revolt and eventual loss of the Italian Exarchate have been traced to the same cause which produced the separation of the Latin and Greek Churches. In other respects the administration of the IIIrd Leo, who is distinguished in his series by the surname of the Iconoclast, or Image Breaker, was equally virtuous, able, and fortunate; and after a reign of twenty-four years, he peacefully bequeathed his sceptre to his son Constantine V., who inherited both his zeal against Idolatry, and his martial activity against foreign and domestic enemies. The personal character of Constantine has been fiercely assailed by the hatred of the votaries of Images, both in his own and later Ages: but the evidence for their accusations is suspicious; and the fact is certain that his long reign of thirty-four years was neither inglorious for the Empire nor devoid of benefits to his subjects.†

Constantine V. was succeeded by his son Leo IV., a Prince equally feeble in body and mind, whose marriage with an Athenian maid of private station, the fair but infamous Irene, produced a long tissue of crimes terminating in the restoration of Image Worship and the downfall of the Isaurian Dynasty. The Empress is accused of having shortened by poison the life of her husband; and the probability of her guilt is strengthened by her subsequent conduct towards her son, in which she showed herself hardened by ambition against the last compunctious feelings of her sex and of nature. By the Testament of Leo IV., she was invested with the guardianship of their infant son Constantine VI. and the administration of the Empire. During his minority, she ably and faithfully discharged the duties of a Regent; but as soon as Constantine attained the age of manhood, and was instigated by the companions of his dissolute pleasures to remove her from the administration, she conspired against him, procured the seizure of his person, and deprived him of his eyes in the same apartment of the Palace in which she had given him birth. For this horrible crime, to which it has been justly said that History may scarcely offer a parallel, the execration of all Ages has deservedly pursued the memory of the unnatural mother: yet its perpetration was suffered for five years to secure a reign of considerable splendour; and her fall was finally effected, not by the retributive vengeance of her subjects, but by the treason of domestics whom she had laden with benefits. By a conspiracy of the Palace, her treasurer Nicophorus was elevated to the purple, and Irene was dismissed to drag on the miserable residue of her guilty life in exile and indigence.

The Eastern Empire.

From
A. D.
476.

to
A. D.
800.

Reigns of the
descendants of
Heraclius:

Constantine III.
and Heraclonas.

A. D.
641.

Constans II.

A. D.
641.

Constantine IV.

A. D.
668.

Justinian II.

A. D.
685.

Exile of the
Heraclian Dynasty.

A. D.
711.

Interval of
anarchy.

Philipppus.

A. D.
711.

Anastasius II.

A. D.
713.

Theodosius III.

A. D.
716.

* Theophanes, p. 293.—321. Nicophorus, p. 18.—32. Zonaras, lib. xv.

• Vide p. 374 of this Volume.

† Theophanes, p. 321.—344. Zonaras, lib. xv.

History.

From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
800.State and
extent of
the Eastern
Empire at
the close of
the VIIIth
Century.

But the reign of Irene is divided by the chronological line of separation at which we terminate the First Period of Modern History; and instead of here pursuing further the revolutions of the Byzantine Palace, we may pause to survey the general state and extent of the Eastern Empire, in the wane of her fortune and at the close of the VIIIth Century. Under the Isaurian Dynasty the strength of Constantinople had resisted the last tremendous shock of the undivided Saracen power; and the subsequent disruption of the Khalifate, or rather the rapid decline of the fanatical energy, which in a single Age had effected the conquest of one half of the Empire, suspended the destruction of the remainder. After the failure of the Saracens in their second siege of Constantinople, the Eastern Empire enjoyed a cessation from their assaults of above sixty years; and during the sanguinary struggle of the Ommiaden and Abbassiden factions, the Greeks even found an opportunity, from the distraction of their enemies, to retaliate on them some of the calamities to which they had themselves been exposed by the corruption and disorders of their State. But when the descendants of Abbas were firmly seated on the Oriental Khalifate, the danger of the Empire revived. Several of the early Khalifs of the new Dynasty were enterprising and warlike; and Mohadi, the third of the race, took advantage of the weakness of a female reign to invade Asia Minor with an immense army. After penetrating to the shores of the Bosphorus, this host in sight of Constantinople itself exacted from Irene the promise of an annual tribute; and as often as its payment was refused, the great Ha-

roun al Raschid, the son of Mohadi, after his succession to the Khalifate, renewed the devastation of Asia Minor, and compelled the disgraceful submission of the Byzantine Court. The superiority of the Greek navy in its inextinguishable fire alone protected Constantinople and the European Provinces from his arms; and the Eastern Empire still lingered through its feeble existence until the vigour of the Abbassiden Dynasty was spent, and the Khalifate of Bagdad fell into a decay, if possible more corrupt and more fatally irretrievable than its own. Thus destined to survive the fall of the fierce power which had threatened its total destruction, the Eastern Empire, at the close of the VIIIth Century, still embraced some of the fairest portions of the Earth, and presented an extent of territory which, under a less vicious Government, and with a less pusillanimous People, might have renewed the hope of glorious dominion. Syria, Egypt, and Western Africa were indeed totally lost; Northern and Central Italy—the Kingdom of Lombardy, the Exarchate of Ravenna, and the venerable ruins of Rome—had been successively, and for ever, dissevered from the Empire of Constantine and of Justinian. But the whole of Ancient Thrace and Macedonia, or of Modern Turkey, with the Continent and Islands of Greece, a part of Southern Italy under the title of the Duchy of Naples, all Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Crete, and the fertile Provinces of Asia Minor, were still possessed by the Sovereigns of Constantinople.*

* Theophanes, p. 344—407. Zonaras, lib. xv. ad p. 122. (vol. ii.) Gibbon, ch. xlviii. li. &c.

The East-
ern Empire.From
A. D.
476.
to
A. D.
800.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXIII.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH—OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS—AND OF THE HERESIES IN THE VIIth AND VIIIth CENTURIES.

History.
Western Church advances its power as the Eastern Church declines.

At the time at which the rapid success of the Mohammedan Religion threatened the destruction, not only of the Greek Church, but of the Eastern Empire, the Latin Church was gaining an accession to its power and privileges, and also an extension of its limits. Besides the danger which threatened the Greeks from the military conquests of a new Religious Sect, they were so entirely occupied by their Theological disputes, that they had little solicitude for the propagation of Christianity among Infidel nations. The Bishops of Rome, and the Church over which they presided, neglecting the cultivation of Letters and Philosophy, were intent on the enlargement and the extension of their preeminence and authority. But that disposition, as it led them to establish their supremacy over the barbarous nations of the North and West of Europe, incited them to attempt also the necessary preliminary, of converting those nations to the Christian Faith.

The foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the encroachments of the Popes, both on the absolute independence of the ancient British and Irish Churches, and also on the limited dependence which subsisted between the original Saxon Church and the See of Rome, have been already related. The ambitious views of the Romish Bishops over the other parts of the Western Empire, though at first resisted, were ultimately successful. It is affirmed by the Latin Historians, that the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus formally abandoned the privilege of confirming by his approbation the election of the Bishops of Rome; and it is indisputable that he abated or remitted the sum which, since the time of Theodorice, they had been obliged to pay into the Imperial Treasury before their election was confirmed.*

Constantine Pogonatus abandons the Imperial power of confirming the election of the Popes.
A. D. 684.

Degeneracy of Monastic institutions.

Nothing contributed more to the extension of the Papal power, than the increase and the degeneracy of Monachism. In the establishments originally consecrated to the service of God, there was a lamentable decay both of Learning and Morality. The most bitter dissensions also took place between the Seculars and Monastics, during which the latter had recourse to the alliance of the Roman Pontiffs. The Popes gradually exempted the Monastic Orders from the jurisdiction of the Bishops; and the Monks in return for this immunity devoted

themselves to advance the interest and dignity of the Popedom.*

The opulence of the Clergy, augmented as it now was by extravagant bequests and donations, occasioned a general corruption of manners in the Church. An opinion generally prevailed that the punishments of another World might be averted by liberal donations to Churches and Ecclesiastics; and the great and wealthy, who had been remarkable for their flagitious lives, thought to appease the Divine wrath by their munificence to the Ministers of Religion. The Roman Pontiff was the chief gainer by this lavish secular bounty during the VIIth and VIIIth Centuries. The Barbarous nations who received the Gospel, regarded the Bishop of Rome as the successor of their chief Druid or High Priest, and paid to him similar honours. Hence arose the popular notion, that such persons as were excluded from the Church by the Pontiff or by any other Bishop, forfeited not only their Civil rights but the common privileges of humanity. This opinion, which was the prolific source of wars and rebellions, was borrowed from the Pagan superstitions, and encouraged by Christian Rome.

Of the Christian Church.
And of the secular Clergy.

Constantine, at the commencement of the VIIIth Century, was the first Pope who assumed those lofty titles which his successors persevered in claiming, and arrogated a right of confirming temporal Princes in their dominions. When Felix, the Exarch of Ravenna, journeyed to Rome for consecration by the Pontiff, and refused to pay a tribute demanded on that occasion, the unfortunate Prince was sent to Constantinople, where the Emperor deprived him of sight, and sent him back to Rome, as a rebel against the Apostolic See.† The same Emperor, Justinian II., offered to the Pontiff the homage of prostration and kissing his feet.

Felix, Exarch of Ravenna, cruelly treated by Justinian II.
A. D. 702.

It was not, however, from the Emperor that the Roman Pontiffs derived the largest accessions of authority, but from the French nation. Pepin, who was originally Mayor of the Palace to Childeric III., and in this capacity virtually possessed Regal power, aspired to the title as well as the authority of a Sovereign, and formed the design of dethroning his master. For that purpose the Estates of the Realm were convened by the usurper; and probably by his instigation they delivered

Pepin advances the temporal power of the Roman Pontiffs.

* Muratori, *Scriptor. Rerum Ital.* tom. iii. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. vii. sec. 13. Anastas. *Vit. Pontif. in Benedic. II.*

* Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 944—949.
† Anastas. *Vit. Pontif. Vit. Constant. I.*

History.

A. D.
751.

an opinion that the Bishop of Rome was to be consulted, whether such a project were lawful or not. In consequence of that opinion, ambassadors were sent by Pepin to Zachary the reigning Pontiff, with the following question: Whether the Divine Law did not permit a valiant and a warlike People to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent Monarch, who was incapable of discharging the functions of Royalty, and to substitute in his place one who was more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the State? Zachary, who stood in need of the assistance of Pepin against his enemies the Greeks and Lombards, returned a favourable answer to the usurper. In pursuance of an opinion delivered by an authority now esteemed sacred, the unhappy Childeric was deposed, and Pepin, without the smallest opposition, seated himself on the throne of France. The decision of Zachary was confirmed by his successor Stephen II., who undertook a journey into France to solicit assistance against the Lombards, and at the same time dissolved the oath of allegiance which Pepin had sworn to Childeric, but which he had shamelessly violated.*

The advantages derived by the Roman Pontiffs from their attachment to the Kings of France were important. They gradually became masters of the Grecian Provinces in Italy, which had been subject to the Exarchs of Ravenna. When Astolpho, King of the Lombards, meditated the conquest of Rome and its territory, Stephen II. addressed himself to Pepin. The French Monarch espoused the cause of the terrified Pontiff with zeal. He crossed the Alps with a numerous army, and having defeated Astolpho, obliged the vanquished King to deliver up to the See of Rome the Exarchate of Ravenna, and all the cities which he had seized belonging to the Roman Dukedom. The Lombard King having violated this Treaty shortly after its conclusion, Pepin returned into Italy a second time, compelled Astolpho to execute the terms, and made a formal grant of the Exarchate to the Roman Pontiff, and his successors in the Apostolic See of Saint Peter.†

Dideric, King of the Lombards, renewed an attack on the patrimony of Saint Peter after the death of Pepin, and Adrian I., who was at that time Pontiff, applied to Charlemagne, the son of Pepin. That Prince, whose veneration for the Roman See was rather the offspring of policy than of superstition, declared himself without hesitation on the side of the Pontiff. He crossed the Alps with a formidable army, and terminated the contest between the Bishops of Rome and the Kings of Lombardy for ever. The Exarchate of Ravenna was overthrown; its vanquished Prince was sent into France, and Charlemagne proclaimed himself King of the Lombards. The conqueror visited Rome, where it is said he not only confirmed the grants which Pepin had made to its Bishops, but added to them new donations. By these acts he opened a way to the attainment of an object, which Pepin had contemplated, but was unable to accomplish, he was enabled to gain the authority, as well as to assume the title of Emperor of the West. While he reserved to himself the nominal

sovereignty over the Metropolis of the West, he granted to the Church a subordinate jurisdiction over the city and the adjacent territory.*

It is impossible to deny that the progress of Christianity in the West was simultaneous with the growth of the Papal power; but the work of conversion was not undertaken by the Pope. The British, Scottish, and Irish Ecclesiastics were the principal Missionaries; through them Germany was brought to the knowledge of Christianity; and the Scottish and Irish Convents in Germany still subsisting, attest the pious zeal of those nations.

Columban, an Irish Monk, aided by a few companions, had, in the preceding century, extirpated the ancient superstitions of Gaul, in which Country idolatry had taken its deepest root. He then extended his travels among the *Suevi*, the *Boii*, the Franks, and other German nations, and persevered in his pious labours until his death. Saint Gal, one of his companions, laboured in the same cause among the *Helvetii* around the lakes of Zurich and Constance. Near the latter lake, at a small distance from Bregent, he erected a Monastery which still bears his name. In fortitude and zeal he was inferior to none of his contemporaries, although little is recorded of his virtues.

The history of Killan, another Irish missionary, is Saint better known. He received a commission from the Bishop of Rome to preach the Gospel among the Infidels, and with some of his disciples he came to Wirtzburg upon the Mayne, a city under the government of a Pagan Duke called Gosbert. Gosbert embraced Christianity and was baptized, but having married his brother's wife, Killan ventured to imitate the example of John the Baptist towards Herod, and experienced a similar fate. In the absence of Gosbert, Grilana, the German Merodias, procured the murder of Killan and his companions, and Gosbert was prevailed on by the artifices of his consort to suffer the murderers to escape with impunity.

Towards the conclusion of this century, Willebrod, a native of England, with eleven of his countrymen,† crossed over into Holland to preach the Gospel among the Frieslandens, thence they passed into Fosteland, but having been cruelly treated by Radbod, King of the Frieslandens, who put Wigbert, one of the company, to death, they visited Cimbria and the adjacent parts of Denmark, and returned to Friesland. Their second visit was more prosperous than the first. Willebrod was ordained Bishop of Willeburg; by the Roman Pontiff, and died among the Batavians in a good old age, while his associates continued their labours in Westphalia and the neighbouring Countries.

But the greatest luminary of Germany in this century was an Englishman named Winfrid, born at Kinton in Devonshire. From his infancy he was brought up in Monastic habits, and the place of his education was Nutrell, in the Diocese of Winchester. There he was instructed in the sacred and profane Learning of the times. At the age of thirty he was ordained Priest

Of the
Christian
Church.Missionary
exertions of
Columban.His death.
A. D.
615.
Saint Gal.Murdered
with his
companions.
A. D.
699.

Willebrod.

Winfrid.

* This remarkable event is differently related by different Historians. See Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. iii. c. 2. § 9. *Epist. Hist. Christ.* sec. viii. sec. 4.

† The existence of the grant by Pepin has been hotly controverted. Aræto slyly places it among the *deperda* treasured in the Moon.

* The extent of Charlemagne's grant is disputed between the partisans of the Popes and those of the Emperors. Adrian affirms that Charlemagne intended to atone for his sins by his liberality to the Church. A letter from that Pontiff to the Emperor is contained in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. iii. p. 11.

† Suidbert, Wigbert, Aæa, Willebald, Unibald, Lebwin, the two Ewalds, Werend, Marcellin, and Adalbert.

‡ Now Utrecht.

History. by the recommendation of his Abbot, and his inclinations led him to exercise his ministry in the conversion of Pagan nations. He went to Friesland, accompanied by two Monks, and immediately proceeded to Utrecht, where Willebrod had already displayed his Christian zeal. But a war breaking out between Radbod, King of Friesland, and Charles Martel, Winfrid thought it prudent to return to England, and settled himself once more in his Monastery.

Goes to Friesland.
A. D.
716.

On the death of the Abbot of Nutrell, the fraternity would have elected Winfrid into the vacant seat, but the missionary, keeping his purposed destination in view, declined the proffered dignity. Having obtained recommendatory letters from the Bishop of Winchester, he went to Rome and presented himself to the Pope, expressing a desire of being employed in the conversion of Infidels. Gregory II. approved his undertaking, and gave him a commission of the most ample and unlimited nature.

Receives a commission from Gregory II.

With that commission, Winfrid passed into Bavaria and Thuringia; in the first Country, he reformed Churches which had been already planted, in the second he planted Churches where none had previously existed. But his stay in either of them was not long; he learned that the obstacles which opposed his labours in Friesland were removed, and thither he immediately hastened. Radbod, King of the Frisians, a patron of Idolatry, was dead. Winfrid, therefore, joined the venerable Willebrod, and these two missionaries cooperated in their labours.

Settles in Friesland.

Willebrod declining in strength, chose Winfrid for his successor; but the latter refused the offer, since the Pope had commissioned him to preach the Gospel in the Eastern parts of Germany. Willebrod acquiesced in the resolution of Winfrid, and dismissed his coadjutor with a blessing. The younger missionary departed immediately, and went to Hesse; where his preaching was eminently successful, although he was occasionally obliged to support himself by the labour of his own hands, and was exposed to imminent peril from the rage of barbarous Infidels.

Returns to Rome,

After some time he returned to Rome, was received with great kindness by Gregory II., consecrated Bishop of the newly founded German Churches, under the name of Boniface, (a Roman name seeming more likely to procure respect than one of English origin.) and took an oath of subjection to the Papal authority. Boniface, encouraged by the addition of fresh missionaries from England, returned with alacrity to the scene of his pastoral care. Passing through Hesse, he confirmed by imposition of hands several converts who had already been baptized, and exerted himself vigorously in suppressing idolatry. Charles Martel, whose dominions extended over Germany, distinguished the zealous Bishop by the protection of regal authority.

and lastly to Friesland.

His correspondence with Daniel Bishop of Winchester.

Boniface, however, retained a strong attachment for his native Country, and his early friends. His intimacy with Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, was never interrupted, and the epistolary correspondence of those two Prelates is highly interesting. From England, Boniface was constantly supplied with fellow-labourers, in whom he found consolation under the difficulties by which he was surrounded. His mission was obstructed by the scandalous lives of the Ecclesiastics under his government, and he was often involved in doubts how he should regulate his own conduct towards them. If he avoided all communication with them, he might

offend the Court of France, upon whose protection he was obliged to rely. If he preserved an intercourse with them, he was fearful of incurring guilt. He laid his doubts before his ancient friend the Bishop of Winchester, who advised him to endure with patience those evils which he could not amend, not to make a schism in the Church under the hope of purifying it, yet, notwithstanding, to exercise ecclesiastical discipline against notorious offenders.

Of the Christian Church.

The assiduity of Boniface was rewarded by an advancement to the Archiepiscopal See of Mentz. To that dignity he was raised by Gregory III., by whose authority, and under the protection of Carloman and Pepin, the sons of Charles Martel, he founded in Germany the Bishoprics of Wurtzburg, Burabourg, Erfurth, and Aichstadt. The See of Wurtzburg was filled by Burchard, an Englishman, who laboured for ten years with unceasing assiduity, and having exhausted his strength, resigned his Bishopric.

Boniface created Archbishop of Mentz.
A. D.
723.

When Boniface was far advanced in life, he once more visited Rome, and after some stay there, induced several of his Countrymen, who resided in that celebrated city, to join him in his German mission. Returning into Bavaria by the desire of Duke Odilo, he established in that Country three new Bishoprics, Saltzburg, Frisingen, and Ratisbon.

He visits Rome.
A. D.
738.

At last he fixed at Mentz, but his activity was not diminished, and his connection with England was constantly preserved. He often wrote for books, especially for the Works of Bede, whom he styled "The lamp of the Church." He addressed a circular Letter to the Bishops and People of England, entreating their prayers for the success of his missions. Having laboured throughout a long life, he was resolved to labour even to its close. Quitting his archiepiscopal dignity, to which he appointed Lullus an Englishman, he determined to end his life at the spot on which he had begun his missionary undertakings. He returned to Friesland by the Rhine; and there, with the assistance of Eoban, the second Bishop of Utrecht, he brought numerous Pagans to the profession of Christianity. He had appointed a day to confirm those whom he had previously baptized; and in expectation of their attendance, he had encamped with his followers on the banks of the Bordne, a river which was then the boundary between East and West Friesland. On the appointed day he beheld not the new converts whom he expected, but a troop of fierce Pagans armed with shields and lances. His servants prepared for resistance, but Boniface repressed their ardour, and prepared his companions, as himself was prepared, for martyrdom. The Pagans attacked them with fury, and slew the whole company, fifty-two in number, besides Boniface himself. The Christian Germans resented his death by an attack upon the murderers, and the memory of Boniface is still reverently preserved by the honourable appellation of the Apostle of the Germans.

Settles at Mentz.

Quits his Archiepiscopate.

Returns to Friesland.

Is murdered by the Pagans.

Boniface was not the only missionary who attempted to deliver the nations of Germany from the bondage of Pagan superstition; many others signalized their zeal in the same pious undertaking. Corbinian, a French Benedictine Monk, after having laboured with great diligence in planting the Gospel in Bavaria and other Countries, became Bishop of Freisingen. Firmin, a native of Gaul, preached the Gospel under various kinds of suffering and opposition, in Alsatia and Helvetia. The missionaries of this Century would fill a numerous

Corbinian.

Firmin.

History. catalogue, but as they are of no great reputation, they may be passed over in silence.

But Idolatry experienced the attacks of a more formidable adversary than any Christian Priest, in the person of Charlemagne. At the conclusion of this Century, that Emperor turned his arms against the German Saxons, not only for the purpose of chastising their rebellious spirit, but of abolishing their idolatrous worship. He expected that their conversion to Christianity would soften their ferocity. This project, however wise in theory, was difficult in practice; his first attempt to convert the vanquished Saxons was defeated, for he made use of Bishops and Monks whose exhortations were vain. More forcible means were afterwards used, and that warlike people, allured by promises of favour, or awed by threats of punishment, suffered themselves to be baptized by missionaries expressly sent by the Emperor. Widekind and Albion, two of the most valiant among

the Saxon Chiefs, attempted to extirpate the profession of Christianity by the same violent methods through which it had been planted; but the courage and wisdom of Charlemagne ultimately engaged those two warriors to make a public and solemn confession of their Christian Faith, and to promise an adherence to it during the remainder of their days. Bishops were appointed, and Monasteries and Schools were founded, in order to preserve the knowledge and continue the propagation of Christianity.

Such is the general outline of the state of the Western Church in the VIIth and VIIIth Centuries. To enter minutely into the History of the Eastern Church, would involve a repetition of the Mohammedan and Byzantine Histories, or would anticipate the Biographical notices of Ecclesiastical Writers, and the narrative of the Controversies and Heresies, upon which we are about to enter separately.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the VIIth and VIIIth Centuries.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE VIIth AND VIIIth CENTURIES.

VIIth CENTURY.

GREEK WRITERS.

SOPHRONIUS, DIED CIRCA A. D. 637.

ANTIOCHUS.

MAXIMUS, DIED A. D. 682.

LATIN WRITERS.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.

ALDHEN, DIED 709.

THEODORE.

JULIAN POMERIUS.

CRISCONIUS.

VIIIth CENTURY.

GREEK WRITERS.

GERMANUS.

COSEAS.

JOHANNES DAMASCENUS, DIED A. D. 750.

SYNCELLUS.

THEOPHANES.

LATIN WRITERS.

BEDE, DIED A. D. 735.

ALCUIN, DIED A. D. 804.

JOHANNES ERIODEN.

PAULINUS.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The VIIth Century is remarkably barren of Writers, and several circumstances contributed to the declension of Learning. First, may be reckoned the irruption of the Saracens; secondly, the prevalence of the Monothelite Heresy; and thirdly, the increasing corruptions of the Romish Church. The VIIIth Century is of the same complexion, and we shall find few Writers distinguished either for elevation or genius.* The Eastern Church was distracted by the Image controversy, and among

the Iconoduli destroyed or suppressed all writings which opposed their superstitions. From the catalogue of obscure authors, we will extract notices of the most remarkable.

SOPHRONIUS

was a native of Damascus, and having first applied himself to the study of Philosophy, became a Monk, and was finally raised to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. He was chiefly remarkable for the controversies which he carried on against the Monothelites. When Jerusalem was taken by the Khalif Omar, A. D. 637, Sophronius, by the terms of capitulation, was allowed the free exercise of his Religion, but he died shortly after that calamitous event.

Dupin, tom. i. p. 261. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 579.

ANTIOCHUS

was a Monk of Palestine, and belonged to the celebrated Monastery of St. Saba. He was of a very superstitious disposition, and composed a Pandect of the Holy Scriptures, or a Summary of Christian doctrine, contained in one hundred and thirty Homilies. This is his only Work extant, except a *Life of St. Euphrosyne*, a member of the Monastery of St. Saba.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 576.

ISYCHIUS, OR HESYCHIUS

was Bishop of Jerusalem. He wrote a Commentary on several Books of Scripture, and some Homilies which are still extant, besides an Ecclesiastical History which is lost.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 572.

MAXIMUS

580—662,

holds the first rank among the Greeks of the VIIth Century. He was born at Constantinople, and held a con-

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* The VIIth Century is styled *Sæculum Monotheliticum*; the VIIIth Century *Sæculum Iconoclasticum*.

History.

fidential situation in the Court of the Emperor Heraclius. When that Prince was seduced by the Monothelite Heresy, Maximus indignantly left the Court, and retired into a Monastery near Constantinople. His literary labours were almost entirely devoted to the Monothelite controversy, with the exception of some Illustrations of the Holy Scriptures. His style, on account of its involutions, is obscure, and moreover tumid.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 586.

GERMANUS

was Bishop of Constantinople, and has obtained a notoriety for his violent zeal in favour of Image-worship. For his pertinacity in opposing the edicts of the Emperor Leo, he was removed from his Bishopric, but ended his life in retirement and peace.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 621.

COSMAS

acquired the appellation of Hagiotopolites, on account of his proficiency in Polite Literature. Having been captured by the Saracens, he was carried to Damascus, and had the honour to be Preceptor of that consummate master of the Peripatetic Philosophy, whom we next about to notice.

JOHANNES DAMASCENUS.

OR. 750.

This eminent writer, who was called Damascenus from the place of his birth, and Chrysorroas from his extraordinary eloquence, was also known by the appellation of Mansus, that being his patronymic.* His father held a station in the Saracenic Court, to which himself succeeded. Having with some difficulty obtained from the Khalif an embassy to Jerusalem, his Preceptor Cosmas was the companion of his journey. At Jerusalem he was advanced to the Order of Priesthood, and soon after he retired to the Monastery of St. Saba, where he passed the remainder of his days.

His Works. His writings are numerous, and illustrate the leading doctrines of Christianity, but he was tinctured with the superstition of his Age, and was a warm advocate for Image-worship.† His Works have been collected in two volumes folio; the best edition is that of Paris, 1712.

Bayle, *Dict.* tom. ii. p. 950. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. viii. and *Hist. Imag. Restit.* sec. 2. num. 13. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 624.

SYNCELLUS AND THEOPHANES

were two writers on the Byzantine History. The *Chronicon* of Syncellus was in a great measure borrowed without acknowledgment from the Work of Eusebius. That of Theophanes in its style is rude, and in its matter replete with contradictions.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 641.

* Toi Maestri, *Monasterii filius*. Thus he is named in the *Acta* of the Nicene Council, in which he bore a distinguished part, and by Suidas. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. viii.

† Baronius, a favourable witness, confutes of him, *In multa ejus scriptis fides vacillat, et compluribus ipsius sceleris mendacia*. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 624.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE.

Ecclesiastical
Writers of the
VIth and VIIIth
Centuries

The Latin writers of the VIth and VIIIth Centuries were of a higher order than the Greeks. Isidore governed the Church of Seville for forty years. He was born in the VIth Century, but flourished at the beginning of the VIIth. He was a voluminous writer, but perhaps the most useful part of his Works is his Collection of Sentences out of Gregory. The Mosarabic Liturgy, which became the text Book of Spanish worship, was principally from his hand.

ALDHELM

OR. 709.

was of English birth, and of Regal descent, but received his early education in France and Italy. Returning to his native Country, he embraced the Monastic life, and became Abbot of Malmesbury. Having passed more than thirty years in this seclusion, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Sherborn. In the Paschal controversy which so long divided the British and Saxon Churches, he sustained a distinguished part. According to Camden, he was the first Englishman who wrote in Latin, and according to the testimony of Bede,* his erudition was various. His book on the Paschal controversy is lost, but several Poems remain, *Concerning the Christian Life*, which exhibit no striking marks of genius.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 595. Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 121.

THEODORE

was the seventh Archbishop of Canterbury. The Biography of this Prelate may be seen under the History of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Besides his famous *Penitential*, there are extant of his writings, 1. *Capitula Ecclesiastica*, 120. 2. *Epistola Theodori ad Ethelredum Merciorum Regem de amicitia inter se et Wilfridum Episcopum Eboracensem quam injustè deponi curaverat Theodorus reintegratâ*. Apud Guil. Malmesbur. *de Gest. Pontif.* lib. iii. fol. 151. et *Concil.* tom. vi. p. 1383.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 592.

JULIAN POMERIUS

was a native of Toledo, and ultimately elevated to its Archbishopric. Such of his writings as are still extant, were chiefly in confutation of the Jews, and several of his tracts both in prose and verse are lost.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 596.

CRISCONIUS

FLOR. 690.

was an African Bishop, but of what city does not appear. He was the author of two books on Ecclesiastical Law, the one being an Abridgement and the other a Concordance of the Canons. He also wrote a Poem on the wars and victories of Patricius over the Saracens, which is lost.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 600.

* *Vix undecunque doctissimus; nam est sermone nitidus, et scripturam tam liberalem quam ecclesiasticarum erat eruditio miranda*. Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* lib. v. c. 19.

BEDE.

672—735.

The Venerable Bede, as he is universally and justly styled,* was born in the neighbourhood of Durham, in a village now called Farrow, near the mouth of the Tyne. Concerning his parents, Biography is silent, but it is probable that they were poor. It is however certain, that he was deprived of them in his infancy, and that he was placed by his kindred in the Monastery of Wearmouth. His youthful days were passed in that retirement, until he became capable of professing the discipline in which he had been educated: he was then removed to the neighbouring Monastery of Jerrow. In those two Religious Houses, situated scarcely five miles from each other, Bede passed and ended his days.

In the nineteenth year of his age, he was ordained a Deacon, and in his thirtieth year was admitted to the Order of Priesthood. We are not informed who the instructors of Bede were, but some notion may be formed of the ability of the teachers in the Benedictine Monasteries from the noble Libraries with which they were furnished. So great was the progress of Bede both in sacred and profane Learning, that his fame had spread to the Continent, and Sergius I., at that time Roman Pontiff, invited him to the Metropolis of the Western Church, to assist in the settlement of some Ecclesiastical disputes, then warmly agitated; an offer which he declined.

The course of his life and studies is thus described by himself. "From the time of my receiving the Order of Priesthood to my fifty-ninth year, I have employed myself in briefly noting from the Works of the venerable Fathers, those things on the Holy Scriptures which are adapted to the necessities of me and mine, and in adding something to the form of their sense and interpretation."

A Monastic life, above any other, must be barren of events, and the chief celebrity of Bede arose from his Lectures. His death is described in the following manner by his pupil Cuthbert. "He was attacked with a severe infirmity of frequent short breathing, yet without pain, about two weeks before Easter Day, and so he continued joyful, employed in returning daily, or rather hourly, thanks to God, till the day of Ascension. He gave lessons to us his disciples every day, and during the remainder of it was employed in singing Psalms. The nights he passed almost without sleep, yet rejoicing and giving thanks, unless when a little slumber intervened. When he waked, he resumed his accustomed devotions, and with expanded hands ceased not to utter thanksgivings. He recited the passage of St. Paul, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God,' admonishing us to awake from the sleep of the mind. He sang the Antiphonæ according to our custom and his own, of which one is 'O King of glory, Lord of virtues, leave us not orphans, but send the promise of the Father, the Spirit of Truth, upon us. Alleluiah.' When he came to the words 'Spirit of Truth,' he burst into tears, and wept much, and we wept with

him." After mentioning that Bede was even then occupied in translating St. John's Gospel into Saxon, his pupil adds, "When he came to the third festival before the Ascension day, his breathing began to be very strongly affected, and his feet to swell. All that day he dictated cheerfully, and sometimes said, 'Make haste, I know not how long I may contain. My Maker may call me away very soon.' He passed that whole night in watching and devotion, and in the morning commanded us to write diligently what we had begun. This being done, we walked till the third hour with the relics of the Saints, as the custom of the day required. One of us was with him who said, 'There is yet, beloved master, one chapter wanting, will it not be unpleasant to you to be asked any more questions?' He answered, 'Not at all; take your pen, prepare it, and write with speed!' He did so. At the ninth hour, he said to me, 'I have some valuables in my little chest; but run quickly and bring the Presbyters of the Monastery to me, that I may distribute my small presents.' He addressed each, and exhorted them to attend to their Masses and Prayers. They wept when he told them that they would see him no more, but he said that it was time for him to return to the Being who had formed him out of nothing. He conversed in this manner cheerfully till the evening, when the boy said, 'Dear master, one sentence still is wanting.' 'Write it quickly,' exclaimed Bede. When it was finished, he said, 'Take my head in your hands, for I shall delight to sit opposite the holy place where I have been accustomed to pray, and where I can invoke my Father.' When he was placed on the pavement, he repeated the *Gloria Patri*, and expired in the effort."

The Theological Works to which Bede alludes in the passage above quoted, consist of *Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, Homilies, Lives of Saints, and Ecclesiastical History*. And those comprise three-fourths of all his writings.† He has commented on every Book of the Scriptures from Genesis to the Revelations, and he has introduced on each, as much learning and knowledge as any individual could at that time accumulate by the most patient research. His *Treatise on the Trinity* is a Commentary on the Tract of Boethius on that subject. His *Meditations on the last words of our Saviour* display great devotional sensibility. His *Homilies* must, in the dearth of knowledge which then prevailed, have been abundantly useful. His *Lives of Religious persons* are disfigured with absurd legends, but as they were the object of general admiration and belief in his day, his credulity was no more than the credulity belonging to the Age.

Of all his Works, the most valuable is the *Ecclesiastical History of the Nation of the Angles*, which, while it treats professedly of the establishment of Christianity in the different Saxon Kingdoms, contains almost all which we know of the History of their more early Princes. His industry and abilities in this department may be best estimated if we recollect that all notice of public transactions ceased with him. The greatest objection to his History arises from its marvels.

The style of Bede is plain and unaffected, seldom eloquent, and often homely, but clear and precise. His talent of reading is undisputed; he was one of the greatest Ecclesiastics of his times, and while his learning

Ecclesiastical Writers of the VIIth and VIIIth Centuries.

* The legendary story of the origin of the title informs us that one of his scholars willing to surpass his master, wrote

Hæc sunt in fons Bedæ—osm.

Being unable to discover any proper epithet, in his perplexity he fell asleep, and when he awoke he found the verse filled up as follows, *Hæc sunt in fons Bedæ VENERABILIS OSm.*

• Smith's Bede, p. 793.

† Six folio volumes out of eight.

History. qualified him for the highest stations in the Church, his humility kept him in one of the lowest. Instead of being, as he might have been, a munificent patron of learned men, he chose the laborious life of a Monk, an author, and a teacher, in one of the most remote parts of his native Island.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 616—618. *Life of Bede*, prefixed to his Works. Turner, *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, book ix. ch. vi. Muratori, *Antiq. Italic. Med. Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 325.

ALCUIN, OR ALBINUS

was a native of York or its neighbourhood, although some writers have fixed his birth in the vicinity of London.* He is said to have been one of the disciples of Bede. By Egbert, Archbishop of York, he was appointed Master of the School in that Archiepiscopal city. His reputation attracted crowds of students from Gaul and Germany to his Lectures, and recommended him to the notice of the Emperor Charlemagne. He accepted the invitation of that Prince to reside in his Court,† dislaid a taste for Learning throughout all the Provinces of the Empire, and numbered the most distinguished Prelates and Statesmen among his scholars. When in his old age he retired from the splendour and intrigues of the Imperial Court, many followed him to his retreat at Tours, where he continued his favourite occupation of teaching till his death. His Works are numerous;‡ they consist principally of Poems, Elementary Introductions to the different Sciences, Treatises on a variety of Theological subjects, and Epistles to the most celebrated characters of his Age. His *Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* and the *Epistles of St. Paul*, a *Treatise on Orthography*, and on *Music*, are lost.

Hist. Lit. de la France, tom. iv. p. 295. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 637—639. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sec. viii. sec. 10.

JOHANNES ERIGENA

was another disciple of Bede, and distinguished for the acuteness of his intellect as well as for the extent of his Learning. He was by birth an Irishman, but was well skilled in Grecian Literature, for he translated from that Language a Work of Dionysius, and the *Scholæ* of Maximus on Gregory Nazianzen. He dedicated the latter Work to Charlemagne, at whose command he had undertaken it. At the request of his Ecclesiastical superiors, he wrote against Godeschallus on Predestination, but his principal Work was a Treatise, *De Divisione Naturæ*, a Dialogue which is distinguished for its Aristotelian neatness and extensive information. In a subsequent Age it was condemned, and Pope Hono-

rius III. issued a Bull declaring that it "abounded with worms of heretical depravity." Excommunication was denounced against all who should retain in their possession a copy of so dangerous a Work.*

Erigena enjoyed a great share of Royal favour. King Charles the Bald, one day, when they were feasting opposite to each other, took occasion to give him a gentle rebuke for some irregularity by asking him, *Quid distat inter Satum et Scutum?* The Philosopher replied with ready wit, *Mensa tantum*. The Emperor had the good sense and good nature to smile at the repartee.

After the death of Charles, Alfred invited Erigena to England, and rewarded his talents by settling him at Malmesbury. His life ended unfortunately, for it is said that he was stabbed by the boys whom he taught. This story is related also of Erigena, Abbot of Ethelney, but the probable solution of the difficulty is, that Johannes Erigena had been removed from Malmesbury to Ethelney. A difficulty less capable of explanation is, how one and the same Erigena could have been the disciple of Bede and the literary companion of Alfred, or a contemporary of Charles the Bald. These anachronisms cannot be settled.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 45. Turner, *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, book ix. ch. vi.

PAULINUS,

an eminent Grammarian, was a native of Germany, and rewarded by the patronage of Charlemagne, who advanced him to the See of Aquileia, in which station he proved a formidable opponent of the Felicians. Besides a *Treatise on the Trinity*, and some controversial Books against the Felicians, he wrote some Sacred Poems.

Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sec. viii. sec. 10. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 696. Art. *Sanctor.* tom. i.

OTHER WRITERS OF THE VIIth AND VIIIth CENTURIES.

Fredegarius the Historian claims the first place in the list of minor Writers. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, of whom we have already spoken, wrote a Treatise entitled *De unitate Fidei*, which is lost, but his *Epistles* are still extant. Eginhard is known for his *Life of Charlemagne*. Charlemagne himself is placed in the catalogue of authors.‡ The laws which are known by the title of *Capitularia*, a Tract concerning Images, with several *Epistles*, are attributed to him, though it is highly probable that they were the production of some of those illustrious characters whom he so munificently patronised.

* He himself says that he was born and educated at York. Malmb. *De Grat. Reg.* p. 24.

† He acquired great riches by the favour of Charlemagne. He was indeed reproached on that account, and he does not deny the fact, but affirms that wealth had not corrupted his mind. "It is one thing to possess the world; it is another to be possessed by it." Alb. *Ep.* p. 927.

‡ They were published by Du Chesne at Paris, in 1617

* The Bull is contained at length in Fabric. *Bib. Med. lib.* ix. 402. It is dated 10 Kal. Feb. 1225.

† Matt. West. 333.

‡ Yet, according to his Biographer, this great Prince was unable to write. *Tentabat et scribere; tubalag et codicillos ad hoc in lectulo sub cervicalibus circumferri solbat; ut cum vacuum tempus exeat munum effugiendis literis assueficeret. Sed parum prosperi successit labor præposterus ac vero inchoatus.* Eginhard, *Vit. Carum.*

History.

VIIth CENTURY.

MONOTHELITES.
MARONITES.

VIIIth CENTURY.

FELICIANS.
ICONOCLASTS.
ICONODULI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

These two Centuries are remarkable for the progress of ancient Heresies, rather than for the establishment of new. The opinion propagated by Arius were extended in Italy, and the Lombards openly espoused his doctrine, in preference to the Nicene. In Britain the Pelagians continued to excite the warmest dissensions.* The Nestorians and Monophysites acquired new vigour under the empire of the Saracens, from whom they not only received protection but encouragement.† A modification of the Manichean doctrine, the followers of which were known by the appellation of Paulicians, had its rise in this Century; but Ecclesiastical Historians have reserved a more particular account of that Sect until the IXth Century, during which they acquired sufficient strength to support a war with the Greeks. But one Sect arose in the VIIIth Century whose History from its connection with other transactions merits a detail.

THE MONOTHELITES.

Origin of the Heresy.

This Heresy was derived from the Eutychian doctrine, and it arose under the reign of the Emperor Heraclius. It had its rise from an ill-digested and untimely project of that Emperor, to restore the Nestorians to the communion of the Greek Church. In pursuance of this project on his return from the Persian war, he held two conferences, the one with a certain person named Paul, a man of great credit and authority among the Armenian Monophysites, and the other with Athanasius, the Catholic Bishop of Hierapolis. These conferences had for their object the peace and concord of the Church. Both Paul and Athanasius assured the Emperor that the Monophysites might be induced to receive the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and thereby to terminate their controversy with the Greeks, on condition that the latter would give their assent to the following proposition, viz., that in Jesus Christ there was, after the union of the two natures, but one will, and one operation. Heraclius communicated the

proposal to Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, a Syrian by birth, and a Monophysite by profession, and that Prelate delivered his opinion that the doctrine of one will and one operation after the union of the two natures, might be adopted without departing from the decrees of the Chalcedonian Council.

Flattering as was the first appearance of this project, it was soon changed. The Emperor published an Edict in favour of the Monothelite doctrine, and it was received if not with general approbation, yet without serious opposition. Some Ecclesiastics refused obedience, but the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch received it without hesitation, and from the See of Jerusalem, at that time vacant, no opinion could be received. The consent of the Romish Pontiff was deemed unnecessary in an affair which belonged solely to the Eastern Church. Cyrus, who had been raised by Heraclius from the Bishopric of Phasis to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, assembled a Council, by the VIIIth Canon of which the doctrine of Monothelism, or one will, was solemnly confirmed. Hence Cyrus has been generally esteemed the founder of the Sect. The decree of the Alexandrian Synod, bringing the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon nearer to the Eutychian system, had the desired effect, and numbers of the Eutychians, who were dispersed throughout Egypt, Armenia, and other remote Provinces, returned to the bosom of the Church. But in the Council of Alexandria there was one dissenter, who carried his opposition to the Monothelite doctrine further than the limits of mere argument, and hostility in debate. Sophronius, a Monk of Palestine, had opposed the decree of the Alexandrian Synod with violence; but his opposition was treated with contempt. In the succeeding year, however, he was elevated to the vacant Patriarchate of Jerusalem; and he soon exercised his authority by summoning a Council, and condemning the Monothelite as a branch of the Eutychian system. Not satisfied with this formal condemnation, he endeavoured to gain Honorius, the Romish Pontiff, to his side, but his efforts were vain. Sergius, who at that time filled the See of Constantinople, informed Honorius of the state of the question, and the Pontiff determined in favour of the Monothelite doctrine.

In order to terminate, if possible, the commotions to which this division of opinion had given rise, Heraclius issued an Edict composed by Sergius, and entitled the *Ecthesis*, or Exposition of the Faith, in which all controversies upon the question whether in Christ there was a double operation, were prohibited, though the doctrine of a unity of Will was inculcated. A considerable number of the Eastern Bishops declared their assent to the *Ecthesis*, and above all by Pyrrhus who succeeded Sergius in the See of Constantinople. A similar acceptance was obtained from the metropolis of the Eastern Church; but at Rome the *Ecthesis* was differently received. John IV. assembled a Council in which that Exposition was condemned.

Neither was the Monothelite system maintained in the Eastern Church any longer than during the life of Heraclius. The Emperor Constantine published a new Edict under the name of the *Type*, or *Formula*, suppressing the *Ecthesis*, and enjoining a silence on both the controverted points of one Will and one Operation. This silence was not sufficient for either of the contending

Heresies of the VIIth and VIIIth Centuries.

Edict of Heraclius.

Council at Alexandria.

A. D. 633.

Author of the Heresy.

Ecthesis of Heraclius.

A. D. 639.

It is condemned at Rome.

A. D. 639.

Formula of Constantine.

648.

* Bede, *Hist. lib. ii. c. 19.*

† The famous Testament of Mohammed was brought from the East in the VIIth Century by Pacificus Scaliger, a Capuchin Monk. It was first published in Arabic and Latin, at Paris. This document is considered by the best writers, as the forgery of some Arabian Monk, with a view to soften the rigour of the Mohammedan yoke. Renaudot is one of those who argue in favour of its genuineness. *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 168. In this Testamentary Diploma, Mohammed promises and bequeaths to the Christians in his dominions the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of their Religion, and of their temporal advantages and possessions. Accordingly the Nestorian Christians enjoyed a considerable degree of favour and confidence under the successors of Mohammed. *Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 163—168.

History.
Martin con-
demns the
Ecthesis
and the
Type.

parties, for both were desirous of keeping alive the subject of contention. They excited Martin, Bishop of Rome, to oppose the pacific Edict, and that Pontiff in a Council of one hundred and five Bishops, having condemned both the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*, denounced the most tremendous anathemata on the Monothelites and all their patrons.*

A. D.
619.
Martin is
imprisoned
by order of
the Emperor
Constantine.

The Emperor Constantine, offended at these haughty proceedings of Martin, ordered him to be seized, and carried a prisoner to the Island of Naxos, where he remained more than a year.† His imprisonment was attended by much cruel treatment; and a similar punishment was inflicted on the opponents of the Monothelite doctrine.‡ Eugenius and Vitalianus, the succeeding Bishops of Rome, were more moderate and prudent than their unfortunate predecessor; and the latter received Constantine with the highest demonstrations of respect.

A. D.
630.

Vth General Council.

The flames of contention, though suppressed, were always in danger of breaking forth anew; and in order to extinguish them, Constantine Pogonatus, the son of Constantine, by the advice of Agatho, the Roman Pontiff, convened the Vth General Council. It consisted of not less than two hundred and eighty-nine Bishops, among whom were four Legates to represent the Roman Pontiff, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; and that "Pope of another world," Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. The place of meeting was in a spacious hall of the Imperial Palace called *Trullus*, i. e. Cupola, from the form of the building. The President of the Council was Constantine himself.

A. D.
680.
to
A. D.
681.

Monothelites
condemned.

The Monothelite controversy was accurately investigated from its beginning: the Epistle of Sophronius to Sergius, the rescripts of Honorius, the letters of Cyrus and Theodore were compared; and a unanimous judgment was passed. 1. The Nicene Creed was defined to be the standard of orthodoxy. 2. The Heresy of the Monothelites and Pope Honorius were condemned, together with Sergius, Pyrrhus, Cyrus, and Meaneus. 3. Those who opposed the decree of the Vth Council were anathematized.

Their
tenets.

The truth, or the falsehood, of the Monothelite tenets, bears no proportion to the fury with which they were assailed and defended; and the contending parties mutually disclaimed the errors with which they charged each other. 1. The Monothelites disclaimed all connection with the Eutychians and Monophysites; but maintained in opposition to these two Sects, that in Christ there were two distinct natures which were so united, though without the least mixture or confusion, as to form by their union only One Person. 2. They acknowledged that the soul of Christ was endowed with such a will or faculty of volition, that it was retained even after its union with the Divine Nature. For according to their system Christ was not only perfect God, but perfect Man, whence it followed that his soul was

endued with the faculty of volition. 3. They denied that this faculty of volition in the soul of Christ was absolutely inactive, maintaining on the contrary that it cooperated with the Divine Will. 4. They therefore virtually attributed to Christ two Wills, both operative and active; although they affirmed that in a certain sense he had but one Will and Operation.*

Heresy
of the VIIIth
and VIIIth
Centuries.

THE MARONITES.

These were in fact Monothelites, who, after their doctrine had been condemned by the Council at Constantinople, found a place of refuge among the Mardaites, or mountaineers of Libanus and Antilibanus. About the end of the VIIIth Century they were known by the name of Maronites, from Maro, their first Bishop. This Sect retained the opinions of the Monothelites until the XIIIth Century, when abandoning and renouncing the doctrine of One Will in Christ, they were readmitted to the Communion of the Roman Church. The most learned of the Maronites have indeed laboured to prove that their Communion was never infected with the Monothelite Heresy.

Their name
whence de-
rived.

THE FELICIANES.

Felix, Bishop of Urgella, was consulted by Elipand, Archbishop of Toledo, to decide in what sense Christ was God. The answer of Felix was, that Christ, with respect to his Divine Nature, was truly and properly the Son of God, begotten of the Father, and hence he was the true God, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in the unity of the Godhead. But that with respect to his Humanity, Christ was the Son of God by adoption, born of the Virgin by the will of the Father, and thus he was nominally God. Hence, according to the opponents of the Felicianes, it followed that there was a twofold Sonship in Christ, and that He must consist of two Persons. The opinion of Felix was considered by the orthodox as nothing more than a scion of the Nestorian Heresy.

Origin of
the Heresy

The doctrine of Felix was adopted by Elipand, who, being the Primate of Spain, propagated it through the different Provinces of that Kingdom, while Felix himself contributed to spread it throughout Narbonne and other parts of Gaul. The Roman Pontiff Adrian was a vigorous opponent of Felix, and the Bishop of Urgella was successively condemned by the Councils of Narbonne, Ratisbon, Frankfurt on the Maine, and Rome.† He was at length obliged by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle to retract his errors. His retraction was, however, merely nominal, for he died at Lyons, whither he had been banished by Charlemagne, in the firm belief of his doctrine. Elipand lived securely in Spain, and was never called before any Synod or Council. The disciples of Felix were sometimes known under the name of Adoptians;‡

Its pro-
gress.

Its follow-
ers called
Adoptians

* It was held in the Lateran, and was summoned by Martin in pursuance of the advice of Maximos, Abbot of Chrysopolis, near Chalcedon. The labour employed to gain Maximos to the Monothelites was most extraordinary. Fleury, *Ecl. Hist.* book xxiv. c. 12.

† He died in the year 655.

‡ Maximos was scourged, his tongue cut out, and his right hand cut off; and the maimed Abbot was then banished and imprisoned for life. His banishment took place in 636, and he died in 662.

* A copious account of the Monothelite Heresy is contained in the Works of Johannes Damascenus in a Treatise on the two wills, and in his Books on the Orthodox Faith.

† The Council of Narbonne was held A. D. 788, that of Ratisbon A. D. 792, that of Frankfurt A. D. 794, that of Rome A. D. 799.

‡ The Authors who have written concerning the Felicianes are enumerated by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Med. Ev.* tom. ii. p. 492.

THE ICONOCLASTS AND ICONODULI.

The controversy on Image worship which terminated in a schism between the Greek and Latin Churches, cannot be more commodiously related, than by classifying the party which incurred the condemnation of the Church of Rome with the Heretics of the VIth Century, although without assenting to that decision.*

The beginning of this unhappy dispute has been placed in the reign of Philippius Bardanes, Emperor of the Greeks. That Prince, by the advice of John, the Patriarch of Constantinople, ordered a picture which represented the VIth General Council to be removed from its place in the Church of Sta. Sophia. His dislike to the picture was occasioned by his hatred of the Council which had condemned the Monothelites whose cause he espoused. Bardanes, satisfied with this exercise of power, sent an order to Rome for the removal of all similar pictures from the churches. So far, however was this order from producing the desired effect, that Constantine, the Roman Pontiff, published a formal protest against the Imperial Edict. His disobedience to it was expressed by his actions as well as by his words. He commanded six pictures representing the six General Councils to be placed in the porch of the Church of St. Peter; and to render his contempt of the Emperor more public, he assembled a Council at Rome, in which Bardanes was condemned as an apostate from the true Religion. Constantine at the commencement of the dispute gained a decisive victory, for in the following year a revolution deprived Bardanes of the Imperial throne.

Under the two Emperors who succeeded Bardanes the controversy appears to have been suppressed; but when Leo the Isaurian assumed the purple, it broke out with redoubled fury. Leo, disgusted at the superstitious veneration shown by the Greeks to Images, and feeling the reproach which the abuse had drawn on the Christian Religion, determined to extirpate the evil if it were possible. For this purpose he issued an Edict, prohibiting the adoration or worship of Images, which some Writers have misrepresented as an injunction to destroy them. For he expressly commanded that they should be placed higher in the Churches in order that adoration of them might be prevented, and he excepted from his Edict those Pictures or Images which represented the Crucifixion.† It was not till he found that such precautions would not prevent idolatrous worship, that he condemned Pictures and Images by an absolute prohibition.

The Imperial Edict occasioned the most violent tumults. A Civil war commenced in the Islands of the Archipelago, it soon spread over Asia, and it ultimately reached Italy. The people were taught to believe that the Emperor was an apostate, and that they were therefore freed from their allegiance. Gregory II. was the author and ringleader of these commotions in the West. Upon the refusal of Leo to revoke his Edict against Images, the Pontiff declared him unworthy of the name

and privileges of a Christian, and thus excluded him from the Communion of the Church. No sooner was this sentence made public, than the Romans and the inhabitants of other Italian Provinces which were subject to the Grecian Empire, threw off their allegiance and massacred the Imperial dignitaries and officers. The temper of Leo was too warm and resolute to be subdued by this opposition. He vented his rage against both images and their worshippers; and having assembled a Council at Constantinople, he degraded Germanus the Patriarch of the Imperial city who was a patron of Images, and placed Anastasius in the See. He commanded all Images to be publicly burned, and he inflicted the most severe punishments on their worshippers.

These rigorous measures divided the Christian Church into two factions emulating each other in violence; the one which maintained that Images should be worshipped, was called *Iconoduli*, or *Iconolatri*; the other, which maintained that such worship was impious, was called *Iconomachs* and *Iconoclasts*.

Leo was succeeded in the Empire by his son Constantine, to whom the Image worshippers in derision gave the surname of *Copronymus*.‡ He had not less zeal than his father against Idolatry, and employed his power and influence in its extirpation, in opposition to the Roman Pontiffs. But his proceedings were characterised by greater moderation than those of his father, for knowing the respect which the Greeks entertained for the decisions of Councils, he assembled at Constantinople a Council of the Eastern Bishops. By the Greeks this is considered as the VIth Ecumenical Council; by the Romish Church it is not acknowledged. There were present not less than three hundred and thirty-eight Bishops, and it was more numerous than any of the Ecumenical Councils, that of Chalcedon excepted.

The two principal Bishops, the Bishop or Exarch of Ephesus, and the Bishop or Metropolitan of Perga, presided in the assembly. Its decrees were, according to the custom of the Eastern Councils, in favour of the opinions espoused by the Emperor, and an anathema was pronounced against all Image worshippers, among whom Germanus was specially condemned.† Calumnies of the most improbable and contradictory nature were vented against Copronymus. He was accused of Manicheism, of Nestorianism, and of Arianism. The blind obstinacy of superstition was not vanquished, and the Monks still continued to excite commotions among the People. Copronymus, filled with a just indignation at their seditious practices, restrained them by new laws, and inflicted on some of them exemplary punishment.

After the death of Constantine, Leo IV. was declared Emperor, and he pursued the measures adopted by his father and grandfather for the extirpation of Idolatry. His consort was Irene, a woman remarkable for wit and beauty, but of a most abandoned and profligate mind. Having poisoned her husband in order to

Heretics from the VIth and VIIIth Centuries.

Revolt of the Italian Provinces.

Council at Constantinople.

A. D. 730.

Two factions.

Constantine succeeds Leo.

A. D. 741.

Council at Constantinople.

A. D. 754.

Idolatry is condemned.

Leo IV. succeeds Copronymus.

A. D. 775.

* Kogesi, stercus. This name was given to Constantine from a story that he had defiled the sacred font at his baptism.

† The Council thus expresses its censure of Idolatry. "Jesus Christ hath delivered us from Idolatry and hath taught us to adore him in spirit and in truth. But the Devil not being able to endure the beauty of the Church, hath insensibly brought back Idolatry under the appearance of Christianity, persuading men to worship the creature, and to take for God a work to which they give the name of Jesus Christ." Fleury, *Ecc. Hist.* lib. 7.

* Spanheim has thus classified them. He has a separate Treatise on Image worship, besides a Chapter in his General Ecclesiastical History. It is mentioned in the 11th volume of his Works, *Miscell.* book vi. It was composed in answer to maintaining the same.

† *Non haec spectant mea sententia ut ea prorsus deleantur, sed hoc aut, sublimare loco eas collocandas esse.* Spanheim, *Miscel. Sac.* Antiq. lib. vi. Oper. tom. ii.

History. escape the punishment due to her infidelity which he had discovered, she held the reins of government, during the minority of her son Constantine, and the cause of Idolatry was then once more triumphant. To establish her authority more firmly, she formed an alliance with Adrian, Bishop of Rome, and the Roman Pontiff summoned a Council at Nice in Bithynia, which is known by the name of the 11d Nicene Council.

11d Nicene Council.

A. D. 786.

An eclipse of the sun immediately preceded it, which the Iconoclasts did not fail to represent as ominous. Its President was Tarasius, a creature of Irene, and raised by her to the Patriarchate of Constantinople; and although the Council was assembled at Nice, that ambitious Priest took precedence of the Legates of Adrian. None of the Eastern Patriarchs were present, but there were two Monks of Palestine, John and Thomas, who assumed the names of two of those Patriarchs. There are said to have been at least three hundred and fifty Bishops present, but none of the Eastern Church, and none also of the Western who had signalized themselves by opposition to Idolatry. In this assembly the Imperial laws concerning Idolatry were abrogated; the decrees of the Council of Constantinople were reversed; the worship of Images and of the Cross was restored; and severe punishments were denounced against those who maintained that God was the only object of Religious veneration.

Idolatry restored.

A middle course adopted by some Churches.

The Four Books of Charlemagne.

In the violent contests between the Iconoduli and the Iconomache, most of the Latins, as the Britons, Germans, and Gauls, seemed to take a middle course. They were of opinion that Images might be lawfully retained in the Churches for the purpose of exciting devotion, but they regarded all Image worship as highly injurious and offensive to the Supreme Being. Such was the opinion of Charlemagne, who took a decisive part in this controversy. By the advice of his Bishops, he caused some eminent Theologian to compose Four Books concerning Images, which he sent to Adrian,† with a view of engaging him to withdraw his approbation from the 11d Nicene Council. In this performance the arguments for Idolatry were accurately examined, and ably refuted. Adrian, however, was resolved not to leave the cause undefended, and he composed an answer to the Four Books of Charlemagne.‡

Council at Francfort.

A. D. 794.

The Emperor at length adopted a better way of settling the dispute than that of prolonging a controversy with the Pontiff. A Synod was called by Charlemagne at Francfort for the double purpose of settling the Adoption or Felician controversy; and of examining the question of Image worship. Not less than three hundred Bishops were present, collected from France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Britain, to whom must be added the Legates of Adrian. In this Synod, the decrees of the 11d Nicene Council were condemned, and every kind of adoration of Images was declared to be superstitious and impious. The opinions contained in the Four Books of Charlemagne were confirmed.

11d Nicene Council condemned.

* It is called by Spanheim *Concilium Nicenum*.

† Alcuin, the Preceptor of Charlemagne, has been supposed to have had a considerable share in the composition of the Four Books, although he was at this time in England. The Books of Charlemagne were published at Hanover in 1791, with a Preface by August Heumann.

‡ They were presented to Adrian by Engilbert, the ambassador of Charlemagne.

§ Dupin, *Ecc. Hist. Cent. viii.* His answer to Charles was tame and insipid.

From the decrees of this Council it may be concluded, that the Western Churches sometimes dissented from the Roman Pontiff. The Caroline Books not only condemned all Image worship, but reprehended the flattering addresses of the Grecian Bishops to Adrian. Though they allowed the primacy of the Church of St. Peter, yet they denied that implicit faith was to be yielded to the decrees of the Romish Pontiffs. And it does not appear that Adrian required an unequalled submission, for, notwithstanding the Council of Francfort, there was no interruption of harmony between the Pope* and the Emperor.

Heresy of the VIIth and VIIIth Centures. The decrees of the Roman Pontiff were not implicitly followed.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE EUCHARIST.

Some writers date the origin of this great question from the VIIIth Century, and assert that it had a connection with the controversy on Image worship. It was disputed whether the Symbols used in the Eucharist were only a representation and figure of the body and blood of Christ, or whether they underwent a supernatural change into his real body and blood. The Iconomachi in the Council of Constantinople convened by Copronymus, having recited the words of the Nicene Council, that the bread consecrated in the Eucharist is the true image or type of Christ, added this explanation: That the Eucharistical bread, by the consecration of the Priest, becomes holy,† but without any transubstantiation, or destruction of its former substance.

The Iconoduli asserted a contrary opinion, that the bread and wine are not the image or type of the body and blood of Christ, but actually his body and blood. They become so by a change of substance,‡ or transubstantiation.§

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE DERIVATION OF THE HOLY GHOST.

While the controversy concerning Images was at its height, a new contest arose among the Latins and Greeks about the procession of the Holy Ghost. The Latins affirmed that the Divine Spirit proceeded both from the Father and the Son; the Greeks denied this, and affirmed that he proceeded from the Father only. The question was agitated in the Council of Gentilli, near Paris, called by Pepin at the request of Copronymus. The Latins adduced in favour of their opinion the Creed of Constantinople; but the Greeks accused the Latins of having corrupted this Creed by an interpolation. The Synod at Gentilli was principally called on the question of Image worship, and therefore this was a subordinate dispute. Another Synod at Frejus, convened for the purpose of suppressing the Adoption Heresy, took cognizance of this dispute on the procession of the Holy Ghost. It was there determined against the Greeks that the Holy Ghost proceeded both from the Father and the Son.

Synod of Gentilli.

A. D. 767.

Synod at Frejus.

A. D. 791.

* Adrian died in 795, the year after the Council of Francfort.

† *Ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ υἱοῦ.*

‡ Johannes Damascenus, an antagonist of the Iconomachi, has this language. *Ὁς ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς.* Joh. Damascenus de Orthod. Fide, lib. iv. c. 14.

§ *Μετουσίαν.*

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO ITS DISSOLUTION UNDER CHARLES THE FAT.

FROM A. D. 814. TO A. D. 888.

History. **THE** great Empire rather constructed than consolidated by the genius of Charlemagne, was peaceably transmitted to his son Louis; who is known in History more generally by the title *le Debonnaire*, conferred on him by his French subjects, than by that of *Pius* which he received from the Italians. His reign might have been less turbulent and less unhappy, had he not been too largely gifted with the gentle qualities, the possession of which those names avouch. From his birth he was invested with the title of King of Aquitaine; and when ripening into manhood, the conduct of numerous expeditions against the long and pertinacious rebellion of the Gascons, or the fierce opposition of the Moorish Tribes on the Ebro, were intrusted to his care. Hitherto that mild and flexible temper, which ultimately degenerated into weakness, had manifested itself only in acts of kindness and affability; and the personal valour in which he never was wanting in the field, and which he especially exhibited at the siege and capture of Barcelona from the Saracens, combined with his urbanity to secure for him unalloyed popularity.

To these generous and noble qualities was unfortunately appended a narrow, superstitious zeal, more fitted for the Tonsure than for the Crown. When unoccupied by the necessary duties of the Camp his hours were wholly devoted to the services of the Cloister; and a Prince born to wield the Sovereignty of the Western Empire was more than once prevented, not without difficulty, from adopting the habit and the profession, together with the manners and the fanaticism of a Recluse. Far, however, from diminishing the attachment of the Nations whose sway devolved upon him by the death of Charlemagne, this mistaken and ill-directed enthusiasm seemed, in the first instance, but another tie by which he was linked more strongly to their hearts; and his progress from Toulouse to Aix la Chapelle, to take possession of his Crown, was every where attended by unequivocal marks of popular joy.

Notwithstanding the dazzling splendour which environed the Government of Charlemagne, many and great indeed were the abuses which demanded reform from his successor. Uninterrupted wars of long continuance had planted round his throne a host of military Chieftains, under whose exactions Liberty had become almost wholly extinguished; and not only had the burdens of the peasants been insupportably aggravated, but even those freemen in the Provinces, whose resources were too scanty to resist the force or fraud of their more powerful neighbours, had in many instances embraced a voluntary servitude; in order that they might obtain

the dubious patronage of an acknowledged superior, instead of continuing exposed to the certain enmity of one nominally their equal. Relief was to be administered to this suffering class. The gross dissoluteness also of the Court of Charles could not but prove most offensive to the staid and exact morals of his son; and the first cares of Louis were accordingly directed to the purification of the Palace. Seven daughters of the late Emperor and five of his deceased son Pepin, had lived in compulsory celibacy, and in community of habits and apartments with the numerous Imperial mistresses; and neither the beauty nor the consanguinity of his sisters or of his nieces was allowed by Louis to plead against the unmeasured scandal of their licentiousness. A sentence far more severe than that inflicted upon his female relatives awaited their minions. All of these were pronounced guilty of high treason, both "for the enormity of their offence, and for the arrogance which it discovered;" but punishment was remitted to most of them. Nor till one, bolder than his companions, resisted arrest, and slew the Officer who was commissioned to apprehend him, did Louis manifest an inclination to exact any rigid penalty. Unable to take vengeance upon that chief criminal, who had perished in the affray, he ordered the eyes of another offender, whom he had already pardoned, to be plucked out, and the remainder to be either banished or imprisoned.

At the States General, which he immediately convoked, Louis proposed many salutary measures, and despatched into the Provinces new Imperial Deputies, or *Muni Dominici* as they were termed, to hear and adjust causes. To the Saxons he restored the right of inheritance, of which they had been unjustly deprived by Charlemagne, and by thus wisely placing them on a level with his other subjects he secured their permanent fidelity. Nor was he less successful in the outset of his foreign policy than in these domestic arrangements. An expedition despatched to support the pretensions of Harald, who had been compelled to abandon the throne of Jutland, was signally victorious; and Louis doubtless esteemed as far more honourable than this success in arms, a pacific triumph, which he obtained a few years afterwards, over the idolatrous blindness of the Monarch to whom he had thus extended the protection of his sword. Harald, with his Queen and a large train of Danish Chieftains, was presented by the Emperor at the font of the Church of St. Alban's in Mayence; and there made a solemn profession of the Christian Faith, renouncing "the works and words of the Devil, of Thor, and Woden, and Saxonidm, with all the evil Spirits

Carlovin-
gian
Empire.
From
A. D.
814.
to
A. D.
888.

Baptism of
Harald the
Dane.
A. D.
926.

History.

From

A. D.

814.

to

A. D.

889.

Irregularity
of Papal
elections.

A. D.

816.

their confederates." Neither his gratitude nor his Religion, however, appear to have been permanently founded; for on his return to Denmark, he abjured Christianity and renounced his vassalage to France.

The ascendancy which Charlemagne had maintained over the Papal elections, was in some measure shaken when, on the death of Leo III., the Romish Clergy and People nominated Stephen IV. to the vacant tiara without consulting Louis. The new Pope, anxious that his authority should be established on a secure basis, sent an embassy of excuse to the Emperor, admitting the irregularity, and soliciting confirmation; and in order yet further to deprecate the resentment which he feared might be awakened, he not long afterwards undertook a personal visit to France. Great, therefore, was his surprise when the Monarch hastened in advance to meet him before his arrival at Rheims; and far from contesting the validity of the late election, asked for a divine sanction of his own right. Louis, dismounting from his horse, when in sight of the Holy Father, prostrated himself thrice on the ground, exclaiming, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;" nor would he quit that humiliating posture, till he was raised and embraced by the Pope. The intervening days were spent in festivity, and on the fourth morning Stephen crowned and anointed the Emperor and his Consort Hermengarde; thus testifying that the Imperial power depended neither upon hereditary descent, nor popular choice, but upon the sole will of the Head of the Church; an admission not likely to be forgotten hereafter by the arrogance of Rome. The election of Pascal I., which followed in the succeeding year, was performed with equal disregard to the Emperor's supremacy, and was recognised by him with equal complacency.

But it was necessary that some years should pass away before strangers fully discovered the weakness of those hands into which the sceptre of the mighty Charlemagne had passed; and it was from the bosom of his own family that the inroads upon the power of Louis were to commence. Three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis, were his male issue by Hermengarde, to whom he had been married three and twenty years; and among these he now obtained the consent of the French to share his authority. Lothaire accordingly was crowned and associated with him in the Empire, and Pepin and Louis were respectively named Kings of Aquitaine and Bavaria. One at least of these new appointments was regarded with jealousy by Bernard, King of Italy, son of Pepin, the elder brother of the Emperor, and who inherited his Father's dominions. He had recognised with apparent cheerfulness his uncle's right to the Imperial Crown as the immediate son of Charlemagne, but he was now unwilling to cede its reversion to Lothaire; and the claim of primogeniture, as then understood, no doubt existed in his person as son of an elder brother. Hastily levying troops, and supported by a numerous band both of Ecclesiastical and Lay Chieftains, amongst whom the reforms of the new reign had created discontent, he occupied all the passes of the Alps, and made open demonstration of revolt. As Louis advanced to suppress this insurrection by arms, it is said that Hermengarde proffered her mediation; and that Bernard, a brave, gallant, and unsuspicious youth, scarcely in his nineteenth year, confiding in a safe-conduct, presented

himself before the Emperor in his camp at Chalons. Whether alarmed at the unexpected promptitude with which Louis had taken the field, or dispirited by the absence of their commander, the forces of the young Prince soon gradually disbanded, or threw themselves on the mercy of the Emperor; and notwithstanding the solemn promises of immunity by which Bernard was protected, the feeble Louis permitted his trial and condemnation to death; and then, with an ambiguous lenity, commuted the punishment for loss of sight. At the instigation, as is affirmed, of Hermengarde, who coveted the fair dominion of Italy for her own sons, the sentence was executed with so great barbarity, that the unhappy sufferer expired three days after its infliction. Of his followers, the Ecclesiastics were degraded and shut up in Convents, and the Seculars imprisoned; and so far were the suspicions of Louis awakened against the fidelity of his remaining kinsmen, that he compelled three younger brothers, bastards of Charlemagne,* whom he had hitherto entertained in his Palace, and treated with marked affection, to receive the Tonsure; notwithstanding they were altogether free from any imputed connection with the late revolt.

The death of Hermengarde, which occurred not long after this Tragedy, once again opened to Louis the monastic seclusion, which he still coveted; but his Ecclesiastics, keenly alive to the advantage which they might deduce from the continued rule of a Monarch so devoted as he manifested himself to their Order, urged upon him the necessity of a second marriage. The Chroniclers represent the nuptials upon which he soon afterwards entered, as preceded by a muster in his Court of all the most celebrated Beauties whom the limits of the Empire contained; and in that new rivalry for the golden apple, Judith, daughter of Count Guelfo of Bavaria, was the triumphant competitor.

Success, for the most part, continued to attend the military operations of the Franks; but we are told of unrevenged ravages by the Northmen, who threatened Flanders, made a demonstration at the mouth of the Seine, and laid waste some parts of Aquitaine. So ill provided indeed was the Empire for maritime defence, that in a single Piratical incursion, a band of those marauders, not amounting to 1000 men, spread terror over 300 leagues of coast, and retired with a costly booty.

Unhappy for the tranquillity of his dominions, the thoughts of their Ruler, as he advanced in years, became hourly more and more absorbed by superstitious observances. In a new Assembly of the States he performed an open Penance, publicly deploring his cruelty to Bernard, a crime which indeed might with reason press heavily upon his conscience; and yet further confessing that he had sinned grievously against Adelard and Wala, the Ministers of his late Father, and other Priests and Bishops whom he had exiled for their share in the late rebellion. He sought pardon from them and from his brothers whom he had forced into the Cloister, and as a compensation for their former wrong, he advanced them to high Ecclesiastical dignities. These unworthy exhibitions were interrupted by the necessity of a campaign

* In the times of which we are writing Concubinage was a legitimate species of marriage, and the women who entered upon it were styled *Femmes du Deuisme Ordre*. But it is to be feared that the memory of Charlemagne cannot be sheltered under this singular institution. The Law admitted one wife or one Concubine, but not both at the same time; and therefore *a fortiori* it prohibited the numbers whom the Emperor simultaneously entertained under the latter name.

* The original form of abjuration, of which the above is a translation, is given in Wheaton's *History of the Northmen*, p. 176.

Charles
great
Empire

From

A. D.

814.

to

A. D.

888.

He is de-
prived of
sight and
dies.Second
marriage
Louis.

A. D.

819.

Piracy of
the North-
men.

A. D.

820.

Louis pro-
duces
evidence in
this
case.

A. D.

822.

Rebellion
of Bernard,
King of
Italy.

History. to suppress a spirit of insurgency manifested by both the Bretons and the Gascons. But the operations which followed in consequence were conducted more by his sons than by himself; and the sole passion which shared his affections with the services of the cell and of the altar, was that for hunting; in which pastime he indulged with no less ardour than had been felt for it by Charlemagne himself.

The fidelity of the new Empress was far from being unsuspected; and to an illicit intercourse with Bernard, son of the Duc de Toulouse, whom she had selected as her intimate friend and Counsellor, has been attributed the birth of a son with whom she presented Louis three years after their marriage; and who is known in History as his successor, under the title of Charles the Bald, (*le Chauve*.) The inauspicious nativity of that Prince, the source of so many evils and so much bloodshed, is confidently affirmed by the credulous writers of his times to have been accompanied by manifest omens of calamity. The Palace at Aix la Chapelle trembled to its foundations under an earthquake; torrents of rain, mingled with hail and huge masses of stone, deluged the neighbouring districts; numerous men and beasts were killed by lightning; a girl continued to live without food during the long period of ten months; and before the close of the year in which the object of these portents first drew breath, Famine and Pestilence desolated the entire circuit of the Empire. From the moment indeed of the birth of Charles, his Father's Government appears to have become disorganized. We are not possessed of sufficient information to state accurately the causes of that general internal discontent which agitated the Empire; but while the weakness of her Monarch had been sufficiently revealed to the foreign enemies of France to expose her frontiers to attacks from the Musulmans, the Bulgarians, and the Northmen, a formidable conspiracy also was ripening within her bosom. The ambition of Judith and of her minion Bernard accelerated its progress; and when Louis, in a Diet held at Worms, proclaimed his youngest son King of Germany, a dominion formed by the union of Suabia, Helvetia, and the Grisons, little was wanting to kindle into an immediate blaze the fierce torch of Civil conflict.

In that provision for their half-brother, his three elders perceived nothing but the dismemberment of their own Governments; and seizing as a pretext for placing themselves at the head of an armed force, a gathering which Louis had then ordered against the Bretons, Pepin and the King of Bavaria united a considerable body of troops at Verberic. Disaffection spread rapidly through the Imperial Camp, and Louis became the prisoner of his two sons, who demanded that Bernard should be exiled; that Judith should take the veil; and that even the Emperor himself should abdicate and enter upon a Religious profession. The Cowl, however, at that moment appears to have lost its former charms in the eyes of the unhappy Prince; and on the arrival of Lothaire it was determined not to press upon him the unwilling change, but that he should still retain the shadow and titles of Monarchy, the real power being absolutely vested in his eldest son. Such an arrangement was most satisfactory to one great division of the Empire, and the French, as they now began to be named, hoping to win from the sons of Louis that ascendancy in its Government from which they had been excluded both by his Father and by himself, warmly supported the ambitious projects of Lothaire.

But the Germans, to whose arms the Carolingian Family was mainly indebted for its elevation, and whose great services accordingly had always been repaid by Charlemagne with distinguished favour, naturally preferred the rule of a Son who trod in his footsteps, before that of a grandson whose policy had led him to deviate from them. In an Assembly at Nimeguen, chiefly composed of Germans, it was evident that the majority of voices greatly preponderated in behalf of Louis. It was in vain that the partisans of Lothaire urged him to a decisive stroke, and that the Chiefs of his faction passed a whole night in impressing upon him the strong necessity that he should continue master of his Father's person. They proposed an open attack upon the morrow; but Lothaire shrank from the guilt or from the boldness of the project; and after a long private conference, the joint Emperors presented themselves to the Assembly, and announced their cordial reconciliation. The first consequence was the arrest of Lothaire's followers; the second was the release of Judith. She boldly confronted her now humbled foes, threw back with scorn the foul charge of adultery which they had advanced, and demanded the Ordeal of fire as a test of innocence. The Assembly with one voice rejected such an appeal as unnecessary; her oath was received as a sufficient guarantee; and she was replaced by acclamation in all Conjugal and Imperial rights. Bernard was not less forward in defiance of his enemies. He also appealed to the judgment of God; and challenged any accuser to meet him in the lists on horseback, there to decide the quarrel by mortal combat. No champion appeared, and in the absence of all evidence against him his acquittal was unanimously pronounced. Louis, with his accustomed clemency, suspended the chief rebels from their offices but for a short time, and before the close of the year remitted them to his presence and restored them to favour.

But the causes of discontent among the French were far from being extinguished. The quarrel was soon renewed between the Father and his sons, and the armies of the opponents once more appeared in each other's presence on the plain of Rothfeld,* near Colmar. The Pope, Gregory IV., who accompanied the march of Lothaire, employed his mediation in vain; and it appeared as if blood were now about to flow in this most unnatural conflict. We know not the allurments which were held out, nor the intrigues by which the Revolution was so rapidly effected; but in a single night, the Emperor was abandoned by his entire host, and at the dawn of day he stood, together with his Empress and his youngest child, a prisoner in the Camp of his other rebel sons. The infamy of this base transaction was long recorded by a striking memorial, and Rothfeld, the Red field, on which Louis was deserted by his subjects, received the appropriate name of *Lugenfeld*, The Field of lies. The Emperor was immured in a Monastery; Judith was imprisoned in the citadel of Tortona; and the boy Charles was removed to the safe precincts of an Abbey in Treves.

Thus twice dethroned by his sons, Louis was to be restored again by another bloodless revolution. Before the close of the year which witnessed his second captivity, public opinion appeared to have undergone great change; and Lothaire's principal supporters, especially the Ecclesiastics, feeling alarmed at the possibility of a

Carlovingian Empire.

From A. D. 814, to A. D. 888. His restoration.

Second rebellion of his sons. A. D. 833.

June 24.

The Field of lies.

* *Hod. Rotteberg*, between Brinnac and the River Ill.

History.

From
A. D.
814.
to
A. D.
888.

Penance
inflicted on
Louis after
his second
dethrone-
ment.

countermovement, resolved so far to degrade the fallen Emperor, as to render him for ever incapable of returning to power. The diplomatic ignorance either of the individuals concerned or of their times, is strikingly evinced by the Instrument still preserved to us as drawn up for the second public Penance to which Louis was enjoined to submit at Soissons, on the 11th of November. There, in the Church of the Virgin Mary, the wretched Prince was led into the presence of the assembled Clergy, of the Nobles, of a countless throng of Laics, and of his own Son Lothaire. Clothed in sackcloth, he prostrated himself before the High altar, and confessed aloud that he had administered his power unworthily, that he had sinned against God, had scandalized the Church, and had betrayed his People into numerous disorders. On these accounts he expressed a wish to undertake a solemn Ecclesiastical Penance, so that by the aid of God he might obtain absolution from those to whom that God had accorded the power of the keys. At these words, the Prelates, his spiritual Physicians, as they are termed in the Acts of the Ceremonial, admonished him, as he regarded his salvation, to make true and unreserved confession; then placing in his hands a document already prepared, they instructed him to read it before the People; and he obeyed with many tears. That Confession embodied his sins under eight vague and ill-divided heads. In the first he deplored the death of his nephew Bernard, and the violence offered to his bastard Brothers. He admitted in the second place that he had compelled his subjects to repeated perjuries by frequently remodifying the partitions of his Empire already sanctioned by national oaths; next he pronounced himself guilty of infraction of the Canon Law by having assembled Diets or troops during Festivals or the Season of Lent; fourthly, of having exacted too severe punishment from the opposers of his bad Government; fifthly, of encouraging perjury when he allowed Judith to clear herself by oath; sixthly, of being the cause of bloodshed, rapine, and sacrilege, by the Civil Wars which he had occasioned; seventhly, of creating intestine discord by arbitrary allotments of his realm; and lastly, of having brought total ruin upon a State of which he was the natural guardian and protector. After pronouncing this self-accusation, he delivered to the Priests the written catalogue of his offences, in order that it might be preserved as an everlasting testimony against him; and they having received the Instrument placed it on the altar. Then himself ungirding his knightly belt, he placed that also on the altar; and divesting himself of his secular habit, he was clad by the Bishops in a penitential garb, with the imposition of hands, as a token that he bade eternal farewell to all pomps of the World.

Second
Restoration
of Louis.

The great object, as we have already stated, of this most unprecedented spectacle was to incapacitate Louis, by its dishonour, from remounting the throne; and it was believed that, coupling this Penance with his former Confession, according to certain Decrees of the Canon Law, he must for ever remain under the ban which affected relapsed Penitents. But, on the contrary, the meek and unresisting obedience with which he bowed his head to the extremity of Ecclesiastical censure, excited pity and produced a revulsion in his favour. During the following winter, Lothaire swayed the Empire singly, and either secluded his Father in his confinement, or watched him under his own immediate cognizance; but proofs of attachment to the person of

Louis were at length so unequivocally displayed by his fickle subjects, that at the expiration of two months Lothaire found it expedient to retire to Vienne. A milder interpretation than that at first proposed having been annexed to the Canons which seemed to prohibit renewal of connection with the Church, Louis, soon after his son's flight, was solemnly reconciled in the Cathedral of St. Denis; and having been again invested with his belt and arms by the officiating Bishops, he resumed his Sovereignty also together with those insignia of Knighthood. Lothaire continued in rebellion, and on more than one occasion was successful against his Father's troops; but Louis, incapable of long resentment, sought opportunities for accommodation, encouraged his Son's first overtures, pardoned his revolt, and permitted him to retain the Crown of Italy.

The death of Pepin, King of Aquitaine, appeared to furnish an opportunity not to be neglected for increasing the portion of Charles; and after some previous inconclusive arrangements, the intrigues of Judith procured from the imbecile Emperor, with the consent of Lothaire, a final partition of his territories more unjust than any which had preceded it. Reserving Bavaria for Louis's present King, and excluding the sons of Pepin altogether from their paternal inheritance, an imaginary line drawn from North to South along the course of the Rhone and the Meuse was supposed to divide the Empire into two equal portions; and the first choice being given to Lothaire, he selected the Eastern, while Charles received the Western allotment.

The short remainder of his life was devoted by the Emperor to compel his Son Louis whom he refused to aggrandize, and the Grandsons whom he despoiled, to accept this inequitable division; for which purpose he took the field in more than one campaign. Happily a personal conflict was avoided, and the Emperor, while in arms, was attacked by a defluxion on the lungs in the Castle of Ingelheim near Mayence. A Solar Eclipse which occurred during this illness is said to have oppressed him with a strong conviction that his disease was mortal, and to have accelerated its crisis. Yet Louis was accomplished in all the Learning of his time, a subtle Canonist, a fluent speaker of Latin, and a competent reader of Greek; although, as Thegan informs us, after having studied that Tongue in his youth, he ever afterwards shunned with horror all its profane Poesies. By his skill in Astronomy also he had calculated that very defect of the Sun which he now esteemed the harbinger of his demise; and one of his Biographers, an anonymous Writer known as "the Astronomer," on account of the conversations on that Science with the Emperor which he has reported, informs us that his Imperial master was the first discoverer of a Comet which appeared in 837. Louis supported a long illness of forty days with piety and resignation, receiving the Host on each morning, and, the season being Lent, taking scarcely any other sustenance in the course of the day. As his end manifestly approached, he was asked by the ministering Priest to bequeath his pardon to all the World, even to his rebel Son. "Willingly," was the reply, "notwithstanding he has brought my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave." In his last agonies he twice loudly exclaimed, "Out! Out!" and the attendants declared that he was then wrestling with the Evil Spirit, who was visibly attempting to force an entrance at the window. But the Chronicle of St. Denis has done fuller justice to the memory of this weak but amiable Prince by stating that he

Charles
gives
Empire.

From
A. D.
814.

to
A. D.
888.

Reconcili-
tion with
Lothaire.
A. D.
834.

Partition
between
Lothaire
and
Charles.

A. D.
838.

Last illness
and

Death of
Louis le
Debonnaire.

A. D.
840.

History.

From

A. D.

814.

to

A. D.

888.

Accession

of Lothaire

as Emperor.

Charles the

Bad King

of France.

Battle of

Fontenay.

June 25.

A. D.

841.

A. D.

842.

Origins of

Trans-

sylvia.

"never had any thing to do with such bad company either alive or dead."

On the death of Louis, the title of sole Emperor devolved upon his eldest son Lothaire; but the power conferred by that sounding name was now little more than visionary. He asserted a supremacy indeed over those *Provinces* which his brothers considered and administered as *Kingdoms*; he might claim, but he could seldom command their military services; and he summoned them to General Diets, which they attended or neglected at pleasure. Bent upon rescinding the latest partition of the Empire to which he had agreed only upon compulsion, Lothaire was still compelled by prudence to temporize; and a year had passed since the death of their Father, before any of the Brothers found themselves sufficiently strong to decide their rival claims by arms. Lothaire had allied himself with his nephew Pepin, the Pretender to the Crown of Aquitaine; Charles had established a far more powerful union with his brother Louis of Bavaria; and it was at the village of Fontenay, near Auxerre in Burgundy, that one of the most sanguinary battles in French History was fought between these competitors, whose enmity appears to have been aggravated by a recollection of their nearness of consanguinity. The numbers on either side were almost equal, and the field was contested with so great obstinacy that Charles and Louis, although conquerors, were little able to profit by their victory.† The Brothers, not many months after their success, made a solemn renewal of alliance, and the French King, for the first time on record, employed in his public oath on that occasion the *Romanse*; from which was afterwards derived the Language of modern France. The festivities which succeeded are detailed by the contemporary Historian Nithard, and they present a rude outline of those magnificent Tournaments which became the favourite diversion of later times. "When the spectators were assembled," says the Chronicler, "without the barriers, on a spot fitted for the show, an equal number of champions from the four chief nations which formed the camp, advanced rapidly against each other as if they wished for combat. The party which was attacked retired, covering themselves with their shields; then advancing in turn, they charged their opponents, till the Kings themselves and all their train rode with

loud shouts and at full gallop against each other. Then might you see them gallantly shivering their small lances and pursuing the fugitives. Yet in so vast a host of armed men of different races, not one was hurt or wounded."

The renewal of this League and the distracted state of the Empire, not only torn by intestine convulsions, but exposed as a prey on all its frontiers to foreign ravage, at length induced Lothaire to relax from his assertion of sovereignty. By a Peace concluded at Verdun, he acknowledged the independence of his brothers and abandoned Pepin. Italy, Bavaria, and Aquitaine, being set apart in the first instance as the respective inheritances of the three Brothers, the remainder of the Empire was to be divided into three equal portions, from which they were to make choice in order of primogeniture. Three hundred Commissioners surveyed the entire territory previously to its distribution, and it is to be regretted that no trace of their Geographical labours now remains to us. Few documents could throw more light upon the state of Europe in the IXth Century than the *Domesday Book* of the Empire which must then have been compiled. More than a year was consumed in the survey; and at its close, Lothaire annexed to his Italian Kingdom that strip of Eastern France which received its names, *Lotharingia*, *Loterrich*, and *Lorraine*, from the master to whom it fell. The whole of Germany was chosen by Louis, who in consequence is known to us as *le Germanique*; and as that dominion was unproductive of wine, the Cities and Dioceses of Mayence, Worms, and Spire were especially secured to him.* And finally, the new France of Charles the Bald embraced the Country Westward of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhône, and the Spanish district between the Pyrenees and the Ebro.

The death of the Empress-mother Judith, to whose ambitious projects for the aggrandizement of her son Charles so much of the calamity endured by the Empire was owing, occurred in the year following this Peace, and her reputed lover Bernard, Duke of Septimania, did not long survive her. That Nobleman possessed all the Provinces which had anciently formed the Kingdom of the Visigoths; and his favourite design was to elevate them into an independent State. Waiting therefore upon opportunity, although he had assembled troops, he abstained from any decided part in the recent Civil War; and contented himself by observing the combatants at Fontenay from a position within three leagues of the field of battle. We know not what circumstances awakened the jealousy of Charles, nor the precise details of Bernard's fate. By some authorities he is said to have been tried and condemned to capital punishment; by others to have been assassinated by the hand of the King himself, whose memory in consequence is not altogether free from a fearful suspicion of Parricide.

Hostilities were still urged against Pepin, till increasing distractions induced a compromise, and the Kingdom of Aquitaine was granted to him as a Fief of the Crown of France. Incapacitated by his vices, of which drunkenness appears to have been the chief, from the duties of Government, he was solemnly deposed within a few years from this Treaty by an Assembly of his own subjects, who transferred their allegiance to the King of France. War accordingly was renewed between Charles and Pepin, and the latter allying himself with William,

Carlovin-

gian

Empire.

From

A. D.

814.

to

A. D.

888.

Partition of

the Empire.

First separ-

ation of

Germany

from

France.

Death of

the Empress

Judith.

A. D.

843.

and of Duke

Bernard.

Sequel of

the History

of Pepin.

A. D.

845.

A. D.

848.

* The authorities for the reign of Louis le Debonnaire are contained in the VIth Volume of Bouquet's *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*; they consist chiefly of a *Life* by the above-mentioned Astruc; another *Life* by Thégan, Bishop of Treves; *Annals*, attributed to Eginhard; the 1st Book of a *History* by Nithard, Grandson of Charlemagne; the *Lives of Adalhard and Hala*, and some *Diplomata* of the Emperor. These are admirably condensed by M. Simonde de Sismondi, in the VIth and VIIth Chapters of his *Histoire des Français*. Velly's narrative of the reign of Louis I. is written as usual with care; and, for summaries, the reader may advantageously consult the excellent Chronological Heads prefixed by Bouquet to the original Historians, Mézeray, *Abregé Chronologique*, or the later similar Work of the President Hénault.

† Some authorities have attributed to the great drain of Noble blood in this Battle that ancient Constitution of Champagne by which Nobility was permitted to follow the *venter*, in other words, by which the children of a *Rohere* marrying into a Noble family were ennobled by the mother. Such, insist, however, was always considered inferior to that which derived Nobility *de parente*, i. e. *par le père*.

‡ *Romanica*, or *Rustica Latina*, a *patois* of corrupt Latin mixed with Celtic. The oath of Charles has been frequently printed. It may be found in Roquefort, *Glossaire de la Langue Romaine, Discours Préf. 20*, in Sismondi, *Hist. de France*, c. 8. p. 70, and in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, ad v. *Romanica*.

History. son of the deceased Duke Bernard, invited the Saracens from the Ebro to his assistance. The Infidels contented themselves by a predatory incursion; and on their withdrawal, William being taken prisoner, expiated his treason on the scaffold. The fate of Pepin was somewhat longer deferred; in a paroxysm of intemperance he quarrelled with and insulted one of his most zealous partisans, Sancho, Marquis of Gascony, and through the resentment of that Noble, he was delivered into the hands of Charles. The King adopted with him that measure by which a rival Prince was thought to be most effectually degraded. He compelled him to submit to the Tonsure and to seclusion in an Abbey at Soissons. By the connivance of the Monks, however, he was soon permitted to escape, and after many years restless solicitation of his former subjects, in whom he found it impossible to arouse interest, he formed a second and far more nefarious compact with the enemies of his Country and of his Faith. In order to secure the fidelity and attachment of a band of Northmen whose command he assumed, it is said that he apostatized from Christianity; and at the head of those Barbarians he first sacked Poitiers and burned its Cathedral, and then ravaged Limousin and Auvergne. While besieging Toulouse, a city which during his former wars he had twice successfully defended, forgetting that a betrayer might in turn be betrayed, he imprudently trusted himself to a conference with the Count of Poitiers, who feigned willingness to embrace his cause. During the interview he was seized and transmitted to his justly offended Uncle, and a Diet sitting at the time pronounced sentence of death upon him both as a renegade and a traitor. Charles, however, felt reluctance to drain the blood of a great-grandson of Charlemagne; and having taken surer precautions than had been before adopted for the safe custody of the criminal, he condemned him to linger out a miserable life of perpetual imprisonment in a cell of the Monastery of Senlis.

His apostasy, and final imprisonment. A. D. 864.

secure, During the twenty years which elapsed before the final captivity of Pepin, (whose catastrophe we have treated somewhat in advance of our general narrative, in order that we might preserve unbroken the thread of his particular story,) France with little interruption had been a prey to the adventurers from the North. In various expeditions, Rouen, Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes had been laid in ashes. Paris,—which since the termination of the Merovingian dynasty had ceased to be the Capital, but which nevertheless maintained a rank scarcely secondary to any other City, and which surpassed them all in the number of its Religious Houses, and the costliness and abundance of their treasure,—was abandoned by its inhabitants and sacked without resistance. Nor was it evacuated by the marauders till Charles, having taken refuge in the Monastery of St. Denis, the strongest fortification in his Kingdom, ignominiously purchased their retreat by seven thousand pounds sterling weight of silver. Human arms were wholly unavailing, but the Chroniclers assure us with undoubting confidence that when Tours was attacked in 839 by Hastings,—a Frenchman by birth, but who from his earliest boyhood had associated with the Northmen, and who by his valour had attained high command among them,—the City was preserved by the miraculous intercession of St. Martin, whose body was carried out by the garrison during a sortie.*

and final imprisonment. A. D. 864.

Miserable internal condition of France. A. D. 845.

Paris corrupted by the Northmen. A. D. 845.

A. D. 847.

Rome and Naples in the following year were plundered by a descent of Moors and Arabians; and at nearly the same time both Louis, the son of Lothaire, was totally defeated by those invaders, and Louis le Germanique, by the cowardice of his own troops, was compelled to fly before the Selavonians who had passed his frontiers. While the Greek Pirates of the Archipelago stormed and ruined Marseilles, the Northmen were in possession of Bourdeaux; and so deeply were the miserable peasants of France imbued with terror of their pitiless Barbarian foes, that in the hope of mitigating that fury from which their own Government was powerless to shield them, whole villages renounced their Baptism and their Redeemer, and made a new profession of the ancient Idolatry of the *Teutones*.

In this almost general desolation of Christendom by the incursions of the Infidels, the single triumph of the Head of her Church must not be forgotten. Leo, the IVth Pontiff who bore that name, by birth a Roman, and worthy of the better days of his Country, was called by acclamation to the chair of St. Peter in 847, and he soon justified the choice of his People. The Eternal City was rapidly placed in a state of defence; fifteen towers were raised or strengthened on the ancient walls; the Tiber was guarded by a massive chain; and when the Saracens, who, under the Pontificate of Gregory IV. and Sergius II., had plundered the coasts with impunity, cast anchor at Ostia, Leo summoned allies from Greece, from Naples, from Gaeta, and Amalfi; mingled in person with the camp; distributed his benediction among the troops; and animated them with holy ardour by his prayers. In the naval fight which ensued, the Christians were signally victorious; and that remnant of the enemy which escaped the sword was either shipwrecked and dashed to pieces in a storm which interrupted pursuit, or thrown into the hands of their conquerors to atone for their former ravages, on the gibbet or in a laborious captivity. Leo employed his prisoners in the restoration and the embellishment of his Capital. Four years were spent in the construction of a wall which protected the Vatican and the Basilica of St. Peter from future depredations; and the suburb on the Western bank of the Tiber, with its six gates and its consecrated ramparts, received the name of the *Leonine City*, by which the memory of its founder was to be honourably transmitted to posterity. The pencil of Raffaele has given immortality to another reputed act of this great Pontiff; and few, perhaps, ever regarded the magnificent *Incendio del Borgo* without for the moment almost according a more than half belief to the verity of the legend forming the subject of that splendid composition; namely, that the prayers of Leo miraculously arrested the progress of a fire in the Saxon quarter of Rome, between his own City and the *Trastevere*.

Six years before he became sole Emperor by the death of Lothaire, Louis II. had been associated with his Father both in title and in power; but his dominion, when it fell to his single hand, was restricted to Italy; Lorraine becoming the appendage of one of his brothers, Lothaire; Provence, as the district between the Rhine and the Alps was then called, of another, Charles; and on their death, not many years afterwards, both territories being divided between Charles the Bald and Louis le Germanique, without regard to the superior claims of Louis II. The Emperor Lothaire had consented to the above-named partition between his sons not many

Carlovingian Empire.

From A. D. 814, to A. D. 888. A. D. 848.

Pontificate of Leo IV.

A. D. 849.

The Leonine City

Accession of Louis I as Emperor. A. D. 855.

* Baronius, *ad ann.* sec. 29.

months previously to his decease; when oppressed with years, and stricken with remorse for his early violations of filial duty, he assumed the Religious habit.

Meantime the weakness of the King of France exposed his dominions to further outrage from the Northmen. Ascending the Loire more than five and twenty leagues from its mouth, they pillaged Orleans, deluged its neighbourhood with blood, and then fortified a winter camp on the banks of the Seine. Thence, finding themselves unopposed, they once again directed their course on Paris, and burned all its Churches, excepting those of St. Stephen, St. Germain, and St. Denis, which were ransomed at an exorbitant price. The Lords of Neustria and of Aquitaine indignantly regarded the cowardice and impotence of their Monarch; and finding remonstrance unavailing, they directed their views to Louis *le Germanique*, the sole descendant of Charlemagne who appeared to inherit any portion of his Grandsire's intellect or valour. Louis eagerly obeyed the summons, advanced upon France, and, when his brother fled into Burgundy, exercised the full sovereignty over the Kingdom thus abandoned. For awhile it seemed probable that the sceptre would be permanently transferred to more worthy hands. But Charles dexterously conciliated his vassals, and divided their opposition by temporizing; so that after the armies of the two Kings had manœuvred for some months in each other's presence, without open hostilities, a negotiation restored the former good understanding between the brothers. Even then, however, Charles did not acquire sufficient vigour to attempt the expulsion of the Northmen by the French arms; and he completed his own degradation and the misery of his subjects by subsidizing a fresh piratical band, which had made a descent upon Amiens, to attack and exterminate their comrades still encamped upon the Seine. In order to raise the 3000 pounds weight of silver promised for this disgraceful service, Charles had recourse to the most cruel exactions; and when the confiscation of Church plate, and a tax upon every hearth and upon every commodity of merchandise, failed to produce the necessary sum within the given time, the demand was almost doubled by the resentment of the Northmen; who inveighed against his breach of contract, and insisted that the 3000 pounds should now be increased to 5000. The money was at length paid, and the Barbarians commenced operations against their Countrymen. At first, true to their engagement, they surrounded the Camp, intercepted its supplies, and reduced its defenders to the utmost extremity of famine; but no sooner were they bribed by the surrender of the rich booty of the Isle of France, 6000 pounds of silver, than they forbore from hostility, and amicably descended the Seine in company with their late foes, as if for reembarkation. But the winter was too far advanced to permit their voyage, and the coast of France, instead of being delivered from this scourge, once again saw the tents of the Pirates blackening her strand. On the Spanish March Charles was no less unfortunate; and by a Treaty which he was compelled to negotiate with Mohammed I. the Christians on the North of the Ebro, whom Charlemagne had united to his Empire in 778, were wholly abandoned to the Khalifs of Cordova.*

The last years of the turbulent reign of Charles the Bald were to be embittered, like those of his Father, by

breaches of domestic duty. His two elder sons at an earlier period had openly revolted against him, but their insurrection had been suppressed and pardoned, and one of them, Charles, was now dead. He perished by a singular accident. On his return one evening from the chase with some friends of his own age, the thoughtless youths, in a frolic, agreed to attack one of their companions who loitered behind, and to fall upon him as if they were robbers. Charles paid severely for his jest. Alboin, the person whom they intended to alarm, defended himself gallantly, and before he could discover his mistake had dealt so heavy a blow on the head of the Prince, that he died of its effects after two years' languishment. Carloman, the King's youngest son, had been dedicated from his youth to the Cloister, a course of life unhappily most repugnant to his disposition. Already laden with spiritual Pluralities, he manifested a strong inclination to return to secular life, when, on suspicion of some rebellious design, the details of which have not reached us, he was arrested, stripped of his benefices, and imprisoned. Although his confinement was of short duration, little longer than a single month, the Prince, either conscious of guilt or resenting punishment, fled to Belgium immediately on his release; and placing himself at the head of a troop of brigands, he laid waste that Province. Difficulty of escape from the forces despatched against him, induced Carloman to trust less to resistance than to the clemency of his Father; and having first interested Pope Adrian II. in his behalf, he surrendered, and was a second time imprisoned. A Synod of Bishops adjudged his degradation from the Priesthood, and Carloman received their sentence as a benefit rather than as a punishment; for only one surviving brother stood between the Crown of France and himself, and the abrogation of his Religious vows restored him to his full chance of succession. Some imprudent expressions of satisfaction which he let fall, irritated his judges; and revising their former sentence, they pronounced that by the Divine Law he was worthy of death, but that from a hope that he might profit by the time given for repentance, they mercifully condemned him to no higher penalty than loss of sight. Adrian pressing remonstrated against this exercise of authority to the detriment of an Ecclesiastic already under protection of the Holy See. "In your excesses," were the arrogant and indecent words in which he addressed the King of France, "you surpass the Brutes themselves, raging against your own entrails, and imitating the Ostrich as described by Job." But guard yourself against the addition of sin to sin; repent your past avarice and usurpations; strive with all your power to obtain the Apostolic pardon, by showing amendment under correction; labour even unto the end that you may not perish altogether. So the close of your offences shall be that also of my reproaches, and by God's assistance you may at the same time bring to a termination both your sin and your punishment."† Charles replied with temperance but with dignity; and the Pope observing that the King was supported by the general voice of his Clergy and of his People, adopted a milder tone, and made no more mention of Carloman. His sentence was then inflicted upon that wretched but guilty Prince; who afterwards, by the assistance of some partisans, escaped from the Convent in which he

Carlovingian Empire.

From A. D. 814. to A. D. 888.

Story of Carloman. A. D. 874.

* *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, i. 737.

* Ch. xxxix. ver. 13. 17.

† *Labbe Concilia*, viii. 929. Bouquet, vii. 452.

History. was immured, and was appointed, by the piety of Louis *le Germanique*, to an Abbey, in the possession of which he did not long survive.

From The eldest branch of the Carolingian Family was
A. D. extinguished with Louis II., who died without male
814. issue in the year following. In an assembly of the
to
A. D. chief Italian Nobles at Pavia the vacant Crown was
888. offered at the same moment both to the Monarchs of
Death of the Emperor France and Germany; in the hope probably of so far
Louis II. weakening each by a contest with the other, that neither
A. D. might ultimately be able to establish himself in its pos-
875. session. Both Princes proceeded at the first summons

Coronation of Charles to strengthen themselves in Italy; Louis by his sons,
the Bald as Charles in person. The latter advanced to Rome, and
Emperor. was crowned Emperor by the Pope; but speedily after-
A. D. wards returned to his ancient dominions in order to
876. repel a threatened invasion by Louis. The designs of

Death of that great Prince, the most wise, virtuous, and valorous
Louis le Monarch of his time, were interrupted by death; and his
Germanique. dominions became partitioned among his three sons, Car-
loimann, Louis the Saxon, and Charles the Fat. (*le Gros*),

the last of whom was afterwards destined for a short time to sway a far mightier dominion. In the death of his brother, the King of France perceived a new opportunity for personal aggrandizement; and hastily arming against his nephews, he advanced upon Louis, at that time encamped at Andernach on the left bank of the Rhine. Adding perfidy to this unjust aggression, Charles basely violated an armistice which he had concluded,* and hoping to surprise his enemy, lulled into security by reliance on his honourable observance of that engagement, he marched stealthily on the German lines. It was on a sharp October night that he attempted this movement, the roads were scarcely practicable, and as the soldiers advanced slowly and painfully through deep morasses, they were numbed by a cold rain, and exhausted by fatigue. Apprized of his Uncle's treacherous design, Louis was under arms to receive him; and the harassed and dispirited French were met by a fresh and vigorous force, and put to flight on the first encounter. The rout was complete and most disastrous; arms, baggage, equipages and magazines, choking the bogs through which the vanquished attempted to retreat their steps, impeded their escape; and the consequent slaughter was murderous. Charles himself, who commanded the reserve, was among the earliest fugitives; and his Empress, in the last stage of pregnancy, abandoning the Palace of Heristal, in which she had been placed for security, was seized with the pains of labour during the night in an adjoining farm, and the Prince of whom she was then delivered was carried in the arms of one of her attendants till she rejoined her Consort near Rheims.

Battle of
Andernach.

France still groaned under the cruelty and rapacity of the Northmen; the extent of whose ravages is best described by a single striking fact. So desolate was the state of Aquitaine that a Papal Brief transferred the seat of an Archbishopric from Bourdeaux to Bourges, because, as the words of the Instrument declared, "the Province of Bourdeaux is altogether abandoned by its

inhabitants." To escape from the near spectacle of those miseries which he was unable to remedy, and from the deep murmurs with which they were represented to him by his suffering People, Charles, in the year after his defeat at Andernach, revisited Italy. At Vercelli he was met by the Pope, who accompanied him to Pavia; but the festivities by which it was intended that this progress should be magnificently distinguished, were interrupted by intelligence that his nephew Carloman was approaching at the head of a well-appointed army to dispute the Imperial Crown. The Court broke up in haste and confusion; the Empress instantly recrossed the Alps; and Charles, after a vain attempt to collect troops, perceiving or suspecting disaffection among his scanty followers, bent towards Mont Cenis, in order to retire upon Savoy. In the obscure village of Brios, while passing that mountain range, he was attacked by a violent fever; and his death rapidly followed, in spite, or in consequence of the skill of Zedeclias his physician. The charge of poisoning brought against that attendant, however, does not appear supported by conclusive evidence; but it found ready credence at the time, because the accused was a reputed magician and a Jew,—which People, by their training in the Arabian Universities of Spain, far surpassed the French in medical knowledge;—and also because the body of the King underwent too rapid decomposition to permit conveyance to the Royal Cemetery in St. Denys. Thither, however, the bones were transferred seven years afterwards.*

It is to the reign of Charles the Bald that the exploded Pontificate of Pope Joan was once assigned. It was long believed that a woman named Gilberte, by birth a native of Mayence, but of English descent, assumed male attire, studied at Athens, was reputed a man, and having taken Religious vows and distinguished herself by great learning and ability, was elected to the Papacy on the death of Leo IV. in 853,† under the style of John VIII.; that when the Imperial title devolved on Louis II. that Emperor was crowned by her hands at Rome; and that but for a subsequent unhappy discovery, her name might have descended to posterity as one of the most unblemished Pontiffs by whom the Tiara has been worn. Yielding, however, to a natural weakness, she listened too freely to a Cardinal, one of her chaplains, to whom either chance or her own attachment had revealed the mystery of her sex; and the consequence of their intercourse was the public delivery of the successor of St. Peter in the open streets of Rome, between the Colosseum and the Church of St. Clement, during a Religious procession. The ambiguous Pope died in giving birth to the child; the route of the procession was altered for the future, so that it might not pass near the polluted spot; a statue was erected in commemoration of the incident; and certain ingenious precautions were adopted to prevent its recurrence. This tissue of fables, with an occasional addition that the Female Pope was a Magician, has furnished materials for reproach or for regret, for accusation or for denial, to many controversial writers, according as they were friendly or hostile to the Church of Rome; and it is not impossible, in spite of its distinct refutation by the research even of Protestants,‡

Carloman
Emperor.

From
A. D.
814.
to
A. D.
868.

Second visit
of Charles
to Italy.

A. D.
877.

Table of
Pope Joan
A. D.
853.

* Louis, in order to demonstrate his own fidelity and the injustice of his Uncle, despatched thirty Knights, ten of whom submitted without injury to the Ordinal of cold water, ten to that of boiling water, ten to that of red-hot fire; and the Chronicler assures us that for the time the ambition of the King was checked by these prodigies. *Annal. Fuldenens.*

* The authorities for the reign of Charles the Bald are collected in the VIIth and VIIIth Volumes of Bouquet's *Recueil*. The same authorities belong to the remainder of this Chapter.

† Leo IV. really died in 855.
‡ Bayle has discussed the History of Pope Joan, of c. *Papace*, at much length, and with great diligence and acuteness. Perhaps the

History. that there may still be found some spirits disinclined to surrender their belief in a legend, well adapted to throw ridicule upon the scarlet abomination of the Seven Hills.

The dominion to which Louis *le Begue*, the Stutterer, succeeded on the death of his father, Charles the Bald, was greatly diminished by rival claimants. Carloman* disputed the Imperial title, and Italy and Lorraine were wholly separated from France. During the short reign of Louis were established those numerous fiefs by which a powerful Aristocracy long afterwards more than balanced the influence of the Crown; and the weak Prince, despoiled of territory by foreigners, and of Kingly authority by his subjects, sank into the grave unregarded and forgotten after a nominal sway of eighteen months, so that to him as well as to Louis V. has sometimes been assigned the degrading epithet *le Pâleant*. His sons, Louis III. and Carloman, jointly ascended the throne; the latter chiefly through the powerful support of his father-in-law, Boson, Duke of Provence. That ambitious Noble, strengthened by the distinguished alliances which he had contracted, brother of an Empress, son-in-law of an Emperor, father-in-law of a King,† now meditated the establishment of an independent Crown for himself; and so dexterously did he intrigue with the Clergy, that in a few months after the late accession, the assembled Prelates of France inaugurated him King of Arles, or Provence;‡ or Lower or Cisjurane Burgundy, (it is known by each of these names indifferently,) without defining the limits of the new State formed by dismemberment of the territory of Louis and Carloman. The young Princes appealed for protection to their Uncle, Charles the Fat, (*le Gros*), youngest son of Louis *le Germanique*, and from him they received such assistance as enabled them to prosecute a successful campaign against the usurper whom they drove into the mountains. By the death of his two elder Brothers without issue, the Crown of the Empire had devolved on Charles the Fat, and the imbecile youths into whose hands the sway of France had passed, considered themselves as mere vassals of his Crown. The death of Louis, the elder of these brothers, was occasioned by a singular accident. Attracted by the beauty of a daughter of one of the gentlemen of his Court whom he observed while on horseback, he addressed her in terms more ardent than maidenly reserve approved. The King spurred his horse as the object of his admiration withdrew within her Father's gates; and in his eagerness of pursuit, not measuring with an accurate eye the height of the portal, he struck his head against the archway, was thrown from his horse with violence, and expired a few days afterwards.§ During the two years

From A. D. 814. to A. D. 888. Louis II. the Stutterer.

From A. D. 888. Louis III. and Carloman.

From A. D. 880. Boson, King of Arles or Provence.

Death of Louis III.

A. D. 882.

learned Blondel, however, is a writer who will be received for the most part with less suspicion, notwithstanding the obloquy which he encountered from the bigotry of his times.

* Eldest son of Louis *le Germanique*. Velly maintains that since the Pope would not decide between the competitors, the title of Emperor remained in abeyance during three years. i. 349.

† His sister Richilda was the second Empress of Charles the Bald; he himself had married a daughter of the Empress Louis II., before promised to the Emperor of the East, and forcibly carried off by Boson with the connivance of her Brother; and his daughter, the issue of that marriage, was now Queen of Carloman, upon whose association in the Government he therefore insisted.

‡ The Kingdom was called indifferently by either of the first names, Arles being the Capital of Provence; Burgundy was the collective name for that Kingdom and its dependencies; Cisjurane the distinctive name upon the subsequent erection of Transjurane Burgundy.

§ Paulus Emilien.

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in which his brother Carloman retained the sceptre of France in his single hand, his Realm was desolated by the Northmen. A great victory, but without results, is said to have been gained over these invaders, at Sacour, near Abbeville, before the death of Louis; and one occasion, afterwards, was fatally and disgracefully neglected, in which Charles the Fat might have engaged them with the advantage of overwhelming numbers. Every where else want of men prevented Carloman from taking the field with chance of success, want of money from purchasing more than a short occasional suspension of rapine and massacre. The young King, like his brother, owed his death to accident. While chasing a wild boar in the forest of Baiseau he was inadvertently wounded in the leg by the hunting-spear of one of his attendants,† gangrene rapidly ensued, and he died having scarcely attained the age of eighteen years.

The rightful inheritor of the Crown of France, on the demise of Carloman, was Charles the Simple, a half-brother of the two late Kings, borne posthumously by Adelaide, the widowed Queen of their father Louis the Stammerer. But the dangers to which France was exposed required a steadier pilotage than could be afforded by an Infant; doubts also existed respecting the legitimacy of the second marriage of Louis, who, contrary to a Papal decision, had been compelled to repudiate his first wife Ausgarde; and, consequently, in the estimation of many, Charles the Simple, the issue of his second nuptials, was esteemed a Bastard. If he were excluded, the sole legitimate surviving descendant of Charlemagne was the Emperor Charles the Fat; and by a singular concurrence of personal good fortune, that least worthy of a race too generally distinguished by want of desert, successively united on his single head the Crowns of Bavaria, of Suabia, of Saxony, of Italy, and of Oriental and Occidental France; and received homage from almost all the many Nations which had been swayed by his great ancestor Charlemagne.

The first act of the new reign was cowardly and perfidious.* Hugh, son of Lothaire, late King of Lorraine,§ pretended to that Crown, and his claim was sup-

Carlomagno Empire.

From A. D. 814. to A. D. 888.

Death of Carloman. A. D. 884.

Reunion of the Empire of Charlemagne under Charles the Fat.

Treachery to the Duke of Frisia.

* A Ballad in the ancient Teutonic Dialect, commemorating this victory, still exists.

† Some authorities attribute the wound to the tusks of the boar. The Annals of Metz notice as a trait of magnanimity on the part of the King, that in order to screen his attendant from the chance of future punishment, Carloman himself while on his death-bed gave out the latter report.

‡ Occidental France, or Germany, according to the partition of the Empire by Louis *le Debonnaire* between Lothaire and Charles the Bald, in 846.

§ The Episode of Lothaire, King of Lorraine, son of the Emperor Lothaire, is a remarkable instance of the great authority of the Church in the IXth century. His queen Theutberge, daughter of Count Boson of Burgundy, was accused of incest with her brother Hubert, an Abbot, and consequently was repudiated by her husband; who immediately married Valdrade, a lady to whom he had been betrothed before his first nuptials, and whom he had been compelled to abandon from motives of political expediency. Theutberge having established her innocence by the Ordeal of boiling water, was restored to conjugal rights; but not long afterwards, induced either by ill treatment or by remorse, she offered a voluntary confession of her crime, was formally divorced, and then, having placed herself under the suspected guardianship of her brother, once more avowed her innocence. Pope Nicolas I. espoused her cause, compelled Lothaire to receive again as his wife a woman by whom he had been thus disgraced, and to abandon Valdrade long the object of his affection. It was in vain that Theutberge herself, again anxious for separation, jointly with her husband solicited Nicolas and his successor Adrian II. for a dissolution of marriage. The latter Pontiff administered the Host to the King of Lorraine and his

3 L

History.

From
A. D.
814.
to
A. D.
888.

ported by a Northman Chief, Godfrey, upon whom the Emperor had recently bestowed the hand of one of his sisters, together with investiture of the Duchy of Frisia.* The Piratical leader no doubt estimated those extorted concessions at their real value, and held them to be no more than preliminaries to future and far greater gain. In order to accelerate his projects he demanded some vineyards at the confluence of the Rhine with the Moselle; a position which, if once occupied, would introduce the Northmen to the very centre of the Empire. Charles appointed a conference for discussion of the claim in the Isle of Betaw, and there treacherously assassinated Godfrey and his whole Northmen train. Hugh was seized at the same moment in violation of a safe-conduct, deprived of his eyes, and committed to the Monastery of St. Gal, in which he soon afterwards died.

Siege of
Paris by the
Normans.
A. D.
885.

The Northmen, justly irritated by this base act of treachery, poured down with more than former thirst for blood and rapine upon the defenceless tracts of France; and while Charles, far distant from the scene of calamity, remained in Germany, 40,000 Barbarians under Sigefroi, one of their most distinguished leaders, scoured with unsparring fury the Country between Belgium and the Seine, and finally sat down before Paris. The whole of Paris, properly so called, was then comprised within the little islet now known as *L'Île de la Cité*, or *du Palais*. Both on the North and South of the River, however, numerous Ecclesiastical edifices had been built; and these with much of the adjoining Country constituted the Duchy of France, the great fief or domain of the Count of Paris. Eudes, the Noble who then held that conspicuous title, was a son of Robert le Fort,† Count of Anjou, and founder of the Duchy; a brave warrior who had perished in battle against the Northmen about twenty years before. The reputation of the Father was well maintained by his Son; and Eudes, aided by two Ecclesiastics, Gauzelin, Bishop of Paris and Abbot of St. Germain, and Hugh, Abbot of St. Martin de Tours, resolutely maintained himself during a close siege of more than a year. Gauzelin planted a Crucifix on the ramparts, and was frequently seen armed at all points, and combating in its defence. All the military science of that period was exhausted in attack, and we read of a formidable train of now forgotten artillery, catapults, perrieres, and balliste, movable towers, battering rams, vineæ and cavaliers, which were employed in effecting a breach. The chief instrument of offence used by the besieged was a huge massive beam, shod at its extremity with iron. This machine having been raised almost perpendicularly was let fall upon the framework of the enemy beneath, and when the roofs had been beaten in by repeated blows, vast stones, showers of arrows and javelins, and a deluge of scalding oil and pitch were poured upon the exposed combatants. Three general assaults had been successfully repulsed, when a sudden

swell of the river carried away the wooden Bridge which connected the City with the Southern bank, and enabled the Northmen to capture and destroy the tower which protected its approach, on the site afterwards occupied by *le petit Châtelet*. No further ground was won by the besiegers; and the Emperor, at length shamed by the brilliant defence of the little handful of men whom he had as yet neglected to assist, despatched Henry Duke of Saxony to their relief in the Spring of the following year. Unwilling, or unable to effect a sufficient diversion, that leader retired after a few skirmishes; and the Northmen, while they burned every cottage and tree, and put to the sword every peasant within their range, at the same time felt so little apprehension of being dislodged, that they fearlessly amused themselves with the pastime of the chase under the very walls of their enemy's great City.

The toils and privations of the siege proved fatal to many of the French leaders, and the Abbots Hugh and Gauzelin were among those who fell victims to their generous self-devotion. Eudes, now left singly in command, and finding that the messengers whom he despatched to the Emperor for assistance returned with cold or evasive answers, resolved on a bold attempt at a personal interview. He proceeded accordingly to Metz, in which City Charles had assembled a considerable force, which he had neither the courage nor the activity to lead to the relief of his suffering People. The return of the gallant soldier was a far more difficult enterprise than his outbreak from the besieged city; for the Northmen, warned of his approach, had placed numerous sentinels before its gates: Eudes commended himself to God, unhesitatingly clapped spurs to his horse, galloped through the opposing ranks, and gained the City unharmed. The spirit of the times attributed a success, really due to the undaunted heroism of the individual, to the special intervention of Providence by a miracle in his behalf.

The Emperor meantime advanced by tardy marches; and willing, if possible, to avoid exposure of his own person, he despatched the Duke of Saxony with an advanced guard, to reconnoitre from the heights of Montmartre.‡ At the edge of one of the trenches of the besiegers the Duke's horse stumbled and threw him, and before he could recover himself he was pierced by a thousand swords of Northmen, rejoicing in vengeance upon a Chief who had been employed in the perfidious murder of Godfrey.† Far different was the feeling of the pusillanimous Charles when he heard of the loss of his devoted servant; he advanced indeed, but it was to negotiate, not to punish by the sword. The Northmen concentrated their forces on the left bank of the Seine, while the Emperor entered Paris by the right; and from the Palace of the chief City of his great Kingdom he tendered 7000 pounds weight of silver, to induce his foes, not to abandon the war, but to change the scene of hostilities; to retire from the face of an Imperial army which dared not fight, and to transport themselves to Burgundy, an untouched Country, in which not a single armed man could be mustered to oppose their progress.

Pursued by the murmurs and the contempt of the French People, Charles, after signing this ignominious

suite, accompanying it with a terrific imprecation in case he should ever renew intercourse with "his concubines," Valdrade; and the death of the King and the greater part of his attendants within eight days from the denouncement of this curse, was esteemed a sure proof of the vengeance of Heaven upon their criminal intentions. Hugh, the issue of Lothaire and Valdrade, was pronounced illegitimate.

* Godfrey was the first Northman Chief who received a grant of land in France from Charles the Bald in 850.

† Grand-grandfather of Hugh Capet, the founder of the IIIrd French Dynasty.

* Various derived from *Mons Martin* or *Mons Montmartre*; as the *Hamstead* and *Highgate* of Paris, undoubtedly on its summit.

† Sismondi, iii. 266. Velly ascribes the commission of that great crime to a tool of the Emperor, whom he names *Kemard*, i. 346.

Carlomagno
Karolus
Fons
A. D.
814
to
A. D.
888

Chiroir
action of
Count
Eudes.

Disgraceful
negotiation
by the Emperor.

History. Treaty, hastened back to Germany; and in that Country a fresh act of weakness precipitated his fall. His authority had long been chiefly wielded by the hands of a Minister, Liutward, Bishop of Verceil. Whether that Ecclesiastic really abused the great power intrusted to him, or whether his overthrow was a necessary prelude to that of his master, is not now to be determined; but he was publicly accused of various acts of tyranny and extortion, and with the profession of some unintelligible Heresy. To those charges was added another, personally affecting the Emperor in a point on which he was peculiarly sensitive; and Liutward was denounced as maintaining a criminal intercourse with the Empress Richarde. The Prelate, stripped of his high dignities, was exiled to his Diocese; and the Empress, maintaining her innocence before a Diet of the Nobles, offered to avouch it either by her Champion in the lists, or by the perilous Ordeal of the red-hot ploughshares. Such appeals to the judgment of Heaven were little needed; for Richarde had yet another evidence in store, which not only established her own purity, but which also covered her husband with ridicule for his credulous imbecility. Ten years had elapsed since their marriage, yet the Empress was still a virgin. Every hour increased popular discontent by some new betrayal of the faith of Charles. In his youth, in order to excite remorse for some acts of filial disobedience, (for the sons of Louis the German more than once rebelled against their father,) the Ecclesiastics persuaded him that he was possessed by an Evil Spirit; and the wretched victim of that pious fraud solicited and underwent, in the presence of the assembled Barons and Prelates of the Empire, the solemn and impressive ceremonies framed for the exorcism of an energumen. The remembrance of those days of suffering was never effaced from his imagination; and at length he shut himself up from public view within the walls of his Palace, and became engrossed by a fearful belief that he was again subjected to the immediate influence of the Devil.* His disorder was heightened by deep incisions in the head, injudiciously made by the surgeons with the hope of relieving him from tormenting pain with which that part was affected.

Notes This failure of intellect determined the German Nobles to commit themselves at once to the rule of some

more efficient Sovereign. The legitimate race of Charlemagne was extinct with their present monarch, by the reputed bastardy of Charles the Simple, whose extreme youth indeed, even under other circumstances, rendered him ineligible. Of the many pretenders to connection with the founder of the Carolingian line, Arnulf, a natural son of Carloman, King of Bavaria, had secured the most numerous partisans. At a Diet convoked in the name of the Emperor, at Tribur, between Mentz and Oppenheim, Arnulf appeared with a powerful band of Slavonian followers; the ex-minister, Liutward, declared in his favour; the Saxons, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, and the Suabians, successively proffered their support; and in three days the whole Court of Charles transferred itself to his now avowed successor. Chased from his Palace, abandoned by every domestic of his establishment, shattered in bodily health, and approaching the utmost verge of mental derangement, the miserable outcast wandered forth, houseless and penniless, to seek even for food. He was received with tenderness and hospitality by Liutbert, Bishop of Mayence; who not only sheltered and supported his fallen master, but with a rare exercise of disinterestedness, pleaded also for him with the Prince by whom he had been supplanted. Bearing with him a piece of the true Cross, upon which Arnulf had formerly sworn allegiance, Liutbert petitioned for some small allowance, by which the dethroned Emperor might be rescued from destitution. The scanty revenues which in consequence were assigned to him in Suabia were not long enjoyed. Charles died in three months after his retirement to the Chateau of Indings in that Country; and if we accorded that belief to the *Annals of Fulda*, which they no doubt received at the time of their compilation and long afterwards, we should admit that at the moment at which the Empire, built up by Charlemagne, was dissolved in the person of his great grandson, the heavens opened for the expiring Monarch, "in order to show that he whom men had chiefly despised, was the Sovereign of all others most acceptable to the Deity."*

Carlovingian Empire.

From A. D. 814. to A. D. 888. Arnulf, Emperor.

Death of Charles the Fat, and dismemberment of the Carolingian Empire.

A. D. 888.

* *Annales Fuldenes*, p. 51. It would almost seem as if Velly, a fertile creator of Herons, had been inoculated by the Monkish spirit in his delineation of Charles le gros. After an impartial recital of his courtiers, unkindly, and usually weaknesses, he sums up, *C'étoit en effet un très-bon Prince, juste, dévot, même jusqu'à l'exercer, qui n'avoit d'autre vice que celui d'être au dessus de son rang et de sa puissance.*

* *Annal. Bertin.* ad ann. 883. It is most probable that Charles was epileptic.

ITALY.

FRANCE.

GERMANY.

THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

A. D.

- 812 Death of Pepin, eldest son of Charlemagne.
814 Death of Charlemagne. Accession of Louis the Debonnaire,
817 who divides the Empire among his Sons.

820 They make war against him.

833 Deposition of Louis the Debonnaire, followed by his Restoration and Death.

840 Lothaire, Emperor.

841 Civil War with his brothers. Battle of Fontenay.

843 Treaty of Partition at Verdun. France assigned to Charles the Bald, Germany to Louis, Italy, Switzerland,
and the Rhenish Provinces to Lothaire.

849 Defiance of Rome against the Saracens by Pope Leo IV.

855 Louis II, Emperor, and King of Italy.

864 Re-conquest of the Spanish March by the Saracens. 873 Continued descents of the Northmen.

875 Charles the Bald, Emperor, and King of France.

877 Loss the *Sicamores*. 878 Louis III., and Carloman, joint Kings of France. 882 Death of Louis III. Carloman singly.
879 Commencement of the Kingdom of Cisjuran Burgundy under Boson, Count of Provence.

884 Charles the Fat, Emperor, reunites the whole Empire.

888 He is deposed.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

A. D.

888 Eudes, King.
896 Charles the Simple, grandson
of Charles the Bald.

911 Settlement of the Northmen,
or Normans in Neustria,
hence called Normandy.

923 Robert.
923 Rodolph.

926 Louis IV.

934 Lothaire.

986 Louis V. (le Fainéant)

III. THE CAPEVIAN DYNASTY OF FRANCE.

987 Hugh Capet, King of France.

996 Robert the Wise.

1031 Henry I.

1060 Philip I.

1066 The Norman Conquest of England.

A. D.

889 Arnulf, (an illegitimate descendant of Charlemagne.)
King of Germany.
900 Louis III.

911 Extinction of the Carolingian Dynasty in Germany.
Count of Francoonia elected King.

919 Henry I., or the Fowler

934 Inflicts a great defeat on the
Hungarians.
936 Otto I.

955 Finally repels the Hungarians.

961 THE IMPERIAL TITLES RESTORED
IN HIS PERSON.

973 Otto II.

983 Otto III.

1003 Henry II.

1024 Conrad II., the Salic.

1032 Acquires the Kingdom of Bur-
gundy (Cisjuran and Trans-
juran united 996) by bequest.
1039 Henry III.

1056 Henry IV.

1059 Commencement of the great struggle between the Em-
pire and Papacy for Ecclesiastical Investitures.

1076 The Emperor excommunicated.
1078 Rejection of Rodolph of Barria, supported by the
Gregory VII.
1080 Death of Rodolph.

1095 Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Brabant, undertakes
THE FIRST CRUSADE.

A. D.

889 Berenger, Duke of Friuli, (descended from Charle-
magne.) King of Italy.
900 Civil Wars, aggravated by the incursions of the Hun-
garians.

915 Berenger, Emperor.

924 His murder.

926 Hugo, Count of Provence, King; rules the Kingdom of
Cisjuran Burgundy to Rodolph, King of Transjuran
Burgundy; (the latter founded in 923.) deposed and
succeeded by his son.

938 Lothaire.

940 Berenger II.

941 Invasion of Italy by Otto, King of Germany.

961 Otto the Great, Emperor, and King of Italy.

973 Otto II....

983 Otto III.... Emperor of Germany and Kings of
Italy.

1. The Lombard Cities gradually inde-
pendent.

1002 Henry II....

2. Rising Power of Venice, Genoa, and
Pisa.

1024 Conrad II....

3. Settlement of the Normans (a. d.
1066) in Southern Italy.

1039 Henry III....

1059 Conquest of Sardinia and Corsica from the Saracens, by
the Pisans and Genoese.

1056 Henry IV., Emperor and King.

1059 Commencement of the great struggle between the Em-
pire and Papacy for Ecclesiastical Investitures.

1073 Accession of Pope Gregory VII.

1077 Subjection of the excommunicated Emperor (Henry IV.)
who, however,

1080 Captures Rome, and sets up an anti-Pope.
The Norman Conquest of Naples completed; and in
1090 that of Sicily from the Saracens.

1085 Pope Urban II.

1095 Promotes THE FIRST CRUSADE.

1095 The Council of Clermont. Hugh, brother of Philip I,
joins THE FIRST CRUSADE.

HOUSE OF SALICUS.

HOUSE OF FRANCOVIA.

HISTORY.

in the Person of Charlemagne, to the Commencement of the Crusades.

—1095.

SPAIN.

A. D. Alfonso II., King of Asturias, (since A. D. 791.)
Alfonso, Khalif of Cordova, (since A. D. 796.)

Abdallah II., Khalif of Cordova.

Ramiro,.....

Kings of Asturias.

Ordoño I.,.....

Muhammad, Khalif of Cordova.

Alfonso II., (the Great) King of Asturias.
Reconquest of the Spanish March from France by the Saracens.

Muhammad,.....

Khalifs of Cordova.

Abdallah IV.,.....

Garcia, King of Asturias.

Abdallah III., Khalif of Cordova.

Ordoño II.,.....

Fraila II.,.....

Alfonso IV.,.....

Ramiro II.,.....

Kings of Leon and Asturias.

Ordoño III.,.....

Ordoño IV.,.....

Sancho I.,.....

Abel Alkali, Khalif of Cordova.

Ramiro III., King of Leon and Asturias.

Abmasser, Khalif of Cordova.

Bernardo II.,.....

Kings of Leon and Asturias.

Alfonso V.,.....

Boncho the Great, King of Navarre and Aragon.

Abdallah III.,.....

Abdallah IV.,.....

Muhammad Alkhalil.

Decline of the Saracen Power in Spain.

Ordoño II.,.....

Bernardo III., King of Leon and Asturias.

Ramiro I., King of Aragon.

Wardward the Great, King of Castile, acquires Leon by marriage.
Extinction of the Dynasty of the Omeyyads Khalifs in Spain.

Sancho II., King of Leon and Castile.

Sancho II., King of Aragon.

Alfonso VI., King of Leon and Castile.

Toledo recovered from the Saracens.

Henriques, Count of Portugal.

Alfonso, King of Morocco, seizes all Saracen Spain under his vassals.

Alfonso I., King of Aragon.

ENGLAND.

A. D. Egbert, King of Wessex.

Soldiers the Welsh Britons.

Extends his supremacy over all South Britain, and becomes Eighth Bretwalda of the Anglo-Saxons.

The regular invasions of the Northmen, or Danes, commence, but are repelled by Egbert.

Ethelwolf succeeds him.

Kenneth II. King of the Scots, subjugates the Picts, and rules over North Britain.

Great defeat of the Danes by Ethelwolf.

Ethelbold,.....

Ethelbert,.....

Ethelred,.....

Alfred the Great.

England overrun by the Danes, and Alfred compelled to fly in concealment, until he equally defeats them, and recovers his dominions.

Publication of his Laws. He finally repels a fresh invasion of Danish invaders.

Edward the Elder succeeds him.

Defeats the Northumbrian Danes.

And reduces both them and their countrymen in East Angles under his scepter.

Aethelstan, FIRST KING OF ALL ENGLAND.

Inflicts a great defeat on the combined Danes, Scots, and Britons, at Brunanburgh.

Edmund I.

Ethelred. The Danes of Northumbria finally subdued.

Edwin.

Edgar. Scotland acknowledges his supremacy.

Edward II. (the Martyr.)

Ethelred II. The Danish invasions begin now.

England tributary to the Danes.

Great invasion of the Island by the Danes under the King of Denmark and Norway.

General massacre of the Danes in England.

Revenge by Swedes, King of Denmark, who

Conquers the Kingdom.

Edmund II. (Ironside) succeeds his father Ethelred, on his death.

Cnut, (the Great), King of Denmark and England.

Harold (Hardfot),.....

Cnut II. (Hardfot),.....

Edward III. (the Confessor.)

Malcolm Canmore recovers the throne of Scotland from the usurper Macbeth.

Harold II. succeeds the Confessor, and is slain in the Battle of Hastings, which produces

THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.

William I. (the Conqueror), King of England.

Seizes Scotland.

Donaldegus King begins.

William II. (Rufus).

Inherits his brother Robert's State of Normandy, and obtains possession of that Duchy by mortgage from Robert, who joins THE FIRST CRUSADE

THE EASTERN AND MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRES.

A. D. Irene, Empress of the East (since A. D. 797.) Haroun Alrashed, Khalif of the East (since A. D. 786.)

Nicephorus I., Emperor of the East, defeated by Haroun Alrashed. 808 Alamin, Khan of the East.

Stavros Michael I., 813 Leo V., Emperors.

Alaminus, Khalif.

Michael II., Emperor. 828 Constantinople besieged by the Saracens.

Theophilus, Emperor, defeated by the Saracens.

Motassin, 841 Haroun Wasir, Khalifa.

Michael III., Emperor.

Motawakkil, 861 Mustassir, 862 Motas, 865 Motas, Khalifa.

Basil I., Emperor, FORTWEN OF THE MACEDONIAN LINE.

Egypt revolts from the Khalifs.

Mutaid, 870 Mutammed, Khalifa.

Leo VI., Emperor. 892 Mutaid, Khalif.

Southern Italy subject to the Eastern Empire.

Mustafa, 907 Mostader, Khalifa.

Alexander, Constantine VII., (912) Romanus I., Christopher, Stephen, Constantine VIII., Emperors.

Rise of the Fatimid Dynasty of Khalifs in Egypt, Western Africa, and Syria.

Cahir, 803 Alradi, Khalifa.

Extinction of the power of the Abbasides Khalifs. DISMEMBERMENT OF THE KHALIFATE OF THE EAST.

Romanus II., 863 Nicephorus II., Emperors.

Joh. Zimenes, Emperor. The Empire triumphant over the Saracens, Bulgarians, and Russians.

Basil II. and Constantine IX., joint Emperors.

Rise of the Turkish Dynasty of the Gaznavides.

Basil II. finally reduces the Kingdom of Bulgaria.

Constantine IX., sole Emperor.

Romanus III., 1034 Michael IV., Emperor.

Michael V., (Zoe and Theodora), 1042 Constantine X., Emperors.

Conquest of Persia by the Turks.

Theodora II., Empress of the East, THE LAST OF THE MACEDONIAN LINE.

Michael VI., 1057 Isaac Comnenus, 1059 Constantine XI., Ducas, Emperors.

Jerusalem captured by the Turks from the Saracens.

Romanus IV., Emperor, defeated and made prisoner (A. D. 1071) by the Turks.

Michael VII., Andronicus I., Constantine XII., Emperors.

Nicephorus III., Emperor, 1080 Southern Italy wrested from the Empire by the Normans.

Albanus Comnenus, Emperor.

Conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks, who fixed the Subjunct Kingdom of Rum.

Under the Reign of Alexius Comnenus

THE FIRST CRUSADE for the recovery of Jerusalem.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXV.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH—OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS—AND OF THE HERESIES IN THE IXth CENTURY.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH.

History.
External
state of the
Church.

THE external state of the Church in the IXth Century derived its complexion chiefly from the character of Charlemagne. The zeal of that great Monarch for the propagation of Christianity was ardent, but his piety was debased by violence and superstition; and thus, although the propagation of the Gospel during his reign was extensive, yet it was too frequently effected by force rather than by argument. His son, Louis the Debonnaire, inherited many of the faults of his father without his counterbalancing virtues or talents. Yet the missionaries who were sent to instruct and convert the Barbarous nations in the North of Europe, displayed a conduct worthy of the Religion which they professed. Although the system of Religion which they taught was corrupted, yet their mode of inculcating it was by ratiocination, enforced in most instances by exemplary living.

Conversion
of Denmark
and Swe-
den.

Under the reign of Louis the Debonnaire, Christianity was established among the inhabitants of Sweden and Denmark. We have seen that Harald, the expelled Sovereign of Jutland, purchased the Emperor's assistance for his restoration by the adoption of Christianity.* On his return to his native Country he was accompanied by two Priests, named Ansgar and Authbert, the former a Monk of Corby, in Westphalia, the latter belonging to a Monastery of the same name in France. Those missionaries preached the Gospel with remarkable success, till after the expiration of two years death removed Authbert, and Ansgar pursued his labours alone. The loss which he had sustained did not repress his activity; he travelled into Sweden, where he was rewarded by the unexampled success of his ministry, and after a residence of three years there returned to Germany, where he was honourably received by Louis, and was created Archbishop of Hamburg. This was rather a post of danger than of profit, and the perils in which it involved Ansgar were truly formidable. His toils were incessant, and they ended but with his life, after having supported them through a long period of more than thirty years.†

Other con-
versions.

The Masians, Bulgarians, and Gazarians, and after them the Bohemians and Moravians, were converted by Methodius and Cyril, two Greek Monks under the patronage of the Empress Theodora. A solemn embassy was sent to Constantinople by certain Provinces of Dalmatia, declaring their resolution of submitting to the Grecian Empire, and of embracing the Christian Faith. The warlike nation of the Russians also was converted in this Century, and a Church was established by the

Greek Patriarch Ignatius, under the government of an Archbishop.*

Of the
Christian
Church.

These accessions to Christendom were by no means a compensation for the calamities of the Church under the growing power of the Saracens, who were now masters of Asia, with the exception of a few Provinces, and were extending their conquests in Europe also. In the East a large number of Christians professed the Religion of their conquerors, in order that they might retain their possessions. In the West the Christians were exposed to the fury of those Barbarous nations which issued from the North.

Proces-
sions of
Gamb-
sity.

The state of Learning in this Century was by no State of means so depressed as might be expected from the unsettled condition both of the Eastern and Western Empire. There was now a twilight which rendered the darkness of the succeeding Age more deep by contrast. The liberality of the Emperors, and the generous patronage of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, particularly of Photius, rendered the Capital of the East the residence of a certain number of learned men. Eloquence, Poetry, and History were cultivated there, and the study of Philosophy, which had been long neglected, was revived under the Emperors Theophilus and Michael. At the head of the men of Science was Leo, surnamed the Wise, an Ecclesiastic of extraordinary erudition, who was afterwards Bishop of Thessalonica.

Not only among the Christians did Learning and Science partially revive, but the Arabians also were excited to literary pursuits, by the example of Almansur or Abdallah, the celebrated Khalif of Egypt.‡ He erected Schools at Bagdad, Cupa, and Basora; drew to his Court the learned of all Countries by his extraordinary liberality; and caused translations of the best Grecian Works to be made into the Arabic Language.

Abdallah

In that part of Europe which was subject to the dominion of the Franks, there was not less ardour for the advancement of Learning. The first successors of Charlemagne imitated the zeal of their ancestor for the encouragement of Literature and Science. Louis the Debonnaire formed and executed several designs for their promotion, and Charles the Bald was the rival of Abdallah himself. His brother Lothaire endeavoured to revive Science in Italy, but his efforts were frustrated through the corruption and ignorance of the Clergy.

The Car-
olingian
Rena.

The degeneracy of the Sacred Order in this Century arose to an enormous height, and their licentiousness

Depravity
of the
Clergy

* Page 429.

† An account of this Prelate is to be found in Fabricius, *Bib. Med. Aet.*, tom. i. p. 292.

* Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sec. ix. In this Century Christianity was propagated in India by the Nestorians. Mar. Thomas, a Syrian, established Churches on the coast of Malabar.

† For an account of this Khalif, see D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient. Art. Meman.*

History. and impiety have called forth the just censure of all impartial Historians. Their ignorance was not less deplorable; many of them were unable to write or even to read, and most were incapable of explaining their corrupted Faith with any tolerable degree of perspicuity. In the East, the favour of the Court was the only step to the high and influential dignity of Patriarch of Constantinople; and even after its attainment, nothing was more common than to see a Patriarch degraded by an Imperial decree. The Roman Pontiffs in this Century obtained from Charles the Bald, the important privilege of an election by the suffrages of the Clergy without the Imperial ratification; yet this mode of election was not more pure than that of the Eastern Patriarch. The election was rarely conducted with any observance of law, order, or decency, and was generally followed by Civil tumult and commotion.

Few of the Prelates who were raised to the Western Pontificate, could boast either of Learning or virtue; not a few are known only by their flagitious actions; but the universal aim of the Heads of the Western Church, appears to have been an extension of their authority wherever it was not acknowledged, or an enlargement of their power over those Churches which owned their supremacy.

It was in this Century that the elevation of a woman to the Pontifical throne, already related by us,* is said to have taken place, which, if true, must have interrupted the regular succession of Bishops in the See of Rome. During five Centuries succeeding this event it was almost generally believed, nor was it until after the Reformation that it became questioned. The arguments of Bayle, who rejects the story, and to which we have already referred, have acquired greater credence than those of Spanheim,† who maintains it; and the general opinion seems to be that the testimonies by which the fact is supported are insufficient, and that it is inconsistent with the most accurate chronological computations.

It is universally acknowledged, even by the advocates of the Papacy, that from the time of Louis the Debonnaire, the Ecclesiastical state of Europe underwent a complete change. The European Sovereigns were divested of their supreme authority in the Religious polity of their respective Kingdoms; the power of the Bishops was greatly restrained; and the authority of Councils began to decline. The Roman Pontiffs succeeded in persuading the World, that the Bishop of Rome was constituted by Jesus Christ the supreme legislator and judge of the Universal Church.

In order to establish this usurpation, a variety of memorials, deeds, and other records were forged, in order that it might appear as if the Roman Pontiffs enjoyed, in the first Ages of the Church, the privileges which they now so arrogantly claimed. Among these forgeries the *Decretals Epistolæ* chiefly deserve to be mentioned. They were said to have been written by the Pontiffs of the primitive times, although they were actually the production of some obscure and later writer, who, in order to obtain respect for his inventions, published them under the name and authority of Isidore, Bishop of Seville in the VIIIth Century. The Prelates, as a token of humility, frequently added to their names the word *Peccator*, a Sinner; and some ignorant transcriber ludicrously changed this word in the title of the *Decretals* to *Mercator*; so that these forgeries have always passed as the collection of a writer who is no more than imaginary, one Isidorus Mercator.*

Yet even in the Latin Church, there were men of prudence and sagacity who penetrated these frauds. The Gallican Bishops distinguished themselves by the spirit with which they opposed the spurious *Decretals*; but the pertinacity of the Pontiffs, and particularly of Nicholas I., subdued their opposition, and their defeat struck terror into all who were disposed to support the expiring liberties of the Church.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the IXth Century.

Increasing power of the Papacy.

The forged Decretals.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE IXth CENTURY.

GREEK WRITERS.

PHOTIUS, DIED CIRCEIT A. D. 886.
IGNATIUS, DIED A. D. 878, AGED 80.
NICEPHORUS, DIED A. D. 828.
LEO VI., REIGNED FROM A. D. 886 TO A. D. 911.

LATIN WRITERS.

RABANUS MAURUS, DIED A. D. 856.
AGOBARD, DIED A. D. 840.
CLAUDIUS, DIED A. D. 839.
EGINHARD, DIED CIRCEIT A. D. 840.
GILBAS, FLOR. A. D. 820 ET DEINCEPS.
GOTTESCHALK, DIED CIRCEIT A. D. 870
HINCMAR, DIED A. D. 882.
PARCHASIUS RADBERT, DIED A. D. 851.
BERTRAMN, OR RATHMANN, DIED CIRCEIT A. D. 870.
HAYMO, OR AIMO, DIED A. D. 853.
WALAFRIDUS STRABO, OR STRABUR, DIED A. D. 849.

PHOTIUS.

DIED CIRCEIT A. D. 886.

The IXth Century is styled the Photian Age, and therefore this illustrious Patriarch of Constantinople claims the first place in the catalogue of learned men. His extraction was of the highest order, and his connections enabled him to attain the chief dignities in the State at an early period of life. His elevation to the Patriarchate of Constantinople was so far from being solicited, that it was accepted with the greatest reluctance, since the See was vacant by the deposition of Ignatius, and he consequently incurred the resentment of a formidable party. That party, on the accession of the Emperor Basil,† had sufficient influence to procure the deposition of Photius and the condemnation of his doctrines; he was compelled to submit to a rigorous exile, deprived of the consolation of his friends, and what was more pain-

* Page 436.

† Spanheim, *Exercitationes de Populi Fœderis*. Op. tom. ii. lib. v. The Dissertation of Spanheim is well worthy attention, since he has considered the objections of Blondel, who rejects the story. Blondel was not a member of the Church of Rome, but a zealous Presbyterian.

* Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 21.

† For the Civil History of the Eastern Empire, which will elucidate this and other transactions of the Greek Church during the IXth Century, the reader must turn to a subsequent Chapter, which contains the Annals of that Empire, hitherto not detailed beyond the year 755.

History. to the Court of the Emperor Lothaire. A more copious account of him, and also of his antagonist, will be found under the next division of this Chapter.

HINCMAR.

DIED A. D. 882.

This turbulent Prelate, but able Theologian, was Archbishop of Rheims. His Works are numerous, and although mostly controversial, they throw a great light on the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of the times in which he lived. They have been collected by Père Sirmond, the learned Jesuit,* and published in two vols. folio, Paris, 1647.

Hist. Lit. de France, tom. v. p. 416. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 33, 34.

PASCHASIUS RADBERT.

DIED A. D. 851.

This name is famous in the controversy concerning the Real Presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist, under which head it will be noticed. He was first a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of the Monastery of Corby, and was consequently the Ecclesiastical superior of

BERTRAMN, OR RATRAMN,

DIED CIRCA A. D. 890,

whose Work on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper

was composed by order of Charles the Bald, in opposition to those who asserted the Real Presence. Several editions of this Treatise have appeared, and among them two in England of the dates of 1686 and 1688. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. Radbert, p. 32. Bertramn, p. 27.

Heretics of the IXth Century.

HAYMO, OR AIMO,

DIED A. D. 853,

was a pupil of Alcuin, a fellow-student and friend of Rabinius Maurus, and afterwards Bishop of Halberstadt. He wrote *Commentaries on the Psalms*, on the Prophet Isaiah, on the *Epistles of Saint Paul*, and on the *Apocalypse*, and also a *Summary of the Ecclesiastical History*. He took a part in the controversy on the Real Presence. It is proper to observe that a great part of the writings commonly attributed to Haymo, were the production of Remi, or Remigius of Auxerre.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 28.

WALAFRIDUS STRABO, OR STRABUS.

DIED A. D. 849.

The reputation of this author depends on his *Poems*, his *Lives of the Saints*, and his *Glosses* on some difficult parts of Scripture.

Hist. Lit. de France, tom. v. p. 544. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 31.

HERESIES OF THE IXth CENTURY.

THE PAULICIANS.

This Sect was confined almost entirely to Armenia. It is said to have been formed by two brothers, Paul and John, from the former of whom it derived its name; though others attribute its origin to another Paul who lived under the reign of Justinian II.† It was censured by several Imperial edicts, and had almost disappeared, when it was revived by a zealot, called Constantine, who lived in the VIIIth Century. The Emperor Constant and his successors treated this Sect with the greatest rigour, but they were unable to suppress it. Its followers displayed the most unshaken fortitude under the barbarities exercised towards them.

In the commencement of this Century, the external condition of the Paulicians was altered, since the Emperor Nicephorus favoured them in a particular manner, and not only restored their freedom of worship, but conferred on them several Religious privileges. Yet this temporary freedom from Persecution was of short duration. Under the reigns of Michael Curopalates and Leo the Armenian, a severe inquisition was made after the Paulicians throughout all the Provinces of the Grecian Empire, and death was inflicted on all such as refused to abjure their tenets. But Persecution had a different effect on them now than formerly, for it excited vindictive desperation. Thomas, Bishop of New Cæsarea, and several of the Imperial magistrates

established in Armenia, fell victims to their fury, and after the commission of numerous outrages, they fled for refuge to the Countries under Saracenic dominion, and thence made incursions on the neighbouring Provinces of the Empire.

A short interval of tranquillity appears to have succeeded, until the Empress Theodora issued a Decree, leaving to the Paulicians the alternative of renouncing their opinions, or of being exterminated by fire and sword. This Decree was executed with the most unrelenting cruelty; for the Imperial officers after having seized the property of above one hundred thousand Paulicians, inflicted on their possessors the most excruciating kinds of death. Those who escaped fled, like their predecessors, for protection to the Saracens, who received them with kindness, and permitted them to build for their residence a city called Tibrica. In that settlement, they formed a League with their protectors, and declared against the Greeks a war, which was carried on with the utmost fury.* Many of the Grecian Provinces felt the effects of the sanguinary contest, and exhibited the most appalling scenes of desolation and misery. Wherever the arms of the Paulicians were victorious, their opinions took root, and they propagated their tenets with great rapidity among the fierce Bulgarians.

What those tenets were, has been a matter of dispute. By the Greeks this Sect was reckoned a branch of the Manichæans, yet, according to Photius, the Paulicians expressed the greatest abhorrence of some of the

Third persecution by Theodora.

Protected by the Saracens. Declare war against the Greeks.

Propagate their doctrines.

* They chose for their chief, Carbeas, a man of great valour. Phot. lib. i.

* Who has passed on them the following encomium: *In iis nihil esse quod vitiosum sit, et corruptum, et in quo præstans antiorum judicium cum acriter non placeat.*

† Phot. lib. i. contra Manichæos.

History.

Manichean doctrines. They had not, like the Manicheans, an Ecclesiastical Polity, administered by Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. They had no Sacred Order, distinguished from the People, in their Religious Assemblies. They had no Councils nor Synods. They had two sorts of Teachers, *Sunecdemi* and *Notarii*, among whom there was a perfect equality. The only distinction which attended their Religious profession was, that they changed their lay name, and adopted some scriptural appellation. The Paulicians received all the Books of the New Testament, except the two Epistles of St. Peter; and in this respect, also, they widely differed from the Manicheans. In their interpretations of Scripture, however, they used great latitude, explaining it in the most fanciful manner, and perverting its literal sense whenever it was opposed to their favourite opinions. They regarded with a peculiar veneration, certain Epistles of Sergius, the most eminent teacher of their Sect. None of the Greek Writers have given a clear view of the whole Paulician system, but have contented themselves with noticing certain prominent marks of their Heresy. Their chief errors are represented to have been these: 1. They denied that this lower and visible World is the production of the Supreme Being; and they distinguished between the Creator of the World, and the Most High God. 2. They treated contemptuously the Virgin Mary, by which, perhaps, is only meant, that they refused to render adoration or divine honour to her. 3. They refused to celebrate the holy institution of the Lord's Supper. 4. They loaded the Cross of Christ with contempt or reproach, which may be explained in the same manner as their contemptuous treatment of the Virgin Mary. 5. They rejected, after the example of the Gnostics, the Books of the Old Testament, and looked on their Writers as inspired by the Creator of the World, not by the Supreme God. 5. They excluded Presbyters and Elders from all part in the administration of the Church. By this must be understood that they refused to call their Doctors by the name of Presbyters, the latter being a word of Jewish extraction.*

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING IMAGES.

After the banishment of the Empress Irene, the contests between the Iconoclasts and Iconoduli were renewed; and during the former part of this Century the success of the contending parties was various and doubtful. The Emperor Nicephorus deprived the favourers of Image-worship of the power of persecuting their antagonists; but his successor, Michael Chropalates, espoused their cause. On the accession of Leo the Armenian a Council assembled at Constantinople, which abolished the Decrees of the Nicene Council, relating to the use and worship of Images; but without enacting any penal laws against their worshippers. Such was the moderation of that Emperor, that he removed the Patriarch Nicephorus from his office, on account of his violence against the Iconoclasts. Michael, surnamed Balbus, and Theophilus were more decided in their hostility against the worship of Images.

But when Theodora was intrusted with the Regency during the minority of her son, the scene was changed. A Council, which she was prevailed on to call at Constantinople, restored the decrees of the II^d Nicene Council to their ancient authority. Thus the cause of Idolatry triumphed throughout the East; and the Council held at Constantinople under the Patriarch Photius, which is reckoned by the Greeks the VIIIth General Council, was the consummation of the victory. The superstitious Greeks esteemed that Council as the effect of a divine interposition, and instituted an anniversary in its commemoration, which was called the Feast of Orthodoxy.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman Pontiffs, Image-worship was not established in the Western Church without many struggles. The Iconoclasts were powerfully supported by Claudius, Bishop of Turin. That Prelate, immediately after his promotion to the Episcopal dignity, commanded all Images, in which even the Cross was included, to be cast out of the churches and committed to the flames. He defended his proceedings in a Treatise, in which he declared against the use as well as the worship of Images. He maintained his ground against a host of adversaries, and with so great ability, that the City of Turin and its Diocese, even after his death, were comparatively free from the contagion of Image-worship, which now overspread the rest of Europe.†

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE CORPORAL PRESENCE IN THE EUCHARIST.

This controversy which still divides the Church, and is one of the chief marks of distinction between the Romanists and Reformed, had its origin in the IXth Century. It arose out of the controversy on Image-worship, and was founded on a dogma of the Synod at Constantinople held under Copronymus, which a Synod held at Nice afterwards expressly contradicted. The distinction was kept up by Johannes Damascenus, who maintained that a change took place in the symbols of Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, through the intervention of the Holy Spirit. Those who adhered to the decision of the Council of Copronymus, were stigmatized by their adversaries as Heretics under the name of *Stercoranists*.

But in this Century, the controversy assumed a more determinate shape, in consequence of the writings of Pascasius Radbert.‡ He composed a Treatise, concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, which he afterwards revised, augmented, and presented to the Emperor Charles the Bald. The sum of his doctrine may be comprised in the following propositions: 1. That the substance of the Bread and Wine after consecration is changed into the real Body and Blood of Christ, the same which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered on the Cross, and rose from the sepulchre. 2. That of the Bread and Wine nothing remains but the outward figure under which the Body and Blood of Christ are really and locally present. 3. That all receivers partake of the Body and Blood of

Council at Constantinople.

A. D. 814.

* The principal authors who have given an account of the Paulicians are Phot. lib. 1, *contra Manichæos*, Petr. Siculus, *Hist. Monach.* and among modern writers, Bayle.

† The principal Writer on this subject is Fred. Spanheim, *Hist. Imaginum Opera*, tom. ii. from whom the above account is abridged.

‡ The life and writings of this Polemic are treated at large by Mabillon, *Act. Sanctior. Ord. Benedict.*

Hermits of the IXth Century.

Another Council at Constantinople.

A. D.

842.

Council at Constantinople under the Patriarch Photius.

A. D.

842.

The progress of Image-worship in the West.

Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

Photius.

A. D.

842.

The progress of Image-worship in the West.

Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

Photius.

A. D.

842.

The progress of Image-worship in the West.

Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

Photius.

A. D.

842.

The progress of Image-worship in the West.

Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

Photius.

A. D.

842.

The progress of Image-worship in the West.

Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

Photius.

A. D.

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The progress of Image-worship in the West.

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Photius.

A. D.

842.

The progress of Image-worship in the West.

Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

Photius.

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Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

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The progress of Image-worship in the West.

Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

Photius.

A. D.

842.

The progress of Image-worship in the West.

Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

Photius.

A. D.

842.

The progress of Image-worship in the West.

Claudius, Bishop of Turin.

Photius.

History. Christ, those who receive worthily to their benefit, those who receive unworthily to their condemnation. 4. That there is a necessity for a daily sacrifice of Christ, because the sins of mankind are committed daily.

Scotus and Ratramm. These doctrines, and especially that contained in the first proposition, called forth against Radbert a number of opponents. Two of these, Johannes Scotus and Ratramm, were selected by Charles the Bald to draw up a clear exposition of the doctrine which Radbert had so grossly corrupted. The treatise of Scotus has perished, that of Ratramm has been preserved, and has been the armoury whence the Reformed have since taken many of their weapons, in their warfare against the errors of the Church of Rome.*

In this controversy the disputants fell into the two errors commonly incident to Polemics; they expressed their own opinions without sufficient perspicuity; and they charged on each other the most absurd and dangerous tenets. Those who embraced the system of Radbert alleged that the doctrine of their opponents implied, that the body of Christ was digested in the stomach, and was ejected with the other excrements. This consequence was readily retorted by the *Stercoranista*, who charged their adversaries with being *Theophasites*. The latter accusation, in contradiction to Christian charity, has survived the darker Ages, and has not expired even with the XVIIIth Century.

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING PREDESTINATION.

In origi. The last-mentioned controversy has divided only the Reformed Churches from the Church of Rome; but that on Predestination has divided the Reformed Churches among themselves. Its origin is universally attributed to Gottschalc, who had entered against his consent into the Monastery of Fulda, whence he removed into that of Orbais in the Diocese of Soissons. He was a devoted admirer of St. Augustin, and built his system on the authority of that celebrated Father. On his return from a journey to Rome, he discoursed largely on the doctrine of Predestination in the presence of Nothingus, Bishop of Verona; and maintained that God, from all eternity, had predestinated some to everlasting life and some to everlasting misery. Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, no sooner heard of these discourses, than he addressed letters to the Bishop of Verona charging Gottschalc with Heresy. The accused Monk repaired to Mentz for the purpose of justifying himself, but the Archbishop summoned a Synod, and formally condemned the Predestinarian doctrine. Rabanus pursued his hostility against Gottschalc still further; he sent the condemned Heretic to Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, the City in which he had formerly been admitted to the order of Priesthood. Hincmar assembled a Synod at Quiercy, where Gottschalc was a second time condemned, and experienced the most ignominious treatment. Having been degraded from the Priesthood, he was flagellated with the greatest cruelty, until his constancy was subdued, and he was compelled to burn with his own hands the Apology for his opinions which he had presented to the Synod at Mentz. After these barbarous proceedings

he was imprisoned in the Monastery of Hautvilliers, where he soon ended his days, maintaining with his dying breath the doctrine for which he had suffered.

The calamities of Gottschalc not only excited commiseration, but procured converts. Ratramm, the opponent of Radbert, was among his warmest advocates. Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, Remi, Archbishop of Lyons, and others in inferior stations, pleaded in behalf of the unfortunate Monk, and defended his opinions. On the other side were arrayed Johannes Scotus, the coadjutor of Ratramm in the controversy concerning the Corporal Presence, Hincmar, who not only exerted his authority, but wielded his pen against Gottschalc, and many others who contended that he had not received a punishment exceeding his offences. The spirit of discord was raised to so great a degree, that Charles the Bald summoned a second Synod at Quiercy, in which the decrees of the former Council were confirmed. But a counter Synod assembled two years afterwards at Valence in Dauphiny, composed of the Clergy of the Provinces of Lyons, Vienne, and Arles, with the Archbishop of Lyons at their head; and in that assembly the doctrines of Gottschalc were cleared from Heretical imputation. A third Synod, composed of the same clergy, met at Langres; and a fourth at Tournai, in which fourteen Bishops supported the doctrine of Gottschalc and Augustin.

The tenets of Gottschalc, according to his own public confession, were these: that there is a twofold Predetermination, the one of Election to everlasting life, the other of Reprobation to eternal death; that God did not will the salvation of all Mankind, but of the Elect only; that Christ did not suffer death for the whole Human race, but for that part of it only which God has predestinated to eternal salvation; that Free will with respect to God is destroyed in Man by the Fall of Adam, and that hence arises the necessity of assisting and preventing Grace, which is not bestowed according to merit.*

CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE WORDS *TRINA DEITAS*.

This was a minor dispute between Gottschalc and Hincmar. The latter had prohibited the use of an ancient Hymn in which the words *Trina Deitas* occurred, from a persuasion that they tended to introduce into the minds of the people notions inconsistent with the unity of the Supreme Being. But the Benedictine Monks refused to obey this mandate, and Bertramm, who belonged to their order, wrote a book in defence of the orthodoxy of the expressions. Gottschalc, at that time in prison, entered warmly into the dispute, and in an elaborate Dissertation supported the cause of the Benedictines. Thus Hincmar had an occasion of charging his adversary with Tritheism; but the dispute was of short duration. The exceptional passage continued to be used in the Churches notwithstanding the authority of Hincmar.

* The principal writers on this controversy are Sismond, *Hist. Prædest.* Usener *Hist. Godeschalci*. Fabricii *Biblioth. Lat. Med. Ævi*, tom. iii. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ. sæc. ix.* sc. 10. See also, *Hist. Lit. de France*, tom. v. p. 352.

* "Bertramm first pulled me by the ear!"—Bishop Ridley. An English translation of the Treatise of Bertramm was published at Dublin, A. D. 1752, with a Preliminary Dissertation.

History. CONTOVERSY CONCERNING THE MAN- NER OF CHRIST'S BIRTH.

As the two disputants Hincmar and Gotteschale had a subordinate subject of contention, so also had Radbert and Bertram. Radbert composed a Treatise to prove that Christ was born without his mother's womb being opened, in the same manner as he came into the chamber in which his disciples were assembled after his resurrection when the doors were shut. Bertram, on the contrary, maintained that Christ was born in the same manner as other men, and as other women bring forth their offspring.

CONTOVERSIES BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND LATINS, OR THE PHOTIAN CONTOVERSY.

Causes of
division
between the
Greek and
Latin
Churches.

The causes of division between the Greek and Latin Churches were numerous, and a spirit of animosity had long prevailed between the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The Churches were divided concerning Image-worship, concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and concerning their Rituals and Discipline. The contention of their respective Heads concerned power and jurisdiction; and their fury became more than ever vehement in the reign of Leo the Isaurian, when the Bishops of Constantinople, supported by the Emperor, withdrew several Provinces from the authority of the Roman Pontiffs. In the IXth Century their animosity arose to an excessive height in consequence of the deposition of the Patriarch Ignatius, and the promotion of the learned Photius in his room. This was the act of the Emperor Michael, and its cause was the treason of Ignatius. The proceeding was justified by a Council assembled at Constantinople, but it was far from being attended with general approbation. Ignatius appealed from that Council to the Roman Pontiff Nicholas I., and a Council, which assembled in consequence at Rome, excommunicated Photius and all his abettors. Photius was so little terrified by this excommunication, that he assembled another Council in the Capital of the Eastern Empire, and retorted the anathema on Nicholas.*

Promotion
of Photius.
A. D.
858.

Council at
Rome ex-
communicates Pho-
tius.
A. D.
862.

* This learned Patriarch drew up a charge of Heresy against the Church of Rome in general. It consisted of the following articles: 1. That the Church of Rome kept the Sabbath as a Fast; 2. That it permitted milk and cheese in the first week of Lent; 3. That it prohibited the marriage of Priests; 4. That it confined the rite of anointing persons baptized to the Bishops alone; 5. That it had corrupted the Nicene Creed by the addition of the words *Eti quoque*. This charge was answered by Bertram, by the advice of Nicholas I.

The controversy was attended with Civil tumults, until Basilios the Macedonian, who ascended the Imperial Throne by the murder of his predecessor, recalled Ignatius from exile, and confined Photius in a Monastery. A Council at Constantinople, with its accustomed versatility, solemnly approved this act of authority. In that Assembly, the Legates of the Roman Pontiff, Adrian II., possessed great influence, and it is acknowledged by the Latin Church as the VIIIth Ecumenical Council.

But however favoured by the Roman Pontiff, Ignatius refused to cede the Provinces which had been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the See of Rome; and his death paved the way for the reinstatement of Photius with the Patriarchal dignity. His restoration was agreed to by the Roman Pontiff, John VIII., on condition that he would yield the Province of Bulgaria to the Romish See. To this demand, Photius gave an explicit consent, and the Emperor a seeming acquiescence. But the promise was so far from being fulfilled, that the restored Patriarch, by the advice of the Emperor, refused to transfer Bulgaria to the Roman Pontiff.

Irritated at this disappointment, John VIII. sent his Legate Marius to Constantinople, announcing that he had changed his opinion concerning Photius, whom he regarded as a Heretic, and justly excommunicated; but the Minister was imprisoned by order of the Emperor. The Legate soon obtained his liberation, and being raised to the Pontificate on the death of John did not forget his former injurious treatment; and a new sentence of excommunication, expressed in terms of the greatest severity, was levelled against Photius.

The haughty Patriarch treated the sentence with contempt, and continued in the possession of uncontrolled authority during the reign of Basilios. But Leo, surnamed the Philosopher, the successor of Basilios, and the pupil of Photius, deposed him from the Patriarchal See, and confined him in an Armenian Monastery. There he ended his days; yet although his removal might have terminated the schisms between the Greeks and Latins, they were not even partially closed. The Roman Pontiffs demanded that all the Bishops and Priests who had been ordained by the obnoxious Patriarch, should be degraded; but the Greeks refused compliance with such an unreasonable proposition. Hence the struggle was continued, and new causes of dissension were added to those which already subsisted, till a final separation took place between the Eastern and Western Churches.*

* This controversy is related at large by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. iv. c. 38. See also Gianone, *Hist. Neap.* tom. i.

Heretic
of the IXth
Century.

Photius
deposed by
the Emperor
Basilios.

A. D.
869.

VIIIth Ec-
umenical
Council.

Photius re-
instated.

A. D.
878.

Photius ex-
communicated by
John VIII.

Photius
deposed a
second time.
A. D.
886.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXVI.

ON THE RISE, GROWTH, AND GENERAL FEATURES OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

History. AMIDST the universal anarchy exhibited in the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, may first be observed the rapid development of those memorable Institutions, which have been comprehended under the name of the **FEUDAL SYSTEM**. No other epoch, therefore, in our Historical Division, than that whereat we have now arrived, seems more appropriate for introducing some inquiry into the Rise, Growth, and General Features of a Polity, which maintained so durable an influence over the condition of Society throughout the Middle Ages, and of which so many remarkable effects have been preserved in the Government, Laws, and Aristocratical distinctions of Modern Europe.

Source of the Feudal System. The origin of this singular System has afforded a fertile subject of disputation; and the early Institution of Patron and Client among the Romans, the later donation of lands to the veteran soldiery of the Republic and Empire,* the Celtic ties of Clanship, and the military obligation of Asiatic land-owners, have, each in their turn, been supposed to indicate the source, or to illustrate the common prevalence among various races, of the Feudal compact. But all such theories, resting only on fanciful conjectures or faint analogies, are equally incapable of supporting the test of examination. Though the Roman relation of Patron and Client bore some resemblance, in its bond of mutual fidelity, to that of Lord and Vassal, it was totally unconnected with any landed possession or condition of military service; and, on the other hand, where, in the case of the Roman soldier, this condition did exist, the personal relation was altogether wanting. The veterans of Sylla, of Julius Cæsar, and of the second Triumvirate, received their lands, not as retainers for future, but as the rewards of past service: the obligations on the military colonists in the Provinces of the Empire were due, not to an individual Feudatory, but to the State. Again, the Gaelic Clans were bound to their Chieftains, solely by regard for the real or imaginary claims of blood; and by hereditary reverence for the title of primogeniture, which was believed to be vested in one favoured branch of a common stock. But those claims and that reverence were alike independent of situation and of property; and the absolute devotion of the Clansman to his Chief knew nothing of the defined and limited services, which the Feudal Vassal paid in exchange for measured and formal rights of protection. Still less did the haughty spirit of Oriental despotism ever recognise such a reciprocal compact as formed the original relation between the Lord who bestowed, and the freeman who received a Fief. It is obvious, therefore, that in no one of these

instances, is there to be found the long descending continuity and interchange of fixed obligations arising exclusively from landed tenures, which formed the peculiar essence of Feudalism, and are sufficient to distinguish that from any other form of Political association.

The Feudal System. Instead of wandering in quest of fallacious and accidental resemblances into earlier Ages or distant regions, the true and natural source of the Feudal System is to be sought among the Nations who embraced it, and the seats in which it attained its maturity; nor can any other origin be reasonably assigned to it, than the circumstances under which the Barbarian conquerors of the Roman Empire established themselves in their new possessions. We should, indeed, guard against the common error of supposing that the Feudal Institutions sprang immediately from that settlement. The inequality which, as we have formerly had occasion to observe, undoubtedly prevailed in the division of conquered lands among the Barbarians, was the remote cause of its change in the form of their Societies, which it required several Centuries to effect. When armies of freemen among the Gothic Races possessed themselves of the Roman Provinces, and erected their new Monarchies on the ruins of the Empire, every warrior received some portion of land, which became the inheritance of his posterity. Such estates, which from the mode of their original acquisition were afterwards distinguished, as we have already noticed, by the term of *alodial*,† or allotted, were held on a free and absolute tenure, and loaded with no other obligation than the implied duty of the owner to appear in arms for the public defence. But the principal leaders of the victorious hosts, according to the rank and influence to which their military virtues had raised them among their fellow-warriors, received a commensurate share of the spoil; and a still larger proportion by far in the distribution of conquered Provinces, under the name of Fiscal lands, or Royal demesnes, was naturally reserved to the Sovereigns of the new Kingdoms, for their personal enjoyment, the pecuniary support of their Governments and dignity, and the exercise of their munificence. In every Province of the Frankish Monarchy, such an appropriation of numerous Fiscal demesnes to the Crown must originally have been made: for, notwithstanding the spoliation which it may naturally be supposed were

* Vide p. 272 of this Volume.

† A compound of the German particle *an*, and *lot*: i. e. land obtained by lot. Robertson's *Charles V.* vol. i. p. 270. See also Du Cange, *Glossarium*, ad v. *Alodia*.

History. encouraged by the weakness of the last Merovingian Kings, their lands still continued, in the reign of Charlemagne, to supply the principal sources of the Royal revenue.*

Rise of a Noble Order of Society. However arbitrary and various were the accidents which influenced the division of conquered lands among the leaders and warriors of the Barbarian Nations, the gradation in the scale of distribution prepared and perpetuated an inequality of hereditary rank and territorial possessions in those rude Societies, which had probably been altogether unknown in their native forests; and hence is clearly derivable the foundation of a Noble,† or Aristocratic Order in the Gothic Monarchies. The descendants of the first fortunate Chieftains inherited with their lands their preeminence of wealth, dignity, and power; and in those possessions were easily recognised a superior claim to the great offices of State and of Provincial authority. The Kingdom of the Franks in Gaul, even on its primitive establishment under Clovis, was regularly parcelled into Governments under such Chieftains who came very early to be distinguished by the title of Counts, an appellation borrowed from the office of the *Comites* of the Empire; and on the foundation of the Lombard Kingdom in Italy, the same Roman original supplied the term of *Duces*, or Dukes,‡ for the great Officers, to whom the Military and Civil administration of Cities and their surrounding Provinces was intrusted. In the Frankish Monarchy, this latter title was also employed to express a higher dignity and more extensive jurisdiction§ than those of the Counts; and would appear, though the fact is not clearly established, to have involved a general supremacy over several of those officers. But the common duties of both were to exercise the Civil and Judicial and Fiscal authority in their Governments, and to assemble and lead the Provincial array of Alodial proprietors in national wars.] At what epoch these officers, from being held only during the pleasure of the Sovereign, became hereditary, is not agreed; but there is reason to conclude that their holders had begun to assert a great degree of independence of the Crown, in which their attempts were favoured by the disorderly structure both of the Germano-Frankish and Lombard Monarchies, full two Centuries before any defined existence of the Feudal relations can be satisfactorily traced¶

Counts.

Dukes.

Their offices.

At what epoch first hereditary.

Creation of Benefices.

The sources of Fiefs.

form of Gifts, or Benefices: * the indubitable commencement of Fiefs. At first, indeed, it would not appear that even these grants, as distinguished from Alodial estates, were accompanied with any more express conditions of military tenure than were binding upon every landed proprietor. But it may reasonably be concluded that a Sovereign or great Chieftain did not portion out his personal Estate among his followers, without at least a tacit understanding that he thereby acquired some additional and special title to their services; and even before the reign of Charlemagne, it seems to have been implied that the holder of a Royal Benefice was more closely bound in military duty to his Sovereign than the mere Alodialist: for, by those Emperor's Capitularies,‡ while only one in every three Alodial *Manni*, or farms, furnished a soldier, equipped at the charge of the two remaining owners, each possessor of a Benefice was required to take the field in person.

Whether Benefices were originally revocable at pleasure, is uncertain; and the fact in itself may be pronounced of little moment;‡ since it is clear, at least, that they were very early converted by the indulgence, or extorted from the weakness, of the Royal authority, not merely into grants for life, but into hereditary possessions. It would be of more importance, if it were possible, to ascertain the Epoch in which this last change was generally effected; and a point of still greater interest to determine the precise period when the Benefice acquired the complete character, by which it was at length distinguished, of a *Fief* or *Fieff*,§ through the reciprocal obligations of military service and protection. But both these links in the chain of Historical deduction are irretrievably lost; and we are absolutely ignorant, either when the Benefice began to descend regularly from father to son, or how soon, or by what process, it was permanently burdened with the conditions of a proper Feudal tenure|| Through the thick darkness which overspread the face of Europe during the IXth and Xth Centuries, we can only faintly discern the rude outlines of the Feudal structure; but when the first sure rays of light break upon the edifice, we are surprised to discover it already towering over the scene, in the fulness of its stern grandeur

In a general sense, the primitive extent of the Feudal System was enlarged and limited to the bounds of the Carolingian Empire. Its establishment was simultaneous of

* Du Cange and Spelman, *Glossarij, v. Beneficium, et Feudum et Fructum.*

† Baluzi *Capitula*, ad ann. 867, 812.

‡ See the question ably argued by Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 161.

§ *Feudum* or *fructum*, *ad federe*, aut *fide*, from the contract or fidelity which it involved; or from the Saxons *Feo*, (Anglicet *fe*) *merces*, *stipendium*. Spelman, *ubi supra*.

|| A famous Capitulary of Charles the Bald, in the year 877, referring to the established custom of descent in Fiefs, is quoted by some Writers as the earliest recognition of the right of hereditary succession. Yet there are proofs that the existence of hereditary Benefices was recognised as early as, or even earlier than, the VIIIth Century. Marculfus, *Formule* xii and xiv. Also *Leges Burgund. et Wigoth* tit. i. and lii. v. tit. ii. But it has been a controversy whether the use of the word *Feudum* can be traced so high as the Xth Century. Du Cange (*ubi supra*) seems to discredit the authority of some Charters of earlier date in which it occurs; and Muratori (*Antiq. Med. Ævi*, vol. i. p. 594.) doubts if the word is to be found in any genuine instrument older than the XIIth Century. Yet this does not prove that Feudal obligations may not have been annexed sooner to grants of land; and still less that the familiar term itself, which was afterwards rendered by *Fructum*, may not already have been used in the Barbarian dialects to express the sense of the Latin *Beneficium*.

* Baluzi *Capitularia, passim.*

† The origin of a Noble Order among the Franks has been sometimes sought in the *Antrustors*, (from the Teutonic *trout*, faith, Du Cange, v. *Trustis*) who were the chosen companions or immediate followers of the early Merovingian Kings, and whose lives (*Leges Salicæ*, tit. xxiii. c. 20.) were protected by a wergild twice that of an ordinary freeman. But their dignity was at first merely personal, not hereditary, until it became so by the possession of estates.

‡ Du Cange, ad *vv. Comes, et Dux*.

§ For the proofs we Du Cange, who concludes (*ubi supra*) from various sources, "Gradus igitur a *Comitatu* ad *Ducatum* fuit."

|| Marculfus, *Formule*, lib. i. c. 32.

¶ *Leges Bajuvar.* tit. ii. c. 1. 20. *Altman.* c. 35. &c.

History. — tanously completed in all the Countries embraced under the dominion of the successors of Charlemagne, and can hardly be said to have obtained in any other division of Europe, until a period subsequent to its maturity. In France, Germany, Italy, and the Spanish March, the latter stages of its rise were nearly coeval. The foregoing attempt to elucidate its progress, has referred chiefly to the condition of the proper Monarchy of France, under both the 1st and 11th Dynasties. In Germany, the foundation of Provincial Governments and Beneficiary grants may be held to have given a contemporary impulse to its growth; unless it should be thought that the records which are extant in the Codes of the Alemanni and Bavarians,* of the independence of their Dukes so early as the VIIIth Century, prove even the more rapid development of its germs.

But among the Lombards, a regular division into territorial Governments, may be undoubtedly traced up to the very foundation of their Italian Monarchy; and the certainty of the fact, as well as the systematic constitution of the original Lombard Duchies so early as the VIth Century, might perhaps justify us in assigning a priority to the rise of Feudal institutions in Italy, over their origin both in France and Germany. The whole Kingdom of the Lombards from its beginning was parcelled out, as we have seen, into large Duchies, which in the next Age were thirty in number;† and thus was at once created a great territorial Aristocracy, which soon became hereditary in the descendants of the first Dukes. These formidable subjects, only eight years after the foundation of the Kingdom, were powerful enough to suspend the Regal dignity for a time, and to arrogate to themselves the whole government of the State; and their successors failed not to maintain the high pretensions of their Order. Among them the Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, the latter especially, favoured by their Southern position at a distance from the seat of the Monarchy at Pavia, seem very early to have established an almost total independence of the Crown. After the subjugation of the Lombard Monarchy to the Carlovingian Dynasty of France, it was the policy of the conquerors to break the strength of this Aristocracy; and Charlemagne and his successors availed themselves of the extinction of several of the Ducal families, to subdivide the Provinces into smaller Governments of Citius under Counts, who held immediately of the Crown.‡ But this change only transferred a share of territorial power to another and more numerous order of Nobility, and probably accelerated the consolidation of the Feudal System.

With respect to Spain, no clearer proof of the source of that System need be demanded than its early and continued existence in the North-Eastern Provinces as far as the Ebro, which had formed part of the Carlovingian Empire; and the rare occurrence of Feudal tenures in any other portions of the Peninsula. The Counts of Barcelona continued to recognise their Feudal obligations to the French Crown so late as the beginning of the XIIth Century;§ and in the whole united Kingdom of Aragon, which, filling the greater part of the Spanish March of Charlemagne, ultimately extended from thence South of the Ebro, the Feudal System was no less

completely established than in France itself. But in the Monarchies of Leon and Castile, which spread Southward with a different origin, by conquest over the Moors from the opposite or North-Western angle of the Peninsula, Feudalism never prevailed.* Nor, in our own Island, can the Feudal System be said in any decisive sense to have obtained, until after its introduction, through the Norman Conquest, from France; though there were not wanting in the Saxon constitution of Society, many relations analogous to those of territorial Jurisdiction and Vassalage.†

As the Rise and Growth of Feudal Institutions had been confined to the Countries composing the Empire of Charlemagne, so the complete Establishment of the Feudal System was effected through the gradual dissolution of that gigantic Monarchy, which may be said to have commenced at his death. Under his feeble successors, those great Provincial Governors, the Dukes, the Counts, and the Marquesses,—or guardians of the frontier Marches,—were encouraged to multiply their usurpations on the Royal authority, until they converted the personal offices, which had been committed to them in simple trust for the Crown or the State, into absolutely territorial and hereditary possessions and dignities. They openly asserted a sovereign independence, with only a reservation, which existed in little else than in name, of a superiority to the King. They seized the remaining demesnes of the Crown within their Governments; assumed to themselves the power of supreme Jurisdiction, both Civil and Criminal, in their territories; coined money with their own superscription; waged wars in their own name; and, in a word, exercised all the functions of sovereignty which are usually known under the denomination of Regalian Rights. At the same time, they imitated a Royal style by affixing the name of their Provinces to their office, shared these titles with their wives, and transmitted both their Governments and dignities in lineal succession to their sons.‡ Thus at length the Kingdoms into which the Carlovingian Empire was broken at the end of the IXth Century came to present only collections of as many separate and independent Principalities as there were powerful Nobles; and the Royal authority was in fact universally prostrated and superseded by the dominion of a great Aristocracy, of which the restless members were engaged in continual defiance of the Crown, hostilities among themselves, and spoiliations of the inferior proprietors.

Meanwhile, the creation of hereditary Benefices, by Subinfeudation. grant or extortion from the Crown, produced another general practice, as its natural consequence, which multiplied the links, and completed the long descending chain, of the Feudal Aristocracy. This was the custom of Sub-infeudation. The great Chieftains, alike for their own safety from the violence of the times, and for the furtherance of their schemes of aggrandizement, found

* In a commentary on the Laws of Alfonso IX. of Castile, (*Lex ii. part iv. p. 26.*) indeed, as cited by Du Cange, it is declared, *Non est feudum se otorga con postura, prometiendo el vassallo al señor, de fover le servicia a un casto, &c. Glossarium, ad v. Honor.* But the context and the whole course of Castilian History prove that such tenures were certainly not so general as to constitute a feature in the national Policy.

† Mr. Bailion has weighed the evidence on this point with his usual learning and acuteness. *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 408—418.

‡ Du Cange, *v. Moneta.*

§ De Vie et De Vassette, *Hist. Gén. de Languedoc*, vol. i. p. 587. &c. vol. ii. p. 38. 108. and App. 56.

* *Leyes Reales, et Aleman ubi supra.*

† *Leyes Roderici, en Códice Longobard.* c. 6. 20. 21.

‡ *Sixmoud. Histoire des Républiques Italiques*, vol. i. p. 72.

§ *Peccatus de Marca, Murus Hispanien*, p. 513.

The Feudal System.

Growth of its establishment.

Gradual independence of the great Nobles.

Subinfeudation.

History.
its nature.

it necessary to secure the support of a Body of warlike retainers, bound to them by the mutual and personal ties of protection and dependence. For such purposes, it was an obvious expedient to parcel out among their own followers the Beneficiary estates which they had obtained of the Crown. This custom, of which there are many traces in the Age of Charlemagne, and even of his Father,* became, in the anarchical reigns of the latter Princes of their Dynasty, almost universal. With their assumption of sovereignty, the great Chieftains imitated in their grants the forms of investiture and conditions of tenure, through which they had received their own domains. They instituted these Sub-infeudations to be held of themselves, as they held immediately of the King; and the same oaths of fealty which they had taken, the same homage which they had paid to their Monarch, they required from their Vassals† to themselves. Thus was created a subordinate class of Nobility, styled in different Countries and gradations, *Barons*,‡ *Vassalors*,§ or *Châtelains*,|| who again enjoyed the services of inferior military tenants. Hence the greater Nobles, holding of the Crown as tenants in chief, became intermediary Lords between the Sovereign paramount and their Sub-feudatories; and the second Order of Benefices was distinguished from Royal, as *Arrière-fiefs*. In its descending obligations, however, the bond of Feudality grew infinitely closer and more effectual; and the Duke, or Count, still more the Vassalor or Châtelain, the actual leader of his Vassals, received the fixed measure and immediate benefit of an allegiance, which he might himself pay only nominally, or altogether withhold at his pleasure from a powerless superior. But, throughout the scale, the obligation of military service had gradually been converted into the distinct mark and condition, only the more real as the rank of the Vassal was lower, of every Beneficiary tenure of land; and in this manner, before the end of the Xth Century, the complete establishment of the Feudal System may be said to have been generally accomplished.

Conversion
of Alodial
into Feudal
tenures.

The transition to this form of Polity drew with it another revolution equally remarkable in the state of landed property. For a long time the great Body of Alodial proprietors, who had formed the original strength of all the Barbarian Kingdoms, and were entitled to vote in their National Assemblies, held a position of proud superiority over the personal Vassals of a Lord; and might exult in contrasting the independent possession of a paternal inheritance, with the obligations imposed on the tenure of a mere Benefice. But the practice of making extensive grants of land to powerful Chieftains on any terms, had an obvious tendency to depress the strength, and endanger the rights, of an uncombined mass of small proprietors; and hence in every Country the lesser Alodials gradually lost not

only many of their political privileges as an important Order in the State, but even most of their rights as simple freemen and land owners. Thus, when the Royal donations of Benefices had planted the roots, and while the custom of Sub-infeuding was extending the ramifications of the System of Vassalage, the Alodials themselves fell rapidly into the same state of dependence upon a superior Lord, which distinguished the more recent tenures.

Alodial seems so much more desirable than Feudal property, that it would appear, at first sight, extraordinary that the transition from the one sort of tenure to the other should have been, as it generally was, the voluntary act of the possessor.* But amidst the anarchy and violence, the public disorders and private wars which attended the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire and filled every district with arms and rapine, the relation of Lord and Vassal was the only security for mutual defence; and devoid of such a claim, the unconnected Alodialist could find no protection for his rights or satisfaction for his injuries. Instead of receiving them either from the Royal authority or the National laws, he was most exposed to spoliation from the rapacious Governors and overbearing Lords of his district, who had usurped the exercise both of the Regal and Judicial administration. To obtain a defence therefore for which his single arm might not avail against a host of oppressors, he had no resource but to range himself under the banner of some powerful protector; and he had in effect scarcely any choice left but to compound for security against every other tyrant, by subjecting himself in Feudal service to the nearest or most respectable Lord.

For this purpose, he sometimes surrendered his Alodial property to the Chieftain,† that he might receive it back again on Feudal tenure; or more commonly, as it is probable, simply declared himself the Vassal of the Lord; but in such ways, whether by processes more or less formal, it is certain that, before the close of the Xth Century, the old Alodial lands in France,‡ in Germany, and in Italy,§ had almost all become Feudal||

* Muratori, *Ant. Med. Ævi*, vol. i. p. 610.

† *Ibid.*

‡ This was so general that, in some Provinces at least, if the Count could prove that any lands within his Jurisdiction were held on no Feudal service, he might seize them as his own. Beaumanoir, *Cost. de Beauvoisin*, c. 24. Hence probably the famous maxim of *Nulle terre sans seigneur*, which became, in later Ages, recognised as a principle of French Law: although this, as Mr. Hallam (vol. i. p. 165,) has observed after Housard, was true only of Jurisdiction not of tenure, Alodial lands inclosed within a Fief of a Lord being subject to his territorial justice.

§ Muratori, *ubi supra*. There are, however, extant some Charters of the Emperors even creating Alodial tenures in Italy of so late a date as the IXth Century. But these appear as exceptions to a general rule. Muratori, *Antiq.* vol. i. p. 575.

|| It should, at the same time, be observed, that it is an error to speak, as is sometimes done, as if this revolution had been quite universal. Even in France, there were always some Alodial lands; and in Languedoc these tenures prevailed beyond the Xth Century. De Vie et De Vassalage, vol. ii. *passim*. In the Spanish March also. Marca, *De Marca Hispanica*, App. In the Netherlands there are traces of Alodial tenures so late as the XIVth Century. *Miris, Opera Diplom.* vol. i. p. 218. But see Housard, *Anciennes Loix des Français*, &c. vol. i. p. 192, 193, &c.

With respect to Germany, however, it may be doubted whether Mr. Hallam (*ubi supra*) has rendered a passage in Du Cange, on the distinction between the *Baro* and *Semper Baro* of that Country, with his usual accuracy, in presuming that the latter order held their lands Alodially. *Barones in Germaniæ sunt duplici differenti. Alii enim dicuntur simpliciter Barones, alii Semper-Barones. Semper Baro, is est fterus, qui a nullo horum Feudum habet, sed alii ab*

* Baluz. *Capit. Pip. et Car. Mag. passim*.

† *Feudal*, from the Celtic *Gwas* or *Goss*, a servant. Du Cange, v. *Feudus*.

‡ Baron from *Baro*, in corrupt Latin a soldier or man: *Barones Regis*, meaning literally the men or Vassals of a King. In a proper sense, Barons were therefore tenants in chief of the Crown: but the term was more frequently applied to *Arrière-vassals*. But see Du Cange, *ad v.*

§ *Vassalors*, i. e. *vassalli vassallorum*, Vassals of Feudatories; the word expressing their double allegiance to their immediate Lord and his Sovereign. Du Cange, *ad v. Vassalores*.

|| So called, obviously from their possession of Castles. Du Cange, v. *Castellanus*.

History. Where Alodial domains were large, the possessors would naturally strengthen themselves by sub-infeudating them among their tenants upon condition of military service; where their estates were small, they themselves needed the protection of the nearest Vassor, or Châtelain; and, in both cases, the supremacy of the great Feudatory of the Province would be necessary to complete their security. But it may be suspected that the process was far from being, in all instances, voluntary; and that the Alodialist was often compelled to confess himself the Vassal of a great Lord, by falsely admitting a Feudal derivation of lands, which his ancestors had possessed for Ages on independent tenure.

But another expedient for obtaining the protection of a Lord, without incurring the obligations of Feudal tenure and service, would appear to have prevailed to a considerable extent; and from a very early period in the Middle Ages this practice was known under the name of *Commendation*,^a and differed from the process and nature of Infeudation in being wholly personal and not territorial. An individual *commended* himself to a powerful superior; or, in other words, purchased his protection, by a fixed annual payment of money, wine, or other produce,^b and sometimes, indeed, by an engagement to serve him in his wars. Such payments were termed, in the Latin of the times, *Salvamenta*; and were commonly made by Monasteries as well as by simple freemen: for, in the lawless state of society then prevailing, Ecclesiastical Communities needed defence for their property, almost as much as the ordinary Alodial proprietors. But, as the latter class were gradually forced into the condition of Feudal tenants, this mode of dependence, though it was not unknown in Towns,^c became principally confined to the Monasteries. As long, however, as personal Commendation was in use for individuals, they seem to have been entitled to dissolve the engagement at pleasure without subjecting themselves, as in the Feudal compact, to any forfeiture, since it was unconnected with landed tenure. Thus a Capitulary of Charles the Bald^d declares that every freeman may commend himself to what Lord he will: though the same law contains a startling obligation that to some superior he shall so subject himself. But in the absence of direct evidence, it may be suspected that the conversion of Alodial into Feudal tenures left little room for individuals to exercise even this choice of a Lord; and that, although Monasteries and Towns might still claim a precarious protection on no more onerous conditions than that of a money payment to the Lord of the district in which they were situated, the voluntary compact of a personal Commendation^e was generally lost in a complete Feudal subjection.

Having thus rapidly and briefly noticed the Origin and Growth of the Feudal System, from its germs among the Nations of Barbarian Race, until its maturity in all the Kingdoms which arose from the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire; we may next pursue its History, and distinguish its aspect, in the different Countries in which it was adopted. Until the separation of the Empire towards the close of the IXth Century, it may be presumed that there was little or no variety in the Feudal constitutions of France, Germany, and Italy. But that event had an opposite, and in the sequel a contradictory, influence upon the internal structure of the two greatest Monarchies which were formed from the division. In tracing the operation of that influence, it will be necessary sometimes to anticipate the general order of Chronological narration, and to allude to circumstances belonging in strictness to a later period of History than that to which we have yet followed out the Annals of separate States. But, that the ramifications of the Feudal System may be brought under a single point of view, this proceeding is unavoidable; and, as preventing the necessity of repetitions to explain the distinct internal condition of each Kingdom, it seems on the whole a less objectionable plan to group the facts which bear on the Feudal State of Society under our present appropriate head of inquiry, than to revert to them hereafter in detail.

I. In France, the triumph of Feudalism was earliest effected. The rapid degeneracy of the Carolingian line of Princes, the long-continued recognition of an hereditary right of succession in so feeble a Dynasty, and the intermittent usurpations of one hundred years, produced a gradual and total annihilation of Monarchical government. The incessant ravages of the Northmen aggravated the public calamities and disorder; and the general anarchy and prostration of the Royal Authority prepared the establishment of a Feudal Aristocracy so entirely independent that, for full three Centuries, France presented the appearance rather of a number of petty States in slight and imperfect connection with each other, than of an integral Monarchy. Hence that Country has been with reason considered as forming the principal seat, and offering the most conspicuous example, of the Feudal System in the first Ages after the maturity of its institutions and principles. A bare enumeration of the privileges, which the great Feudatories had acquired by usurpation and suzerainty during the weakness of the Crown, and which had been too long confirmed by exercise to be openly disputed even by a more vigorous race of Monarchs, will be sufficient to demonstrate how deeply that haughty and powerful Aristocracy had planted the foundations of the Feudal structure. For, in these privileges were numbered, the rights of waging private wars, of exercising an exclusive jurisdiction in their Fiefs, and of coining their own money; and a freedom for themselves both

The Feudal System.

History and aspect of Feudalism in different Countries.

I. FRANCE.

Independence of its Feudal Aristocracy.

Their enormous privileges.

scarcely fulfils his promise of adding a new illustration of its features. His authorities, almost all of which are to be found in Du Cange, under the words which we have quoted, admit of no clearer interpretation than that learned authority had extracted from them. Nor does there seem ground for the charge that Du Cange "has not fully apprehended the subject" of personal commendation; since he has at least brought forward all the important evidence which is extant to determine its nature. But in fact, so obscure a custom, which must have been nearly obliterated when the Feudal System swallowed up Alodial rights, possesses neither interest nor importance sufficient to reward a more successful inquiry into its nice shades and distinctions.

igno; adeoque libere est ut nullo ad fidelitatis adstringitur juramento, ut propriis Baronibus de Limburg esse dicuntur. Yet this only declares that the *Semper-Baro* held of no other Baron, but that the inferior or simple Order held of him. And the Lords of Limburg, one should suppose, owed the usual Feudal superiority to the Emperor. In this sense their title implied only that they were properly his Feudatories. *Barones (quoniam homines) Regis* being in proper signification the men or Vassals, the immediate tenants in chief of the Sovereign.

^a Du Cange, *ad* *re. Commendationis, et Salvamentum.*

^b *Iren (Comte) Adel. cronicon, et vitanus pro salvamento, et denarios,* says an old Charter quoted by Du Cange, *ad* *v.*

^c Thus, by a Charter of Philip Augustus in 1189, *De hominibus villis dantis, &c. habebit Præpositus noster pro salvamento 12 denarios. &c.*

^d Baluzi *Capitularia, Caroli Calvi, a. p. 877.*

^e Mr. Hallam's notice of this practice (vol. i. p. 169—171.)

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History. from all legislative control, and from every pecuniary contribution and public duty to the King and the State, except the customary Feudal services and aids. It is obvious that the assertion of such Regalian Rights and exemptions in the Aristocracy left to the Crown merely the shadow of Sovereignty; and that, while the allegiance which the great Feudatories acknowledged to the Throne, was little more than nominal, the strength of the Feudal relation was maintained only between themselves and their own Vassals. In this view, it may be objected to the perfection of the Feudal System, as it existed in France from the IXth to the XIth Century inclusive, that it was defective in the first link of the descending chain of obligations; but this imperfection was removed in a succeeding Age.

Prostration of the Royal Authority. The revival of the Royal authority slowly commenced with the accession of the IIIrd Race of Sovereigns. But those Princes were assisted in their efforts to restore the effective supremacy of the Crown, not so much by any real weight which had been spared to the Regal office, as by the power which they derived from their own extensive Fiefs; and the independence of the Crown Vassals may be said to have been gradually broken rather by the preponderance of one Family of their own Order, than by any strength which was vested in the abstract title of Royalty. The contest, in fact, lay far less between the great Feudatories and the House of Capet as Kings, than as Counts of Paris and Orleans.

Its slow revival, In that capacity the Capetian Family, by their very large Feudal possessions, were already, before their seizure of the Crown, more powerful than almost any other single member of the great territorial Aristocracy. Their co-Vassals were the Dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Gascony, the Counts of Flanders, Champagne, Anjou, Poitou, Vermandois, and Toulouse, the Lords of Bourbon, Coucy, and several others, all of whom were considered to hold immediately of the Crown, and in reality divided the Kingdom among them. Of these great Vassals, very few at first condescended to acknowledge an equal, in the founder of the new Royal line, for their Sovereign; and though Hugh Capet succeeded by degrees in obtaining an acquiescence in his usurpation throughout the greater part of Northern France, not only his title but that of his successors, for more than a Century at least, received very slight recognition in any of the Provinces South of the Loire.* The relations of the Crown even with some of the greatest Northern Feudatories, such as the Dukes of Normandy and Counts of Flanders, throughout that Age, remind us more of diplomacy with independent Powers, alternately engaged in friendship and warfare, than of Feudal superiority and allegiance.

But the activity of the Capetian Princes rendered them by degrees superior to any single Feudal opponent; and the extension of the Royal authority became an hereditary object which they naturally pursued with more steadiness and unity of purpose, than it was opposed by carrivals, not less jealous of each other than of their Sovereigns, and incapable of any permanent combination. Of the early Capetian Kings, Philip Augus-

tus, beyond all comparison the most able and enterprising, was also the first who made any decisive progress in breaking down the independence of the Feudal Aristocracy. In this he was mainly assisted by the mingled good fortune and unscrupulous vigour, through which he was enabled to wrest Normandy, Maine, and Anjou from our pusillanimous John. The annexation of these great Fiefs to the French Crown placed the Royal power in a very different condition from that to which it had been limited by simple possession of the Counties of Paris and Orleans; and thenceforward the Kings of France felt themselves sufficiently strong to assert a real as well as nominal Sovereignty over the Feudal Aristocracy. The most powerful of the Crown-Vassals were compelled to render the full measure of allegiance and service required by a system of tenure which had theretofore been no more than a fiction. This is not the place to allude more particularly to the course of events by which several of the remaining great Fiefs, such as Poitou, Toulouse, and in part Guienne, fell successively into the hands of the Crown: so that when the Feudal Aristocracy, awakened to their danger by the rapid progress of the Royal power, availed themselves of the minority of Louis IX. to combine against its encroachments, they experienced, to their cost and humiliation, that it was already, under a Female Regency, strong enough to over-master their united efforts. In the present stage of our inquiry, it is not necessary to follow out the History of the Feudal System in France beyond this point, at which the balance of authority had begun decidedly to turn against the Aristocracy, and in favour of the Royal Authority.

Decline of the Feudal Aristocracy. II. It has been said, that the separation of the States of the Carolingian Empire in the IXth Century, had an opposite and contradictory influence upon the internal structure of the two great Feudal Monarchies which sprang from that event. In Germany, at the outset, though the Crown became elective, a succession of vigorous Princes repressed the usurpations and chastised the revolts of the great Vassals; in France the degenerate weakness of the Carolingian Dynasty, though continuing to reign under an hereditary title, produced the absolute independence of the Feudal Aristocracy. But at a later period, while the Capetian Monarchs of France were reducing that Order into subjection, the great Vassals of Germany were plotting against their Emperors the foundations of sovereign rights, which converted their Fiefs into the most durable establishments of the Feudal System. This contrast of its History in the two Monarchies, is attributable, besides the difference between an hereditary and elective order of succession, on the one hand to the characters of successive races of Emperors, and on the other to their great contests with the Papacy which agitated Germany and Italy, during the XIth and two following Centuries.

Originally, the principal Fiefs in Germany were of very great extent. Being divided according to Nations, as they were called, of distinct origin and governed by different Codes of laws, there were thus formed the five Duchies of Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Lorraine; to which were added later, by conquest from the Hungarians, the two Marches, or Marquisates, of Austria and Misnia. Yet, notwithstanding their extent of territorial jurisdiction, the Dukes of these Provinces were by no means independent of their Sovereigns. Against the energy by which Conrad of Franconia, Henry the Fowler, and the three Otthos of his line

* Hugh Capet himself forced Guienne (A. D. 990) to make some submission. De Vie et De Vassette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. ii. p. 120. But Limousin continued to deny the Sovereignty of the Capets until the commencement of the following Century. *Idem*, p. 130. And it appears from Velly (*Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 61.) that the Feudal array of the Kingdom, as formally assembled by Louis VI. for a national war against the German Empire, even so late as A. D. 1120, was not joined by any Vassals from the South of the Loire.

The Feudal System.

Acquisition of great Fiefs by the Crown.

Decline of the Feudal Aristocracy.

II. Germany.

Of great extent of Feudal Country.

History. were successively distinguished, these great Vassals of the German Crown found it impossible to establish such privileges as their French neighbours had usurped; and while the Princes of the House of Saxony continued to fill the Imperial throne, notwithstanding that each owed his succession, in form at least,* to the elective voices of his co-Feudatories, they maintained their supremacy no less firmly and successfully against their rebellious Vassals than their foreign enemies. These Saxon Emperors refused even the investiture of the great Fiefs as a matter of hereditary right; and, without, perhaps, disturbing the custom of succession from father to son, they asserted the prerogative of withholding the Feudal inheritance or giving it as a boon, instead of suffering it to be seized as an absolute reversion.† Under the first two Princes of the next, or Franconian line,‡ the Imperial Authority attained its highest point; and Henry III. not only succeeded in abolishing altogether the custom which required the popular assent to the investiture of a Fief, but went so far as to deprive Dukes of their States, by the simple sentence of a few of their co-Vassals without confirmation in any General Assembly or Diet of the Empire, and to bestow their possessions on members of his own House.§

But the scene altogether changed when the death of Henry was followed by the long minority of his heir, the 14th of the same name. The great Feudatories of the Empire, outraged by the arbitrary proceedings of the Father, revenged their injuries, and resolved to build their independence, on the weakness of the Son. First the minority of Henry IV., then the errors of his maturer years, and, above all, the fatal contest with the Papacy, in which his manhood was consumed, favoured the designs of his Vassals; and during his reign the Imperial dignity was shorn of its loftiest prerogatives. His revolted Feudatories availed themselves of his quarrel with Pope Gregory VII. to complete their independence; and by a General Assembly of their party, it was decreed that, in the election to the Crown, an hereditary preference should no longer be given to the son of a reigning Emperor, except upon the ground of personal merit.|| The extinction of the male branch of the House of Franconia in the next generation enabled the Aristocracy to complete their purpose of rendering the succession truly elective. The stages by which the right of suffrage ultimately devolved on an oligarchy of seven Princes, it does not belong to this part of our subject to define: but from that famous resolution may be dated the decline of the Imperial authority.

The subsequent elevation of the Swabian Family, although they obtained the Imperial Crown with some interruption through three generations, served only to confirm the pretensions of the Feudal Order: for the

frequent absence of those Emperors in Italy, and the reverses of the long struggle in that Country in which their strength was exhausted, gradually perfected the independence of the German Princes. Frederick II. was too much engrossed in Italian affairs to offer any resistance to pretensions, which indeed he rather confirmed by his sanction. A single Age of anarchy sufficed to destroy the remains of the Imperial authority. During the great interregnum in the middle of the XIIIth Century, which followed the death of Frederick, the Feudatories of the Empire became the real Sovereigns of their States; and thus, from nearly the same Epoch at which the French Kings began to exert a high degree of power over the Vassals of that Crown, the German Emperors sank into the condition of mere Chiefs to the Feudal Confederacy.

III. Notwithstanding the superior antiquity which may with great probability be assigned to the establishment of the Feudal System in Italy, its influence upon the state of Society was less durable in that Country, than in either France or Germany. In producing this difference, two opposite causes had the principal share: the early rise of independence, as well in the Lombard Cities as in the Maritime Republics, and the revival of the study and practice of the Civil Law. The first of these circumstances curbed the Feudal power of the rural Nobility: the second had a natural tendency to introduce a high notion of the extent of the Imperial rights, and to exalt their prerogative at the expense of the Feudal privileges of the Aristocracy. During the long interval, however, between the fall of the Carolingian Dynasty and the first League of the Lombard Cities, neither of these causes had entered into operation; and in the universal anarchy which closed the IXth Century, the power of the Dukes, or Marquesses, and Counts, appeared more unbounded, and better established in Italy, than in any other part of the Empire. Those great Chieftains had already rendered their government of Provinces hereditary and independent of ultramontane Sovereignty; and they proceeded, especially the Dukes of Tuscany and Spoleto, and the Marquesses of Ivrea, Susa, and Friuli, to contend among themselves, sometimes for the possession of the Crown of Italy, and sometimes for the power of bestowing it upon foreign competitors. It was their quarrels which at length gave a foreign Monarch the occasion of interposing as a master; and the submission of Berenger II., a native Prince, to hold the Kingdom of Italy as a Fief of Otto the Great, introduced the Feudal dependence of his Country on the Crown of Germany. The deposition of Berenger, and the revival of the Imperial Dignity in the person of Otto, confirmed that subjection, and gave the sanction of an ancient title to the new dominion which the German Prince exercised.

Thenceforth the Aristocratic Polity of Italy assumed the complete Feudal form, with the Emperor for its Sovereign paramount. Under both the Saxon and Franconian Dynasties, notwithstanding the abeyance in which it was placed between the extinction of the first and the accession of the second of those Families, the Imperial authority received a plenary recognition from the Italian Feudatories. The actual policy of the Saxon Emperors in particular was effectually exerted to lessen the power, and confirm the dependence of that Order, by dismembering districts, either as Governments or Fiefs under rural Nobles, from the great Provinces over which the Dukes were rapidly converting their

The Feudal System.

Complete independence of the German Feudatories.

III. ITALY.

Early independence of Feudal Chieftains; in that Country.

Sovereignty of the Emperors established.

* Until the extinction of the male Saxon line, some degree of hereditary right seems to have been recognised as vested in that Family through the original national election of Henry the Fowler. But the confirmation of this title by an election was not the more dispensed with; and the ceremony was in fact renewed in the case of each heir to the Empire. The 1st and 11d Othos so obtained the election of their sons in childhood. Henry II. was formally chosen after the death of his relative, the 111d Otto. But see Struvius, *Corpus Hist. Germ.* and the authorities there cited. p. 273. † Schmidt, *Hist. des Allemans*, vol. ii. p. 393–403. Struvius, p. 233.

‡ In this Family, as in the last, after the election of its founder, Conrad II., the succession was determined by a mixture of hereditary and elective right.

§ Schmidt, vol. iii. p. 25. 27. 207.

|| Struvius, p. 327.

History. delegated jurisdiction into a Feudal dominion.* Another step consolidated the work which the Othos had commenced; and a famous Edict of Conrad II., the founder of the Franconian line, published at Milan in 1037, is usually, although confined in its provisions to Italy, quoted as fixing the maturity of the Feudal System. By this celebrated Instrument, some disputed questions which had arisen in Italy with respect to Subinfeudation were definitively settled. It was declared, among other things, that no Vassal, whether holding a chief or an Arriere-fief, could be deprived of it, "except by the Constitution of the Empire, and the judgment of his peers or equals;" and that all Fiefs were heritable in the male line, and incapable of alienation by the Lord except with the consent of the Vassal.†

Its Decline in that Country,

These provisions, so far as Italy is concerned, certainly mark the complete organization of Feudalism. Yet it is from this epoch also that its decline in the same Country may be dated. The regular administration introduced by the German Emperors favoured the prosperity of the Lombard Cities; and the growth of Republican strength in those communities was fatal to the Feudal Aristocracy. First, the Oppidan Counts were ejected by the citizens; and next, by force of arms, the rural Nobility in the surrounding districts were compelled to submit to the rising Republics, to abandon their Fiefs, and to reside within the same walls with those jealous Democracies.‡ The Regalian Rights which those Cities conquered from the Emperor Frederic I. left only the vain image of Sovereignty to his successors; but at the same time the zeal with which the Italian professors of the Civil Law had successfully laboured to exalt the Imperial prerogative, threw the privileges of the remaining rural Nobility, who were less capable of resistance than the Republics, into general discredit. Thus subjugated by the Democracies on the one hand, and oppressed by the weight of Imperial Sovereignty on the other, the Feudal Aristocracy in its proper relations was rapidly dissolved, and disappeared from the Political stage. Both in the Municipal and Imperial Tribunals, the principles of the Civil were preferred to those of the Feudal Law; and for all effectual purposes or influence on the state of Society, the Feudal System in Northern and Central Italy may be said to have ceased to exist before the end of the XIIIth Century. In the Southern division of that Peninsula it was much longer preserved; for the Norman conquerors, on their establishment of the Kingdom of Naples, naturally perfected the form of Polity to which they were habituated in their own Country, and which in fact had been long rendered familiar in a part of their new possessions by the example of the Lombards of Benevento.§

except in the Kingdom of Naples.

IV. ARAGON.

The structure of Feudalism in those North-Eastern districts of the Spanish March, which afterwards expanded into the Kingdom of Aragon, exhibited some peculiarities worthy of attention. In Catalonia, one of its Provinces, originally governed by the Counts of Barcelona as Vassals of France, who acquired the Crown of Aragon by marriage in the XIIth Century, the custom of Sub-infeudation appears never to have prevailed beyond the first degree. At least, it is as-

serted by a Native Writer,* that, under the Kingdom of Aragon, Arriere-fiefs were unknown in Catalonia; and we may conclude that the Royal Barons of that Province derived their inheritance from the immediate Vassals of the old Counts of Barcelona. It is probable that the primitive Feudal Constitution of Aragon Proper was similar to that of Catalonia; and the Aragonese Barons, or *Ricoshombrs*, as they were called, appear to have formed, in the infancy of the Kingdom, a small but powerful Aristocracy, who elected their Sovereign usually out of one Royal line, but invested him with only a very limited Feudal supremacy. The History of the peculiar Regal Constitution of Aragon belongs, however, rather to the Civil Annals of that Kingdom than to our present subject. It was little affected by an extension of the Feudal Institutions which followed the Christian conquests beyond the Ebro. The territories which were wrested from the Saracens, chiefly through the enterprises of the *Ricoshombrs*, were parcelled out among their Order by the Aragonese Kings on strictly military tenures; and the condition annexed to those Fiefs that the Barons should subdivide them into Knights' fees,† completed the full establishment of the Feudal System in all its gradations throughout Valencia, and at least great part of Aragon. Its existence even survived the Middle Ages; and the Constitution of Aragon, which will claim notice in another place, presents, by the protection which it extended to the rights of every rank of Feudal tenants, the holdest features of Aristocratic liberty which are to be found in the contemporary History of any Country but our own.

And pre-eminence of its System.

V. In England, whatever doubts may be entertained V. ENGLAND. relative to the nature of landed tenures under the Saxon Monarchs, there can be none in dating the sudden and complete establishment of the Feudal System from the Era of the Norman Conquest. The circumstances under which the Kingdom was won by a foreign invasion and a decisive victory, naturally led the Conqueror to invest his followers with estates, on the tenure most congenial to the practice of his own Country, and most conducive to the security of his new Throne. The conditions of Feudal service in all its gradations were therefore rendered by an obvious policy the principle of every grant of land. Upon such terms, by original violence and subsequent confiscations, was nearly the whole soil of the Kingdom divided among the foreign leaders and their retainers; and this forcible settlement is the first remarkable example in the History of Feudalism of its introduction into a State, at an Epoch when that form of Polity had already been fully matured in other parts of Europe. To the means and the lateness of its establishment may be ascribed the peculiar features of the System, as it prevailed in England. In no other Country of Europe, perhaps, were Feudal tenures so universal and so uniform in their obligations; and in none were the Fiefs of the great Vassals so scattered over different Provinces. With the exceptions of the great Earldoms of Chester and Shrewsbury, scarcely any Lordship extended over a continuity of territory; and the Knights' Fees, which formed the component

Establishment of Feudalism at the Norman Conquest.

Peculiar features which it here exhibited.

* Muratori, *Antiq. Italiane*, Diss. viii.

† *Libri Feudorum*, v. tit. l.

‡ Muratori, *Antiq. Italiane*, Diss. xlix.

§ Giamouvi, *istoria di Napoli*, passim.

* Petr. de Marca, *De Marca Hisp.* p. 1395.

† The highest class of Arriere-vassals thus created were called *Infanzones*, a title answering, as it is expressly declared in an old law, (*Leyes Alfonso xii. en Partida*, part ii. tit. 2. *lepe* 13.) to that of Vassalurs in Italy. See Du Cange, *ad vv. Infanzones, et Mainardarii*.

History. parts of the same Barony were generally dispersed through different Counties.* Whether this originated in accident or design on the part of the Conqueror, it had a remarkable effect in preventing the growth of any such inordinate power in the Feudal Aristocracy of England, as had long rendered that Order in France so formidable to the Sovereign. Moreover, the difference of the mode in which Fiefs were originally acquired in the two Countries, had a sensible influence upon the relation between King and Vassal. In France, the rise of the Capetian Dynasty had been preceded by the secure establishment of the great Fiefs, whose possessors were strong in their usurping pretensions and real power, rather as rivals than as subjects of their Kings. But in England, the Barons actually owed their possessions to the grants of the Crown; and the Royal superiority was not, as in Countries in which it had often so become through revolutions and anarchy, a mere fiction of Feudal Law, but a reality enforced from the outset by practical obligations, and never interrupted by their desuetude. The supreme power which the King's Court began almost immediately after the Conquest to arrogate to itself as an universal Tribunal of ultimate resort and appeal, also prevented the establishment of that right of territorial jurisdiction in the Feudal Aristocracy, which formed the greatest source of its power in other Countries. But, above all, the independence of the great English Vassals was crushed in its birth by a measure of the Conqueror himself, which certainly violated an essential principle of the Feudal relation. As the System existed on the Continent of Europe, the Sovereign could not claim any direct allegiance from the holders of *Arrière-fiefs*, whose fealty was due only to their immediate Lords:† but William I. obliged not only his Barons who held in chief of the Crown, but their Vassals also, to take an oath of fealty to himself.‡

History of the Crown. Hence altogether the Royal authority in England assumed from the outset a vigour which was unknown in the Feudal Monarchies of earlier establishment; and its prerogatives were exercised and extended with a tyranny, to which the contemporary Governments of the Continent afford no parallel. The rapacity of the Crown was displayed in the excessive exaction of every Feudal right; and the seizure of lands in wardship and the actual sale of the heiresses of Fiefs in marriage, were usurpations,—as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice,—peculiar, at least in their degree, to the Kings of England. It may thus briefly be defined of the state of Feudalism in England that, while its Institutions were established in all their completeness, and its whole System of customary Law as implicitly followed, the first were so employed as to cement the strength of the Throne by means of a military Aristocracy, without endangering the Royal authority over that Order; and the second so wrested as to give to the Crown all the advantage which in other Countries was engrossed by

the great Vassals. Through what process this subjection of the Feudal Order, and its resistance to the tyranny of the Crown, were made instrumental in preparing a foundation for the glorious fabric of English Liberty, will form a future subject of inquiry into the Rise of the Constitutional System.

VI. The Feudal Institutions having prevailed in Scotland as well as England, some separate account of their rise and maturity in the former Kingdom may be expected. But the origin of Feudalism in Scotland is involved in great obscurity; and in the absence of any authentic evidence of the period, the source, and the circumstances of their introduction, it can only be conjectured that Feudal Tenures were adopted in that Country from the example of the Norman conquerors of England, soon after their forcible establishment by those invaders in the Southern division of the Island. Neither does the later History of Feudalism in Scotland throw any special illustration on the great features of the System. For its condition in that Kingdom was so irregular and anarchical, as to exhibit in practice scarcely any of the recognised obligations of Feudatories to their Sovereign; and its aspect and results were even more Aristocratic than in any other Country. The powers usurped and retained by the Scottish Nobles, long after the decline of Feudal privileges in most parts of Europe, were so exorbitant and lawless as to be utterly inconsistent with the legitimate administration of the Royal authority. This extreme preponderance of the Aristocratic Order was principally owing, beyond the usual tendency of the same Institutions elsewhere, to the union of the devoted feelings of Celtic Clanship with the ordinary obligations of Feudal Vassalage. Many of the great Scottish Barons claimed, with successful violence, the unlimited exercise of every Regalian right; and the absolute nature of their territorial jurisdiction is marked by the privilege which they established under the title of *repledging*, or of removing, any cause wherein their dependents might have been summoned before the King's Court, into their own, and even of punishing the Vassal who sought or obeyed the judgments of the Royal tribunal.*

VII. A third example of the foundation of a State VII. PALESTINE.

upon Feudal principles in the maturity of the System is afforded in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. On the conquest of Palestine in the First Crusade, every motive of policy and habit dictated the establishment of a Military Government for the preservation of the new Christian possessions; and the settlement of the Kingdom was therefore effected on a purely Feudal basis. Exposed on all sides to the incessant assaults of Infidel enemies, the scanty army of warriors who remained to defend the Holy Land, needed the closest bond of Feudalism to consolidate their insufficient strength; and through no other Institutions, probably, could the possession of Palestine have been so long maintained by its small resident population of martial colonists. A warfare without remission kept the obligations of tenure by military service in perpetual exercise; and the History of the Latin Monarchy in Palestine exhibits the Feudal Constitution of Society, equally in its original purpose and continued action, under the most appropriate and perfect form. We may, therefore, with some advantage, and at least without inconvenience,

* Sir James Craig, *Jus Feudale*, lib. iii. tit. vii. &c. Robertson, *History of Scotland*, book i.

* See the examples collected by Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 432.

† This principle of the exclusive dependence of a Vassal upon his immediate Lord is, perhaps, stated by Mr. Hallam (vol. ii. p. 403.) too absolutely; at least England was not the only Country in the latter Ages of Feudalism in which the practice was different; for in the Latin Kingdom of Palestine, founded, as we shall presently see, on a purely Feudal model, the services of the *Arrière-vassal* to his immediate Lord were not due without an express reservation of fealty to the King as *Seigneur paramount*. *Annales de Jérusalem*, (apud Thaumassiere, folio, Paris, 1690,) c. 222.

‡ Chron. Saxonicum, p. 187.

The Feudal System.

VI. SCOTLAND.

Character of Feudalism in that Kingdom.

Feudal Establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

History. introduce a few references to the internal structure of that State, as rather appertaining to our present subject, than demanding a place hereafter in the strictly Chronological series of events.

Its Constitution. Though the Crown of Jerusalem was at first purely elective, the successive elevation of Godfrey of Bouillon, of his brother Baldwin I., and of his relative the IInd of the same name, established a principle of succession in that Family, which was transmitted even through the Female line; and the Kingdom became an hereditary Feudal Monarchy. According to the custom of the European States, the principal Offices of the Crown—such as those of Seneschal, Constable, Marshal, and Chamberlain,—were also hereditary.* The Kingdom was divided into four chief Baronies, of Jaffa, Galilee, Cesarea, and Tripoli, with many Lordships in chief of inferior extent, to all of which were attached the high Feudal privileges of coining money and of territorial jurisdiction. These great Fiefs were held by the Knights' service of about two thousand five hundred fees, and sub-leased accordingly. In these numbers, however, were included the contingents of the four principal Cities of Jerusalem, Tyre, Acre, and Naplousa, which appear to have depended immediately on the Crown; and even the Ecclesiastical and Commercial Communities of the Kingdom were bound to perform military service through Feudal tenants of lower rank than the knightly Vassals of the Baronies and great Cities.† The famous Military Orders of Palestine who served on their Religious obligations were not Feudal Institutions: but their array formed a principal resource in the public defence.

The necessities and danger of the Christian State in Palestine enforced the fullest obligations of Feudal tenure; and in the extant legal Code of the Kingdom under the name of the *Assises of Jerusalem*, these are defined with a strictness which marks the peculiar exigence of their demand. The unusual amount and extent of the obligations there imposed upon Vassals for the ransom of a captive Lord, bespeak the calamities of an unequal warfare with the Musulmans, in which the occasion for such aids was but too frequent;‡ The alienation of Fiefs, without consent of the Lord, and in any case to minors and females, as incapable of military service, was forbidden§ on pain of forfeiture, with an anxiety to be expected in a State which could not afford to lose the services even of a single Knight. In the same spirit, the heiress of a Fief was compelled to marry, in order that her husband might perform the Feudal duties to which her sex rendered her incompetent;|| and, also, the division by Sub-entfeuding a Fief owing only one Knight's service was positively prohibited: lest, so dismembered, none of its parts should be able to maintain a whole man.¶ And the term of service due to the King by his Vassals, instead of being limited to forty days, was extended to a full year, either within or beyond the realm, whenever required for the public good. Such were some of the provisions in the *Assises of Jerusalem*, which owing to the peculiar condition of that Kingdom were extended beyond the usual bounds of Feudalism; but, in examining the more common features of the System, we shall find that the general spirit also of the same remarkable Code will throw back several illustrations on those forms of Polity in Europe, from which it was originally borrowed.

After the Historical sketch which has been offered in the few preceding pages, to illustrate the Origin and Growth, the local extent, and varying aspect, of Feudalism in the different Countries wherein it prevailed; we now proceed to attempt some more particular analysis of the principles and features of that memorable System. Here the nature of a Feudal relation; the forms and conditions by which it was attended; the incidents to which it was liable, and the rights which it conferred; will successively claim our attention: and the subject will naturally be concluded by a view of the different Orders of Society which the Feudal System created or recognised; and an estimate of the results which it produced upon the Political and Civil condition of Europe.

It has been already observed that the peculiar principle of the Feudal relation was a mutual compact of protection and fidelity between Lord and Vassal; with a fixed interchange of duties, arising exclusively out of landed tenures by military service. The superior who bestowed, and the follower who accepted, an estate in fief, were alike held to have thereby bound themselves to each other under certain well-known and mutual obligations, which constituted the Laws of Feudalism; and these conditions were equally due, in the male* line of primogeniture, from their respective heirs territorial for ever. That is to say, they were due in respect of the land which was the subject of the compact; and on no other account. Accordingly, the Feudal bond determined and ceased with any transfer of the Fief, the obligations of which fell upon its new holder. But for this reason also, such an alienation, by purchase or in any other manner, was not allowable except with full permission of the Lord;† nor properly could the latter himself alienate his own Sovereignty without the consent of his Vassals;‡ For the Lord having only granted the estate on condition of military service, had a right to be satisfied that it should not be delivered into the hands of a tenant, less competent than his Vassal to discharge such duties, or from any cause obnoxious to him; and, on the other hand, the acceptor of the Fief having bound himself only to one Seigneur and his lineal heirs, should not be compelled to render the same services to a stranger. In this, and in every other regard, the Feudal contract was strictly reciprocal. In proportion to the services which it exacted from the Vassal, were the equivalent duties of protection which it imposed upon the Lord; nor could faith be broken on one side without justifying a release from all obligation on the other. If the Vassal neglected to perform his bounden service, he forfeited the estate itself which he held by such conditions: if the Lord withdrew his protection, he thereby lost his right of sovereignty.§

* Whether females could originally succeed to the inheritance of Fiefs has been doubted. The spirit of Feudal tenures seems opposed to their capability of succession, since they could render no personal military service; but, whatever may have been the original principle, it is certain that (except in Germany) females, in the maturity of the System, were commonly suffered to hold Feudal lands. The Historical instances of this are too numerous for citation: but for the recognised legality of the practice, see *Assises de Jerusalem*, especially c. 167.

† *Libri Feudorum*, ii. tit. 9. 52. Beaumanoir, *Costumes de Beauvoisis*, c. 2. *Assises de Jerusalem*, c. 272.

‡ Of this, though not always so expressly laid down in the Feudal law books as the same prohibition against the Vassal, there can be as little doubt from the general spirit of the contract. But see Sir Martin Wright on Tenures, c. 40. de *Lib. Feudorum*.

§ *Lib. Feudorum*, ii. tit. 26. 47. Beaumanoir, c. 61. *Assises de Jerusalem*, c. 200, 201. 217. 265. &c. *Etablissements de St. Louis*, (apud Velly, *Hist. de France*), c. 49.

* *Assises*, c. 289.

† *Ibid.* c. 273.

|| *Ibid.* c. 193.

† *Ibid.* c. 324—330.

§ *Ibid.* c. 198.

¶ *Ibid.* c. 155.

History. The forms by which the Feudal compact was solemnized, in the bestowing and receiving of a Fief, were simple and expressive. On the part of the tenant, these ceremonies consisted in doing homage and taking an oath of fealty. The first was performed by the Vassal, kneeling, uncovered, and disarmed, before the Lord, in token of his subjection and devotion. In this posture, with his clasped hands between those of his seigneur, he promised, in return for the Fief bestowed or held, to become thenceforth his man loyally and faithfully, and to serve him with life and limb and earthly honour, against all persons whatsoever.* The oath of fealty was to the same effect, and in every case required; but unlike homage, which could only be received by the Lord in person, it might be taken before any officer deputed for the purpose. On the part of the Lord, the exchange of engagement was also twofold: when homage had been rendered, he declared that he accepted the homager for his Vassal; promised to protect him in his lands and person; and kissed him on the mouth in seal of mutual faith. This was followed by an act of investiture in the Fief, varying in its ceremonies. For, either the Lord, in person or by proxy, put the Vassal in possession on the land itself; or else he delivered to him some such type of the property of the soil, as a clod of earth, a stone, or a bough of a tree. The first mode was termed a proper, and the second an improper investiture; and by either, the Vassal was equally declared, in Feudal law language, to have taken *seisin* of his lands.†

Structure of Feudal tenures. The principal condition of all proper Feudal tenures was, as we have seen, military service on the part of the Vassal and protection on that of the Lord. But the bond further implied so many secondary obligations, endlessly differing in their nature and degree according to local customs and national manners, that in any general view of the System the attempt to classify them would be equally difficult and unprofitable. It will suffice to notice a few of the duties which obtained an universal recognition. In the first place, even the extent of military service due from the tenant varied extremely in different Ages and Countries. In the Latin State of Palestine, a Vassal was bound to serve a full year on the summons of his Lord;‡ which as the demand upon emergency was always renewable, amounted in fact to an obligation without intermission. But this tenure by unlimited service was peculiar to that State; and obviously produced by the incessant dangers, to which the Kingdom was exposed from the Moslem assaults. The tenure by watch and ward in castles on the marches or frontiers in other Countries, and especially on our Scottish Borders, was also in its nature a service, which though sedentary, was without limit of time. But the general usage of Feudalism in Europe restricted the period in the year, during which a Vassal was obliged to keep the field at his own cost in his Lord's service, to forty days. This was the full amount due for a whole Knight's fee, or such extent of land as was held sufficient of itself to maintain a completely equipped man-at-arms and his horse.§ But the length of service

was reduced in the same ratio with the extent of the Fief: as, for example, in England, for half a Knight's fee, only twenty, and for a fourth, no more than ten days could be claimed;¶ and in France, probably on the same principle, the duration of service due from Fiefs differed in many degrees. Minors, and men above sixty years of age, as well as women, were exempted from personal service, and bound to provide substitutes; or sometimes, in lieu of such proxies, their Lord might take their horses and arms.† The local extent to which service was due varied, in the custom of different Countries and even of different districts in the same Country, still more than its duration. In some instances and places, Vassals were bound to follow their Lords whithersoever they warred: in others, they owed no service beyond the frontiers of the Lordship.‡

Among the remaining duties of the Vassal, the most usual were those of attendance at the Court of his Lord to assist him in council, in judicial proceedings, and on occasions of pomp and state.§ To betray his confidence, to conceal the designs of his enemy, or to do him injury in any point, were manifest breaches of fealty. In battle he was bound to stand by him to the utterance; to give him his own horse when dismounted; and, if he were taken by the enemy, to go into captivity for him as a hostage. And on all occasions, he was to defend inviolate the honour of his Lord's family. Hence by implication, himself to dishonour him in the person of his female relatives, was the foulest act of treason.¶ For neglect of any of these duties of service, and still more for positive breaches of fidelity, the Vassal incurred the forfeiture of his Fief.

On the other hand, the duties of protection which the Lord owed to his Vassal were no less obligatory, and their dereliction was equally shameful. It was incumbent on the superior to defend his man against all injustice and injury; and especially from such as might be encountered in his own service. If, in the day of battle, the Vassal gave him his horse, or afterwards became hostage for him, or sold any portion of his own Fief to ransom him, then the Lord was bound to the reciprocal duty of redeeming or compensating his faithful dependent. If the Lord failed to do him right in these or any other respects, if he denied him justice, or dishonoured him in his family, the Vassal was released from his allegiance, and might defy, and do war upon, his faithless superior.¶ In short, the Lord and Vassal, to the extent of the value of the Fief in all pecuniary obligations, and to an unlimited degree in all questions of personal honour and fidelity, were reciprocally bound in security and duty towards each other.

In the long descending chain of obligation which the

* In the decline of the Feudal System, when personal service was commuted for money, the rate of this exchange, as it was called in England, was regulated in the same proportions. Wright on Tenures, p. 120.

† *Annales de Jérusalem*, c. 233. 241.

‡ Du Cange, s. *Hostis*.—a full and excellent article, in which an immense number of examples on the varieties of service due, both as to time and distance, will be found.

§ This duty extended sometimes to the accompanying of the Lord, or even of his daughter on marriage, as a travelling escort; sometimes to undertaking journeys on his business, in which case, however, the Lord was bound to supply the viaticum. (Coke on Littleton, lib. ii. c. 3. sec. 69. 95. *Annales de Jérusalem*, c. 230.)

¶ *Annales de Jérusalem*, c. 265.

¶ *Annales de Jérusalem*, c. 211. 214. 217. 219. &c. *Etablissements de St. Louis*, c. 49. 51.

* *Deveo homo venter de tenemento quod de vobis tenet, et fideles vestros portabo de vobis et membris et terram honore contra omnes gentes*, &c. Bracton, lib. ii. c. 35. So also Littleton, c. 85. both as cited in Du Cange, s. *Hominium*.

† For the different forms and kinds of homage, fealty, investiture, &c. see Du Cange, s. *Hominium*, *Fidelitas*, *Investitura*.

‡ *Annales de Jérusalem*, c. 230.

§ Du Cange, s. *Feudum Militia*.

The Feudal System.

and local extent.

Attendance at the Lord's Court.

Fidelity,

and Dereliction.

Duties of the Lord.

Protection.

Recommendation, peace, and Justice

His. ry.
Question of
allegiance
due by
Arriere-
vassals to
the Lord
Paramount.

Feudal System enforced from the highest, or Royal Sovereign, as Lord Paramount, down to the lowest tenant of a Sub-infeudation, it became a question of disputed right and delicate application, whether a Vassal was bound to serve his immediate Seigneur against the King, or Prince, of whom the latter might hold. In other words, whether the obligations of allegiance by which any Feudatory bound himself, were binding also through him on his Sub-vassals and their tenants. Certainly, in those earlier Ages of Feudalism, when it had reached its maturity without having yet lost the purity—if the phrase may be admitted—of its institutions, the bond in every case existed only between each Lord and his immediate Vassal: so that the tenant of a second or third Sub-infeudation owed no allegiance whatever to the Feudatory who commenced the division, or to the King from whom the whole had been derived. The practical independence of the Royal authority, enjoyed by great Vassals, favoured the maintenance of this principle. In France, for example, as long as such powerful Princes as the Plantagenets held Normandy and other great Fiefs, it would have been vain for the Kings to claim the allegiance of the Vassals of these Feudatories against themselves: but, when the Royal power began to be better established, encroachments were successfully made by the Crown upon an independence so dangerous to its supremacy; and the doctrine that service was due by a Vassal to his immediate Lord against his King, was, in an unconditional sense at least, gradually abrogated. A law of Louis IX. declares that the tenant of an Arriere-fief, if summoned by his Lord to attend him against the King, shall first ascertain whether the Sovereign has denied justice to his immediate superior: in which case only, he is bound to serve him in obtaining redress by arms.* In England, as we have seen, even from the first establishment of Feudalism under the Conqueror, that politic Monarch exacted an oath of allegiance from all Arriere-vassals;† and in the Feudal Law of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, whose foundation bears date a century later, there is no principle better defined than the obligation of fealty from the Arriere-vassal to the King.‡

Distinction
of Fiefs
proper and
improper.

Nature of
each.

Such as we have here described were the conditions of a proper Fief. But there were, also, during the Feudal Ages, tenures of another description, of which some notice is necessary in any view of the general System from whence they derived their origin. When Feudalism had been thoroughly established, its terms and fashions came to be extended by a species of legal fiction to various contracts foreign to its primitive spirit. The marks of a proper Feudal relation were investiture without purchase, and the obligation of military service: but grants of land, of rents, of pensions from Royal treasuries, and even of offices, were often made, for a pecuniary price, or upon condition of civil or domestic services, which by analogous usage were still regarded as Fiefs; while, from being held without martial duties, they were distinguished as in their nature improper. These, however, usually partook inasmuch of the nature

of proper Fiefs both as being held by fixed services and received by some sort of investiture and oath of fealty; though it would appear that no homage was required of their possessors, nor were the grants themselves always heritable.* The most dignified among improper Fiefs, however, were those consisting in offices of state or of Royal households; and such, it has been remarked, was the strange constitution of manners which had originated among the free Northern Nations that, under the Feudal Monarchies, the proudest Nobility thought it not derogatory to perform the menial duties of butler, sewer, or chamberlain about the Royal person.† Hence arose many of those titles, primarily of servile signification, which, in the German Empire were claimed as the highest honours by Electoral and other Sovereign Princes, and which are still perpetuated as dignities in every European Court. By the great Feudal Nobility, the appurtenances of regal state were closely limited; and their households were filled with officers who held lands by the performance of domestic services. Another description of tenure was the discharge of those duties at Royal coronations which, in our own Country and Times, we have seen still claimed in an honourable spirit of loyalty and family pride, that has survived the changes of manners, and marks a last lingering attachment to the uses of venerable antiquity.

From all proper Fiefs, besides the primary conditions of fidelity and military service, there accrued to the Lord on certain occasions, rather by the growth of usage than in the original spirit of Beneficiary grants, various emoluments, which became known under the name of Feudal Incidents. The chief of these were Aids, Reliefs, Fines, and Escheats.

1. The first were of all Incidents those which arose most naturally out of the Feudal compact. In their proper restriction, or when not stretched into unreasonable demands by the rapacity of the Crown, these pecuniary payments were of three kinds:—for ransoming the Lord from captivity;‡ for portioning his eldest daughter, and for making his eldest son a Knight.§ To these, in the language of our Great Charter,|| the number of "reasonable Aids" was defined and restricted; and their legality seems also to have been admitted by the Feudal constitutions of every other Country. But the number of Aids was sometimes swelled by local customs, sometimes multiplied as the Monarchical prevailed over the Aristocratic power, by tyrannical exactions, and on various pleas of necessity; and indeed such Feudal Aids altogether, as a distinguished writer has observed, are chiefly worthy of attention from having furnished, first the substitute, and next the pretext, for an arbitrary system of Royal taxation.¶

* Du Cange, *vr. Feudum Annuum, Feudum de Camerac.*

† Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 195.

‡ Of the levying of this Aid, the most remarkable instance in our own History was the ransom of Richard I. for which a tax of twenty shillings was levied on every Knight's fee. Roger Hoveden, p. 414.

§ It is not easy to understand, nor is it explained by writers on Feudalism, why this occasion should demand a pecuniary Aid, for the ceremonial expenses of Knighthood could not be very great: unless it may be supposed that, as Knighthood was conferred on the entrance of the young Prince or Lord into man's estate, this tax upon the Vassals was intended to maintain the separate establishment which became necessary for his dignity. In this view, its principle would be intelligible, as corresponding with that of the Aid for portioning the Sovereign's eldest daughter.

|| Magna Charta, c. 12.

¶ For a fuller account of the variety of Aids than is required in this place, see Du Cange, *c. Annuum*.

* *Etobliuement de St. Louis*, c. 49.

† The English forms of homage, given by Du Cange (under the head before cited) from Bracton and Littleton, conclude with a formal reservation of allegiance as due to the King. "*Salut fide debitu Domino Regi et haeredibus suis.*" *Salut la fey que j'eo doy a nostre Seigneur le Roy*, &c. And the customary law of some parts of the Continent is quoted by Du Cange to the same effect.

‡ *Annales de Jerusalem*, passim:—but especially 205. 209. 222. &c.

History.
II. Reliefs.

II. Aids were incidents to which the possession of a Fief rendered the Vassal always liable; but even before he could enter upon its inheritance, he was compelled to make a pecuniary payment to the Lord of another kind, under the name of a Relief. Of the origin of a custom which early became universal, opposite explanations have been given. While Benefices were being rendered hereditary only by the slow sanction of time, and by long succession from father to son, it might be natural for the heir on the death of his parent, to obtain the formal confirmation of the Lord in his estate by a pecuniary offering; and the practice, so profitable to Sovereigns, might be continued from long usage, and by the rapacity of Feudal superiors, even after the absolute recognition of hereditary right in Fiefs made it no longer necessary for the security of a doubtful title.* Or, instead of having been first employed to legitimize the seizure by the heir of lands which should in strictness have reverted to the Lord; Reliefs may, on the contrary, have been introduced, after Fiefs had become hereditary, by the injustice and violence of Feudal Sovereigns, who would avail themselves of the death of a Vassal to despoil his helpless son of a free inheritance, and deny him possession of his Lands until he had relieved them, as it was termed, or taken them up anew by a pecuniary composition.† But, whatever was the origin of Reliefs, they were universally established before the maturity of Feudalism; and the uncertainty of their amount was rendered one of the most grievous Incidents of that Polity. Where, as in France and other Countries, the demand was arbitrary at the will of the Sovereign, it was known as a Relief *à merci*, and contra-distinguished from a *reasonable Relief*, which it was the object of Vassals to fix at a certain rate. This in England was at length defined by the Great Charter at one hundred pounds for an Earldom, as many marks for an inferior Barony, as many shillings for a Knight's fee, and for smaller Sub-infeudations in proportions regulated by ancient custom. These rates have been estimated at about a fourth of the annual value of each Fief: but in France an old customary law gave the whole fruits of the first year to the Lord; and an Ordinance of Louis IX. in conformity, as it should seem, with this provision, asserted the right of the Lord, in default of payment by the Vassal, to enter on possession of the Fief for the same period.‡

II. Fines
à l'aliénation.

III. Of the same nature with Reliefs, but far less questionable in their original right and the general equity of their principle, were the Fines paid by the Feudal Vassal to his immediate Lord, on every alienation of a Fief. The justice of the demand is obvious: for, as the Fief was granted only upon the condition of personal service, the Vassal was not at liberty either to abdicate or transfer his duties to another; and his Fief became forfeited, when he failed to perform the service, in re-

spect of which he held it. In fact, the Feudal compact was one of such strict mutual and personal obligation, that it could not be dissolved on either side without consent of the other. The Fief by such dissolution lapsing to the Lord, he had a right, before he granted a new investiture of it, to claim any share that he pleased of the price which his Vassal received for alienating it to a purchaser. The amount of Fines in such cases seems to have varied in different Countries; being often arbitrary, sometimes fixed by a law or custom, sometimes regulated even prospectively in particular Fiefs by special terms of investiture. Thus, in one private French Charter of the XIIIth Century, it is provided, that whenever the Feudatories desire to alienate their lands by sale, the Lord should have a *denarius* for every *solidus*, or a twelfth of the purchase-money.* Of the conditions under which alienation of Fiefs might take place in England, our knowledge is very uncertain; until a famous Statute of Edward I. fixed the amount of Fine upon which a Vassal might alienate, or sell his lands, at one-third of their annual value.†

The Feudal System.

IV. The principle which required a fine upon every alienation of a Fief with consent of a Lord, was extended with equal justice to a total relapse, or Escheat as it was called, of the estate to the Superior, when the contract had ended by the failure of lineal heirs. For, as the original grant had been limited to one man and his descendants, it was of course determined and ended by the extinction of such posterity; and in this case the Fief reverted to the representative of the original donor. By parity of reasoning, the violation of the original compact, by the treason of the Vassal, produced also an Escheat through forfeiture; and advantage was taken of this conclusion to deduce a second, that the guilt of the traitor attainted or corrupted the blood of his children, and incapacitated his descendants from succession to the Fief. This cruel law of Attainder afforded a ready pretext, and a vicious temptation, in times of violence, for tyrannical Princes to multiply Escheats; and thus a principle, originally just, and founded on the very nature and condition of Feudal grants, was converted into an engine of iniquitous proscription.‡

Besides these four Incidents which were common to Feudalism in every Kingdom where it prevailed, there were three others peculiar to England, or at least prevalent to the same degree in no other State than Normandy, which are equally deserving of notice to the British Student, as illustrating the aspect of the System in his own Country. These were the rights or usurpations of Primer-Seisin, of Wardship, and of Maritag. All these in England were grievous sources of extortion out of Feudal inheritances, discovered or enlarged by our Norman Princes, for indulging their rapacity at the expense of their Vassals. The first was derived from the same claim as that of Relief. At the death of a Vassal, the Sovereign took possession of his lands under pretext of keeping out intruders until the heir should appear for investiture; and during this interval, which was construed by a fiction of fraud to extend to a whole year, he seized the profits of the land. In other words, then, Primer-Seisin, which was confined to the case of lands held immediately of the Crown, was nothing else than the appropriation to the Sovereign of the first fruits,

Further Incidents nearly peculiar to England.

V. Primer-Seisin.

* Du Cange, v. *Reliquie Feudum*.

† Such is the hypothesis of Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 181. But the opinion of Du Cange on the origin of Reliefs, seems, on the whole, in better agreement with the history of Benefices, and their gradual assumption of a strictly hereditary character. The argument adduced by Mr. Hallam, from the fact that a large proportion of Fiefs had been absolute Alodial inheritances never really granted by the superior, possesses no great weight: because, from whatever source Reliefs were introduced, such tenures in becoming Feudal would equally fall under the usual obligations of the general System; and all its Incidents were as foreign as Reliefs to the primitive nature of Alodial property.

‡ *Enfaisnement de St. Louis*, c. 60. Du Cange, v. *Reliquie*, *Reliquum*.

* Du Cange, v. *Acceptare*.

† Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. ii. c. 5.

‡ *Libri Feudorum*, ii. tit. 86. Blackstone, *ubi supra*.

History.
VI. Ward
ship,

or a year's value of the Fief, over and above the Relief demanded on investiture.*

This exaction was confined to England; but the next in our enumeration, the right of Wardship, though no where else so perverted, was not unknown in other Feudal Kingdoms.† Indeed, the claim of the Lord during the minority of a Vassal to have the charge of his Fief, and even the guardianship of his person, does not seem unreasonable: since, while the heir, by reason of infancy, was unable to do Feudal service in person, no one had such a fair interest as the superior to provide a substitute for its performance out of the profits of the estate; or to see that his young Vassal was properly educated for the future discharge of the martial duties which he was bound to render. But, in England, the right of Wardship was shamefully abused by the Crown; and the guardianship of infants in chivalry, as it was called, was often deputed to rapacious favourites, unconnected with the heir by any ties of nature, who, without restraint, or liability to be called to account, enjoyed the fruits, and spoiled the property of his Fief.‡

and VII.
Marriage

The extension of the right of Wardship to the disposal of the heir or heiress in marriage, formed a yet more iniquitous usurpation. In all Feudal Countries, indeed, the consent of the Lord to the marriage of a female Vassal was requisite; and this was only in conformity to the general spirit of the System: since, as a lady was incapable of discharging Feudal services herself, the superior had a right to see that the husband of her choice was competent to perform them for her,§ and still more that she did not marry one of his enemies.¶ In the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the same circumstances of the exposure of that State to perpetual attacks, which compelled the rigorous enforcement of Feudal law in other respects, produced in this instance a very remarkable extension of the Lord's authority. He could call equally upon the young heiress of a Fief, or the widow of its last possessor, to choose for her husband one out of any three persons whom he should please, provided only that they were her equals in birth; and no reason was allowed to justify the lady in refusing this selection, except she could urge that she was above sixty years of age: in which case only it was gravely admitted by the Feudal legislators, that it might be "contrary to God and to reason to oblige her to take a husband against her will." If, on any other score, the lady refused to accept one of the presented suitors, or if she married otherwise without consent of the Lord, her lands escheated to him: but, on the other hand, if the Lord omitted to exercise his right, it was hers to require him to produce three eligible suitors; and if he still demurred, she was free to marry without his consent.¶ In England, without the same urgent plea of public necessity, the right of interference claimed by the Crown was carried to a far more tyrannical and outrageous extent: for Royal wards, as well male as female, were absolutely sold in marriage; or compelled, if they refused the tendered consort, to forfeit to their guardian, whether the King or an inferior Lord, the price which would have been obtained by the bargain.**

* Blackstone, *ubi supra*.

† Du Cange, v. *Custodia Pupillorum*.

‡ Blackstone, *ubi supra*.

§ *Annales de Jérusalem*, c. 180. *Eubulismena de St. Louis*, c. 63.

¶ Du Cange, v. *Disparagore, Mariagium*.

|| Bracton, l. ii. c. 37.

¶ *Annales de Jérusalem*, c. 224, &c.

** Blackstone, vol. ii. c. 5, p. 70, 71.

This enumeration of the degree to which three Feudal Incidents were perverted under our English tenures, may convey some idea of the intolerable grievances and burthens of the System as it existed in this Country. Nor were its abuses lessened in the general decline of Feudalism: for the oppression of families by the Royal usurpation of Wardships in chivalry, was never more ruinous than in the last stages of Feudal tenures under the Tudors and Stuarts.* In summing up the practical effects of the whole System, it is impossible to offer a more lively sketch than in the eloquent language of a great legal authority. "The heir, on the death of his ancestor, if of full age, was plundered of the first emoluments arising from his inheritance, by way of *relief* and *primer seisin*; and if under age, of the whole of his estate during infancy. And then, as Sir Thomas Smith very feelingly complains, 'when he came to his own, after he was out of *wardship*, his woods decayed, houses fallen down, stock wasted and gone, lands laid forth and ploughed to be barren;' to reduce him still further, he was yet to pay half a year's profits as a fine for suing out his *livery*; and also the price or value of his marriage, if he refused such a wife as his Lord or guardian had bartered for, and imposed upon him; or twice that value if he married another woman. Add to this, the untimely and expensive honour of *knighthood*, to make his poverty more completely splendid. And when by these deductions his fortune was so shattered and ruined, that perhaps he was obliged to sell his patrimony, he had not even that poor privilege allowed him without paying an exorbitant fine for a *licence of alienation*."†

Having described the Incidents justly enjoyed, or tyrannically usurped by Feudal Sovereigns, we have next to notice the Privileges which, on the other hand, through a similar admixture of right and violence, were asserted and obtained by their Vassals. Of such pretensions, it may in general terms be observed, that they stood highest at the outset in France, and subsequently in Germany; and were always lowest in England. The most important of these Privileges of Vassalage were, the rights of coining Money, of waging Private Wars, of exemption from all other pecuniary burthens than the regular Feudal Aids, and of Territorial Jurisdiction.

I. At what epoch before the complete establishment of Feudalism, the privilege of coining Money was usurped by the Provincial Governors in the Carolingian Empire, it is here not material to inquire: it may suffice to mention, that the practice was sufficiently ancient to have produced a prohibition by Charlemagne against its continuance.‡ If thereby suppressed for a time, it revived during the feeble reigns of his successors; and before the end of the Xth Century, it is asserted, that in France alone, the privilege of coining Money without the Royal mark, and with no other stamp than their own, was assumed by no less than one hundred and fifty Feudatories of all ranks.§ In the same Kingdom, even so late as the middle of the XIIIth Century, the right, now become prescriptive, was still maintained by about half that number of Nobles; and though, as the Kings increased their authority, efforts were successfully made to abridge the privilege into the issuing of copper money only, yet some of the great Feudatories continued to coin their own gold and silver until their Fiefs suc-

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 191.

† Blackstone, vol. ii. c. 2, p. 78.

‡ Baluzi, *Cop. Car. Mag.* a. d. 808, c. 7.

§ Du Cange, v. *Monetæ*.

The Feudal
System.
Intolerable
grievances
of these
Incidents in
England.

or Rights of
Vassalage.

I. Complete

History. cessively lapsed to the Crown. In Germany, the growing independence of the Imperial Vassals extended this, with other rights, in the same ratio in which they were narrowed in France: but in England, though the Barons might sometimes avail themselves, as during the Civil wars in Stephen's reign,* of the suspension of regular government to usurp the lucrative functions of the Royal mint, yet their right to coin their own Money was never recognised, and the practice seldom attempted. This, like all other restrictions upon the power of the great English Vassals, was an effect of the more vigorous and jealous authority possessed by our Norman Princes than by the contemporary Feudal Sovereigns of the Continent. For the Baronial privilege of coining in other States not only intrenched upon the proper prerogative of the Throne, and naturally wounded the pride of Monarchs, but it likewise deprived them of the profits of the exorbitant *seigniorages* as well as of the scandalous debasements, which in those Ages were levied and practised on the coinage of the precious metals, equally by Paramount Sovereigns and Feudatories.†

II. Private War. Throughout the Countries which had composed the Carlovingian Empire, no Feudal right was better or more universally established and exercised, than the deplorable and fatal custom of Private War. It is not necessary, as some Writers have done, to revert to the Age of Tacitus for the remote origin among the ancient Germans of a practice, the immediate cause and systematic commencement of which are sufficiently to be found in the anarchy of the IXth and Xth Centuries. During the abeyance of all regal or national authority, the great Feudatories were, in fact, in the condition of foreign enemies towards each other; they were without any superior and common jurisdiction to which, even if they had been so inclined, they might appeal for the redress of injuries; and the power of the sword alone remained to decide their quarrels. Their example was naturally followed by their Sub-vassals; and the face of Continental Europe was continually wasted with the ravages of internal hostility. In England alone, of all Feudal Countries, this scourge was little felt; and though it would be inaccurate to say that the practice of Private Wars was unknown under our Norman Kings, yet the right of waging these feuds was never recognised; and on the contrary, their occurrence was denounced and sometimes punished as an offence against the King's peace: that is to say, against the supreme authority and dignity of the Crown.‡

III. extent. By the Feudal customs of the Continent, the right of Private War was extended and confined to all persons of noble quality; or in other words, to all possessors of Fiefs on Knightly tenure. But they must also be equals in the scale of Infefudation with their adversaries; nor was it every civil cause of offence which justified an appeal to arms, but such deadly injuries only as are usually deemed capital crimes in modern jurisprudence, or such outrageous insults as no gentleman might endure.§ When the war was once commenced, it might be legally espoused by the relations of both belligerents, and it was even incumbent on them in some cases to give aid in the quarrel, under pain of forfeiting the claims and inheritance of kindred. Still more were

The Feudal System. the Vassals of each combatant involved in the contest: since, by the very essence of the Feudal obligations, they were bound to defend and assist their Lords.*

Attempts to repress its exercise. The means by which a custom so pernicious to the good order and improvement, and so contrary to the first principles of Civil Society, was finally abrogated, belong for the greatest part to a later period than that before us: but some of the attempts earliest made to restrain its exercise, deserve notice here. The most famous of these was the TRUCE of God, to which we have before alluded:† a pious fraud of the French Church in the beginning of the XIth Century, by which, under a pretended revelation, men were forbidden to assail their adversaries during any of the Holy Festivals; and also during the interval between every Wednesday Evening and Monday Morning, as embracing those days of the week which had been sanctified by the Passion and Resurrection of the Redeemer. At first the Truce of God, extending from France, was adopted throughout Europe, and tolerably well observed: but notwithstanding the laudable anxiety of the Church, and repeated decrees of Popes and Councils to enforce its salutary provisions, they appear in the sequel to have been little regarded.‡ The gradual interposition of Royal authority was necessary to restrain, and finally to extinguish, the sanguinary feuds which the voice of Religion had vainly striven to mitigate; and the first step in this wholesome exercise of power, in France at least, may be dated from an ordinance of Louis IX., by which that benevolent Prince forbade, under penalty of treason, the commencement of any Private War until forty days after the commission of the crime or offence which had originated the quarrel. The opportunities of accommodation between hostile parties given by this edict, which was known under the name of the King's Peace, or Royal Truce, appear to have contributed essentially to diminish the number and frequency of the French Private Wars; and the endeavours of St. Louis being followed up by Philip the Fair, and successfully completed by Charles VI. and Louis XI., led soon after the middle of the XVth Century, to the total abolition of the practice.§ In Spain and in Germany, as we shall hereafter observe, it continued nearly fifty years later.

III. Exemption from all other pecuniary burthens than the Feudal Aids was a condition naturally implied from the granting of a Fief; and this right, though it eventually became a partial and odious immunity of the Aristocratic Order, was in its origin, while national taxation was unknown, founded on reason and justice. For, the special services and aids due by the Feudal tenant were recognised by the compact between him and his Sovereign, as a sufficient return for the beneficiary use of his Fief. Even the rights of toll, custom, and other local exactions from the commonality within the limits of Fiefs, were not possessed by the Sovereign Paramount, but by each immediate Feudatory; and the degrees through which the power of general taxation passed to the Crown are foreign to the Policy and History of Feudalism.

* *Costumes de Beauvoisis*, c. 19. The IXth Chapter of Beaumanoir here quoted is our best guide on the customs of Private Warfare, and in fact forms a complete body of Jurisprudence for the regulation of this singular right.

† Vide p. 276 of this Volume.

‡ Du Cange, v. *Treuga*.

§ Du Cange, *Diss. sur Joinville*, xxix. p. 333—347.

* Roger Hoveden, p. 489.

† Ducange, v. *Novus, Monstrum*.

‡ See the proofs of this collected by Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 479, 480.

§ *Costumes de Beauvoisis*, c. 59.

History.
and IV.
Territorial
jurisdiction.

IV. The exclusive right of Territorial jurisdiction was, perhaps, the most important Privilege of Vassalage; and it seems to have been conceded to Provincial Dukes and Counts long before their Governments were converted into Fiefs.* By the Feudal Law it became regarded as inherent in every possessor of a great Fief; and even in some cases descended with the degrees of Sub-infeudation to the rank below that of the Châtelain, or Castellan. It also embraced the exercise of justice both in civil and criminal cases; and in the latter the power of life and death. The nice distinction of ranks was even sometimes implied in the form of the machine of execution; and while the gallows on the Fief of the high Noble stood on four posts, that of the Châtelain was permitted to have only three, and of an inferior Lord no more than two.† This power of life and death, however,—or of *la haute justice*, as it was called in France,—did not always, even in that Country, descend to the simple Vassor, who was more frequently compelled to send all prisoners charged with capital offences before the Court of his immediate superior. But, in the vigour of the Feudal System on the Continent, the sentence of a Baron or other Seigneur who possessed the right of high justice, was, in all cases, final; and no appeal could be carried from his Court before even the Royal Tribunals;‡ In Aragon, a shocking privilege was granted by an express law to those inferior Lords, who were not invested with the higher jurisdiction: for they might starve to death in prison the convicted criminal whom they could not publicly execute.§ In the Norman Kingdom of Naples, on the other hand, by a remarkable anomaly in Feudal rights, even the great Barons did not acquire the supreme jurisdiction until the middle of the XVth Century, when it had been abolished in other Countries.¶ In England, the territorial jurisdiction of the great Vassals, though originally supreme, was early restrained, except in the Counties Palatine, by the happy institution of itinerant Judges of Assize.¶¶

Connection
with Legis-
lative power.

In connection with the territorial jurisdiction of a Feudal Noble, the Legislative power also rested in his hands: for he might, with the consent of his Vassals, enact laws for his own Fief; and without his own permission it was an unquestioned principle of Feudalism that no enactment of his immediate superior, or even Sovereign Paramount could have force within his territory. Neither could he himself introduce any new law into the estates of his Vassors except by their concurrence.** We here speak of the rules of the Feudal System in its original seats and pristine vigour; for, even before its visible decline, the absolute ordinances of the French Kings began to be held as possessing authority even in the territories of the great Feudatories:†† the changes wrought in the Feudal power of legislation by peculiar circumstances in our own Country will claim their share of attention elsewhere, in the History of the British Constitution.

This necessity for the concurrence of the Peers of

Royal and
Baronial
Courts.

* Baluz. *Capit. Ludov. Pii* ad ann. 814. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* Diss. lib. xx. &c.

† Du Cange, *v. Fures*.

‡ *Etablissements de St. Louis*, lib. i. c. 24, 25, &c.

§ Du Cange, *v. Feme Necare*.

¶ Giannone, *istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxii. c. 5. &c.

¶¶ Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 78.

** *Etablissements de St. Louis*, ubi *suprà*.

†† *Costumes de Beauvoisis*, c. 34.

both Royal and Baronial Courts in all measures of legislation, was applied as a rule of much greater practical force in the administration of justice; and it served more than any other circumstance to check the spirit of oppression, which the right of jurisdiction must otherwise have encouraged in Feudal Seigneurs. From the highest to the lowest degree of Infeudation, Vassals were to their immediate Lord the Peers of his Court. As were the high Nobles in that of the King, so were the inferior Barons in that of the great Feudatory; and the Castellans, Vassors, and mere Knights in that of the superior, next above them, according to the gradations of their tenures. The Peers of each Court assisted at all trials; they voted in all civil decisions and criminal sentences; and in fact composed the Lord's tribunal. Sometimes the Chieftain himself presided, though in the latter Ages of Feudalism it seems to have been maintained, that the Lord could not with propriety sit in personal judgment; and it was more common, at least, for him to depute his functions to a Bailiff. In some places this officer appears to have given sentence upon advice with the Vassals: in others the decision lay wholly with the latter. Another check upon the jurisdiction of petty Lords was provided in the rule by which, unless he had as many Vassals qualified through military tenure to sit in his Court as enabled him to judge parties by their Peers, an appeal lay to that of his superior; and if a Lord of any rank refused or delayed to render justice, the cause might also be carried before the higher Feudatory, or Sovereign, of whom he immediately held.*

The Feudal
System.

All Feudal jurisdiction, however, was still more narrowed in its exercise, and superseded in its power, by a custom which was originally produced through the mingled influence of savage and superstitious feelings, and ended by becoming universal throughout Europe. This was the well-known mode of Trial by Judicial Combat. On the absurdity and cruelty of this monstrous mode of appeal from doubtful right to superior prowess and strength, which oppressed the weak who had most need of protection and favoured the brutal insolence and triumph of force, we have already remarked in a former Chapter.† But the rules by which it was regulated demand a brief notice in this place. The judicial combat might be awarded in all cases of uncertainty as to fact, and especially on allegations of crime not supported by notorious proof. Thus, in civil suits, if either plaintiff or defendant could no otherwise impugn the evidence of his adversary, he might declare him perjured, and throwing down his gage offer, as appellant, through the judgment of God, to prove the falsehood on his body. In criminal cases, the appellant instituted his charge of murder, treason, or other felony, by a like form. If the appellee refused the combat or failed to appear, he lost the suit, or suffered the penalty of the crime on which he was arraigned. If he accepted the challenge, the Lord appointed the day of public combat; and the parties fought with the arms belonging to their rank, if Noble on horseback, if Plebeian on foot. But if their rank was unequal, the Noble dismounted, and on foot with the arms of Knighthood encountered his Plebeian adversary, who fought with club and buckler. Ecclesiastics, women, and men decrepit or above sixty years of age, were required to combat by proxy, and

Trial by
Combat.

Its rule.

* Du Cange, *cc. Fures, Defectus Justitiae*, &c.

† Vide p. 274 of this Volume.

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History. allowed champions for the maintenance of their cause. On the day of Trial, the battle endured until one party was either slain, or called for mercy. In the latter case, the recreant, if the combat had been on a civil suit, lost his cause, and further paid a fine: but his fate in a criminal case was variously affected by circumstances. If he had been the appellant, he suffered the punishment due to the crime with which he had charged his adversary. If he had been the person challenged, he was presumed guilty, and of course suffered the consequent penalty of the law. If he had fought as champion, he was liable to have his right hand stricken off; and the principal for whom he had appeared suffered capitally. But the custom of Trial by Combat had an extension, even more singular than its original character, into an appeal against the judges themselves of the Court in which a case had already been fully decided by civil procedure. The unsuccessful suitor, or the convicted criminal, might impeach its members of false judgment and call them into the field. By the Feudal Law of Jerusalem in this case, the appellant was bound to fight all his judges successively; and if he did not vanquish them in one day, he was himself hanged. Those whom he overcame shared the same fate. But the Law of Europe was sometimes more favourable to the appellant: for he might oblige the Peers to declare judgment aloud, and, on the first verdict pronounced against him, give the lie to the utterer. The combat then took place only between that individual judge and the appellant.*

Of the different Orders of Society of which the Feudal System was composed, some were absolutely created by its Institutions: but the greater number had a pre-existence, and were merely engrafted, with modified or additional functions, on its Policy. Thus, the Monarchs of those free military Democracies, which the Barbarian Nations presented in their victorious settlements, were only transmutated into Feudal Sovereigns: not so much Kings of their People, as Chiefs of a great territorial Aristocracy, or Lords Paramount of all the Fiefs whereof their Kingdoms were composed. In the strictness of the System under its original form, allegiance from the mass of the Nation was not due to them immediately; and the different paths by which the Kings of France and England reached the summit of their regal power, were equally departures from the spirit of the Feudal constitutions. But these, if they had separated the Monarch from his People, had drawn the bond more closely between the Lord Paramount and his Vassals in chief; and from the first link in the chain of Feudal obligation is derived that principle of Modern Monarchy, which surrounds the Throne with an hereditary Aristocracy, and renders the Crown the legitimate fountain of Chivalric honour.

The creation of Nobility in Europe as an institution equally distinct from the Patrician dignities of Republican and Imperial Rome, and the splendid slavery of Eastern Palaces, has been already referred to the establishment of territorial Fiefs, and the conversion of Provincial Governments into such tenures. From these sources sprang the highest class of Nobility: the Dukes, Marquesses, and Counts of France, Germany, and Italy, and their corresponding ranks, the Earls and Royal Barons of England and Scotland. These great Feudatories of the Crown, by their Sub-infeudations,

created a secondary order of Nobility under the titles, already enumerated, of Vassors, Castellans, and lesser Barons; and, below them again, the continued subdivision of lands produced a third order of Vassals, whose tenure by military obligation, or, as it was familiarly known in England under the title of Knight's service, equally admitted them within the pale of Aristocratic honour. On the Continent, the lowest tenant by military service was fully included in the pretension and privileges of Nobility;† and, in our own language, the comprehensive title of gentleman recalls in its original significance and extent the same participation. The origin of territorial titles of Nobility has been before alluded to; and it need here only be observed that, imitating the example of the Duke or Count who had affixed the name of his Province or Government to his own, the possessor of every Fief assumed the same style from its principal town or village, or the solitary castle which frowned over his demesne. Hence the land which bristled with fortresses afforded as many titles of Nobility; and every County was filled with a numerous order of minor Counts, Barons, and Vassors, the Vassals of the greater Feudatories, the companions of their state, the Peers of their Courts, and themselves each the Chieftain of a train of Knightly dependents. The least of these last, who was bound or entitled to serve his Lord as a horseman or chevalier,—from whence are derived the original distinction, and the very name of CHIVALRY—was a member of the same Aristocracy as the Duke or Count; and the privileges of that rank were extended even lower: for every military tenant was a gentleman, though he held but the smallest portion of a Knight's fee, and contributed no more than a share to the equipment of a single man-at-arms and his horse.

The privileges accorded by the customs of Feudalism in common to this Aristocracy of every degree, were sufficient to form an impassable line between their Order and the body of the People. In Ages of violence, during which the profession of arms was unreasonably exalted above all others, they only were permitted to serve on horseback and in complete armour; except Ecclesiastics, they alone were eligible for any offices of importance and honour in the State; and all intermingling between them and the inferior classes of Society by marriage was followed, to a certain degree, by degradation. In Germany, no individual could claim his inheritance of an Imperial Fief, unless both his parents were strictly noble in the highest Order; and in France, though the exclusion was less rigid, the son of a Nobleman by a Plebeian mother forfeited much of the honours of his paternal rank. The child of a high-born woman by an unequal marriage could not inherit his mother's nobility: for gentility, as it was expressively maintained, could come only through the father; and from the mother no higher birth-right than mere freedom might be derived.‡

Next to the Nobility, ranked the Ecclesiastical Order; or rather the dignified Clergy were themselves held noble by reason of their territorial Fiefs. For all Prelates and heads of Religious Houses were, by the tenure of the lands of their Sees and Monasteries, completely Feudal Lords. For these, they did homage and

Privileges of this Aristocracy.

The Clergy,

* For a complete body of the rules of Judicial Combat as here abridged, vide *Annales de Jerusalem*, c. 104, and Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvoisis*, c. 31.

† An exception to this has been found in the case of Imperial Feuds, which were not accounted noble beyond the third degree of Sub-infeudation. *Labri Feudorum*, ii. tit. 10. But this was contrary to the general rule of Feudalism.

‡ *Coutumes de Beauvoisis*, c. 45.

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Nobles.

swore fealty to the Sovereign Paramount; they subinfeudated their estates among Vassals of their own with like ceremonies and upon the usual conditions of military service; they exercised the rights of jurisdiction; and, though not required themselves to perform warlike duties in person, they were under the same obligations as other tenants in chief, to send the stipulated number of men into the field for their Fiefs. Hence, as well as for the defence of their own possessions, arose the common custom for wealthy Monasteries to choose some powerful Nobleman, under the title of Advocate, to protect their lands, and lead their Vassals when summoned to the standard of the Sovereign. The only Church lands not subject to Feudal obligations were those held under the peculiar tenure of Franc-almoigne, which by the saying of masses for the benefit of the souls of the founder and his family, exempted a Chapter or Abbey from all other service.*

Freemen.

Below the Aristocracy the whole population of a Feudal Kingdom may be represented, with sufficient exactitude for our present purpose, as composed of only two classes—the free and the enslaved. By the operation of Feudalism in its pristine state of vigour, it may be suspected that the number of the former underwent a continual diminution. The freemen who escaped the yoke were principally, first, the burghers of chartered towns whose privileges emancipated them from the bonds of Feudalism, and whose condition scarcely belongs to the general System; and, secondly, rural tenants of lands subject only to fixed payments without military service. In France, the freemen of this latter class are not easily recognised in the Feudal law books from amidst the mass of enslaved peasantry: though the distinction of their state is admitted in general terms;† and though it is undoubted that, in the Southern Provinces of that Kingdom, at least, they were numerous. But they were exposed to so many oppressive exactions from the Lords to whose territorial jurisdiction they were subject, that their condition was probably in reality little superior to that of the mere Villeins. Of the same Order, but better circumstanced, were the *Arimanni* of Italy, who appear to have been either actual proprietors, or renters of small farms on free tenure;‡ But, beyond all comparison, the most respectable class of freemen during the prevalence of Feudalism, not holding lands on condition of military service, were the *Socagers*§ of England; whose existence may be traced even so far back as the Saxon period of our History; and who constituted in later Ages that bold and independent race of yeomen, the pride and strength of our national population. They held their lands exempt from all Feudal burthens, except a small rent to the Baron, or Lord of the Manor, to whose jurisdiction they belonged, may be considered as such. They were free in their persons, jurors and suitors in the Courts-Baron, and might alienate their property; and to the existence and rights of such a class of freemen, more perhaps than to any other single cause, is to be ascribed that noble front of liberty which was early stamped upon the English character.

and Italy.

Free
socagers, or
yeomanry,
of England.

But below the worst franchised class of freemen in the Feudal Kingdom, the great majority of the rural population were held in a state of complete bondage to the soil. Into the origin and growth of slavery among the Barbarian Nations who overthrew the Roman Empire, it were to little purpose to attempt any minute inquiry in this place. Having already in a former Chapter* glanced at this subject, we need not here repeat an enumeration of the general causes which tended to throw the mass of the People in every Country of Europe into a condition of servitude. It may be sufficient to observe that, when Feudalism was fully established, two degrees of bondage prevailed. In the Villains, better condition, were the Villeins or cultivators, who though attached to the soil, and compelled to remain on it, owed only fixed payments and duties to their Lord, and might hold property of their own. But the most abject class, under the name of *Serfs*,† were incapable of any possession whatever, and were equally in their persons and the fruits of their labour at the unlimited disposal of a master. Over them the power of their Lord was so absolute that, in the language of a Feudal law-book, "he might take all they had alive or dead, and imprison them when he pleased, being accountable to none but God." From the higher class of Villeins, on the contrary, the same authority declares that the Lord can take nothing but customary payments, though at their death all they have escheats to him;‡ Yet, if it be true that the Villein had no right of redress against spoliation or ill usage from his Lord,§ it is difficult to conceive wherein his lot could have much practical superiority over that of the complete Serf.

This distinction, even in term, seems to have had existence only in France and in Germany: for in England there was recognised only one degree of servitude, and that the lowest. The English Villein, like the Serf of the Continent, was himself, together with all he might acquire, the absolute property of his Lord; the services or labour which might be demanded of him were uncertain and unbounded; whatever land he bought or inherited, whatever stock or goods he accumulated, might equally be seized by the Lord; and the same state of servitude was inherent in his blood and entailed upon his children. Moreover, his person might be separated from the land and sold to a stranger;¶ while it would appear that the Villein of the Continent could only be conveyed to a new Lord with the Fief and on the land to which he was bound. The nature of the duties rendered by Villeins was regulated only by their ability: for the amount was indeterminate. The services required were those which the agricultural peasant was best competent to perform: such as the ploughing and reaping of the Lord's land, the carrying of manure, repairing of roads, felling of timber for him, and other offices of ignoble labour. On such tenures, also, it is worthy of remark, were lands often possessed by the free and even by the noble;‡ for the quality of

* See chapter xlix.

† Du Cange, *vv. Villani, Servus*.

‡ *Costumes de Beauvoisin*, c. 45.

§ Du Cange, *ubi supra* in voce *Villanus*.

¶ Co. Littleton, sec. 151.

¶ To such extent was the distinctive quality of lands carried in France that many Noblemen held estates in *roture*, as it was called, or in ignoble tenure; and *roturiers*, or plebeians, in the latter Ages of Feudalism, at least, might by purchase, marriage, or bequest, acquire Fiefs on noble tenure. Boammonit, c. 48.

The term *Roturier* for an ignoble person, or synonymously a peasant, is derived from the Latin *Rupitarius*, *colonus*, *qui agrum seu terram rumpit, precindit, colit*. Du Cange, in voce.

* Du Cange, *vv. Advocatus, Elemosynarius, &c.*

† *Costumes de Beauvoisin*, c. 45.

‡ Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, Diss. xiii.

§ The name of *Socages* has been variously derived from the Saxon *sec*, a franchise; and from the same term in French which signifies a ploughshare. Bracton, lib. ii. c. 35. But see Blackstone, vol. ii. c. 6. p. 80. (Christian's Edition,) in which the latter derivation appears satisfactorily inferred.

History. Villeinage appertained to certain estates as well as persons; and the distinction between lands in free and villein tenure existed very early in every Country. There can be little doubt that this difference in the character of lands arose from the condition of the original holders; and as the soil did not change quality with the rank of its occupants, the simple freeman, or the knight, often held estates in Villeinage. In this case, the personal liberty and the movables of the tenant were secure; but he was bound to the performance of arbitrary services in respect of his land; and liable also to be dispossessed by his Lord at pleasure.*

Distinction between Feudal Villeinage and Slavery. Though, during the Middle Ages, domestic was no less common than predial servitude, it is the latter form of bondage alone which belongs to our present subject: for the connection of Villeinage with land is in strictness the only link between Feudalism and slavery. And grievous and degraded as was the condition of Feudal Villeinage, there were not wanting some characteristic distinctions to elevate it above that total deprivation of rights, with which the slave under other systems of Polity, both ancient and modern, has usually been branded. Slavery, in the Feudal sense, was a relative not an absolute condition: for the Villein, though in bondage to his Lord, was free of all other men and in respect to Society at large. He might purchase, inherit, maintain actions in the Courts, and exercise every civil right, saving only the claims of his master upon him. At least such was the law of England;† and though the fact admits not of equal proof, there can be little doubt by the analogy of Feudal customs that it was so in other Countries. In the latter Ages of Feudalism especially, the English law presumed every Villein to be free unless claimed by his Lord;‡ it protected him, as the King's subject, from atrocious injuries even at the hand of his Master; it gave the Nief;§ or female Villein, an appeal against his brutal violence; and it established the freedom of her child if by a free father, or even if the father, as in a case of illegitimate birth, was unrecognised, for in such case it presumed his freedom.¶ This custom of deriving freedom from the father, however, was peculiar to England;|| for in all other Countries the offspring followed the condition of its mother.

Indistinctness of the distinction between Feudal and absolute Villeinage. These distinctions between Feudal and absolute slavery cannot indeed be supposed to have much relieved the unhappy condition of the Villein under a cruel or avaricious Lord; but they facilitated and enlarged the benefits of manumission which was frequently practised by the more humane; and they are chiefly important to notice for their influence on the gradual abolition of Villeinage. Through what means that remarkable change was slowly effected, and the mass of the people raised from utter degradation, will more properly be considered at that later period of History, at which, among other revolutions in the State of Society, it will be our business to consider the Decline of the Feudal System. It here only remains to conclude our present attempt, with some estimate of the advantages and evils which attended the establishment of that System in its origin and maturity.

To this inquiry, it is necessary that we bring a full

recollection of the State of Europe during those Ages which immediately preceded the development of Feudalism. The value of any System of Polity should fairly be considered as only relative to the condition of Society unto which it is applied; and in weighing the merits of the Feudal Institutions, we ought to bear in mind the changes which they effected in the previous circumstances, no less than their influence upon the subsequent vicissitudes, of Europe. In this view, it is impossible not to attribute to the Feudal System at the outset the most beneficial effects upon the political and moral constitution of Nations. At the Fall of the Roman Empire, and during the four or five Centuries which followed that event, and preceded the Feudal settlement, with the exception of comparative order during the reign of Charlemagne, Europe presented a picture of the wildest disorder and rapine,* and all the bonds of humanity were perpetually violated by actions of the utmost atrocity and horror.

To the rise and insensible growth of the Feudal Institutions was Europe indebted for the first mitigation of this universal anarchy and misery. Political Society, by the breaking up of its greater masses, might seem, indeed, resolved into its original elements, when the Lord of every petty district exercised the sovereign attributes of warfare and jurisdiction. But amidst this apparent destruction of order, and the certain aggravation of popular suffering through the hostility of Feudal Chieftains, the basis of a strong and lasting form of Polity was in reality laid. The very turbulence of the Feudal Aristocracy suggested the necessity of a close union between themselves and their dependents for mutual safety; and, at the same period when the Monarchical office, through the imbecility of the Carlovingian Dynasty, had fallen into general contempt, a new bond of association, between the King and the highest order of his subjects, was found in the Feudal obligations of homage and allegiance. The descending scale of such duties made it the interest of every great Nobleman to recognise those terms in his compact with his Sovereign, which he desired to enforce upon his own Vassals; and the Feudal principle, becoming interwoven through the whole surface of Society, served to connect and keep together its discordant parts precisely at a juncture, when, in the general and rude dismemberment of the Carlovingian Empire, every other restraint had been violently burst asunder.

Thus, both politically and morally, the establishment of the Feudal System may be regarded, as not the ruin, but the revival of civilization. Politically, because in the universal anarchy of Europe, it was the Feudal Institutions alone which preserved a common relation to the Throne among the Aristocracy of every Country; which inculcated the mutual obligations of men of the same land towards each other; and

* It has been a common inaccuracy with Historians to confound Feudalism with the state of anarchy which preceded its establishment, and to impute to the System the very evils which it served in a great degree to correct. A remarkable proof of this misconception is to be found even in so learned and philosophical a writer as Robertson, who (*Charles V.* sec. 1.) describing the miseries of Society in the Dark Ages as having proceeded throughout from what he calls "the Feudal anarchy," states, that "the disorders of the Feudal System, which had gone on increasing during a long course of years, seemed to have attained their utmost point of excess towards the close of the eleventh Century." This, in fact, was precisely the period at which, by the complete establishment of Feudalism, the disorders of the previous anarchy began to subside!

* Littleton, sec. 172. Bracton, lib. ii. c. 8. lib. iv. c. 28, &c.

† Littleton, sec. 189.

‡ Nief, a male, Villeins being styled native, or Native, of the soil. Blackstone, vol. ii. c. 6. p. 94.

§ Littleton, sec. 187, 188, 189, 190. 194. &c.

|| *Leges Henrici I.* c. 75. 77. Littleton, sec. 188.

The Feudal System.

ESTIMATE OF THE ADVANTAGES AND EVILS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

Its establishment primarily beneficial.

Previous anarchy of Europe,

mitigated by its means.

History. which cherished the sense of duty to a common Country and King. But for the influence of these salutary feelings and ties, it would be difficult to find any cause which could have preserved the Monarchies of France and Germany from annihilation; or prevented the whole Continent of Europe from falling under the absolute dominion of the first fortunate conqueror who might have sprung out of the convulsion of Society. So also is it owing solely to the Feudal Institutions, that the spirit of personal freedom was kept alive in the Barbarian Monarchies; and the Feudal Law is the basis of all rational liberty in Modern Europe. Before the foundations of that Jurisprudence were laid, the mass of allodial proprietors had already by desuetude lost their original rights, had ceased to appear in the general assemblies of each Nation, and were capable neither of associated efforts nor collective strength to resist the tyranny of the Throne. Such a popular power, though in an Aristocratic instead of a Democratic form, was created anew by the Feudal System. For, through all its gradations, that Polity breathes the spirit of honourable and mutual obligation between the superior and his free dependents; and it is impossible to peruse the various Feudal law books without recognising, in the careful definition of the limited services which might be claimed from a Vassal, and of the rights which he might assert against his Lord, all the first principles of public liberty and private immunity. Not the least valuable among the received and customary provisions of Feudalism were those which secured to each man the privileges, in judicial matters, of trial by his Peers, and, in legislative affairs, of a voice in every measure of general concernment. It was the existence of these franchises throughout the martial array and long descending ranks of the Feudal Aristocracy, that, while the body of the People were without concert or power, opposed the only barrier to the aggressions of tyranny, and saved Europe equally from exhibiting the aspect either of uncontrolled anarchy or of Oriental despotism.

and moral services to Society.

In a moral point of view, the Feudal Institutions, as engrafted upon the condition of Europe during the Dark Ages, were even more beneficial. The virtues which they inculcated were those, of which the previous state of Society had most need: the crimes which they denounced to infamy were precisely such, as the depravity of the times had most rankly engendered. The Feudal System revived those principles of personal faithfulness and mutual regard between man and man, without which no laws of humanity can be sacred: the Feudal Code of fidelity and honour held in abhorrence all violation of faith and promise, all mean dereliction of engagements, all breaches of truth, duty, and gratitude. And these had been the especial vices of Nations who, in a transitional state of Barbarism, had imbibed the corruptions of half civilized, without losing the ferocity of savage life. The bond of defined and reciprocal obligation between Lord and Vassal in every degree was singularly calculated to instil into each man the consciousness of personal dignity, the jealousy of personal right, and the pride of personal honour. Moreover, from these lofty qualities also flowed more generous and disinterested feelings of duty and devotion to others; and the Feudal relation peculiarly called forth in defence either of a revered superior or a faithful dependant, some of the noblest emotions and energies which nature has implanted in the human breast. Hence arose both

the beautiful, the gentler spirit of Chivalry; and the reverential, though manly, sentiment of Loyalty. It is by its fostering influence upon such qualities, in Ages of anarchy when they appeared nearest extinction, that Feudalism bequeathed its most valuable legacy to later Times; and we sum up its best title to estimation when we consider, that the Monarchies of Europe owe primarily to its institutions those principles of Chivalric honour and integrity towards his fellow-citizens, and of loyal devotion to his Sovereign, which distinguish and adorn the character of the Modern Gentleman.

The evils which resulted from the Feudal System are readily exposed. The most odious concomitant to its existence was doubtless the servitude in which the mass of the peasantry were bound. But this, if rightly considered, formed no part of the Feudal tenures. It had only been continued from the Roman constitution of Servitude to Society, and was established among all the Barbarian Nations long before the rise of Feudalism. Under both the Roman and Barbarian jurisprudence, it was a condition of far more hopeless and absolute slavery, than the Villeinage which had relation only to a Feudal superior, and in practice, at least, left the peasant a free labourer towards all other men. The slave who cultivated the soil for the exclusive profit of his master might even consider the change a happy one, which rendered him the Serf of the glebe; and, with the exception of customary services and duties to his Lord, left him the fruits of his toil and the residue of the produce which he raised on his land. Nor should it be forgotten, that Vassalage was the degree by which the lower orders of the People were raised from the servitude of antiquity to modern enfranchisement. A more unquestionable vice of the Feudal System was the unrestrained license of Private War. The desolation, to which not only the border Country of hostile nations, but almost every internal district, was liable from the deadly feuds of so numerous and turbulent an Aristocracy, must have had a most pernicious effect in paralyzing the efforts of agricultural industry. Moreover, by its temptation to habits of rapine in Feudal Chieftains, this scourge interrupted the operations of commerce, prevented the accumulation of wealth, and discouraged the improvement of those peaceful arts, which can flourish only with the security of property and the increase of capital.

In these respects, the continuance of the Feudal System could be no otherwise than adverse to the peace, the civil subordination, and the prosperity of Society. But here, as throughout the Moral Government of the Universe, the inquirer may reverently trace the healing interposition of Omnipotent Wisdom and Goodness. The Feudal System, in the severity of its original aspect, was permitted to exist no longer than was necessary to repair the previous dissolution of Political Order, and the inveterate corruption of National Manners, by a new and symmetrical organization of the Social elements. When Feudalism had thus fulfilled its purposes, it was suffered silently to give way before the birth of better principles of Civilization; and slowly to yield to the simultaneous growth of commercial enterprise and municipal freedom. The secondary causes through which an impulse was given to this salutary course of transition are readily discernible to Human intelligence: the primary design is only generally revealed in the mysterious and benignant operations of a Divine Providence.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXVII.

ANNALS OF ITALY, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND SPAIN, FROM THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE TO THE END OF THE Xth CENTURY.

FROM A. D. 888. TO A. D. 1000.

History.
From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
State of
Italy at the
beginning
of Charles
the Fat.

I. DURING the weak rule of the Carlovian dynasty ITALY had been less affected by misgovernment than any other portion of the Empire; and the reign of Louis II., a brave and virtuous Prince, may be considered a season of absolute prosperity. Long, however, before the death of Charles the Fat, the Regal authority had become disregarded, through the imbecility of those by whom it was administered; and on his deposition, the chief Lords of Italy were well prepared to dispute the Crown, according to the measure of their force. The two most powerful Feudatories at that time were Berenger, Marquis of Friuli, and Guido, Duke of Spoleto; no distinction of rank being implied, as in later usage, by their respective titles, but that of the former simply denoting that his possessions lay upon a March or Frontier. Each claimed descent by the female line from Charlemagne; a point of no small moment, on account of the still surviving *prestige* of that great Monarch's glory, notwithstanding the deterioration of his posterity. Berenger was the issue of a daughter of Louis the Debonnaire; Guido, of a daughter of his elder brother Pepin; so that the two Princes stood in equally near relation to the Imperial House, as Great-grandsons of its founder: a pretension well deserving of respect, amid the crowd of bastard or remote scions who started forward to enrich themselves with some fragment of the shattered Empire. And here, on account of the close intermixture of conflicting interests among the leading European Kingdoms, it may be convenient to state, that at the commencement of the period upon a brief sketch of which we are now entering, Eudes Count of Paris obtained the Crown of France; Arnulf, a natural son of Carloman of Bavaria, that of Germany; Louis, son of Boson, that of Arles; and that a new Kingdom, comprising nearly the modern Switzerland, was formed by Rodolph,* of the same Family as Eudes, under the title of Transjuran Burgundy. The particular Histories of most of these respective States will occupy separate portions of the present Chapter; our attention in the first instance being more especially directed to the Annals of Italy.

reges I.
of
7.

The throne of France was the prize which first allured Guido, we know not with what reasonable chance of success;† and Berenger, during his absence,

* Great-grandson of Conrad, Brother of Judith, Empress of Charles the Bald.

† *Abusque Francorum consilio totius Francie unitionem suscepit*

received the undisputed Crown of Italy from the hands of the Archbishop of Milan;* according to a compact between the two Princes before the death of Charles the Fat. Nor was it till Guido, disappointed in his original hope, returned to Italy, that he avowed himself a competitor for that Kingdom. His ill success in France is ascribed by Luitprand to a petty cause strikingly illustrative of National character; and, however much we may be inclined to treat as fabulous many of the most amusing portions of Secret and Minute History in later times, we see little reason, in this instance, (or indeed in most others, notwithstanding Muratori's bitter antipathy,) to reject the authority of the honest and well-informed Bishop of Cremona. On advancing near Metz, Guido sent before him his Sewer (*Dapsifer*) to make necessary arrangements for his reception; and the Bishop of that City provided a superb Banquet after the French manner. "Make me a present but of a horse," observed the Sewer upon remarking the costliness of the entertainment, "and I will engage that my Master shall be satisfied with a third part of your preparation." The speech appeared sordid to the Bishop, and judging of the disposition of the Prince by that of his attendant, he answered, "It is not fit that we should have a King who likes a scurvy, tenpenny dinner;"† and spreading abroad an unfavourable representation of the Pretender he stopped all rising in his behalf.

The Trebia witnessed a bloody engagement between Guido and the rivals, which terminated in the defeat of Berenger, who sought refuge in the Court of Germany, while the Conqueror obtained the titular Imperial dignity and Crown, from the fears or the good will of Pope Stephen VI. During two campaigns, Guido baffled the arms of the King of Germany by whom his opponent was supported; and on his death, his sceptre passed to his son Lambert already associated with him in Govern-

Annals of
Italy.
From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.

Lambert
Emperors.

says Luitprand; *invenit et innotuit de i suoi Franzesi, come scrive Ercheneperto*, writes Muratori in a similar strain.

* On the Iron Crown of Lombardy, a coveted possession even in our own days, the reader may consult a lengthy Dissertation by Muratori at the close of his 11d volume of *Anecdota ex Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*. Its history is most obscure, and little is to be obtained from Muratori's proverbial diligence; excepting that the Crown is of gold with an inner rim of iron made, as was said, of a nail of the true Cross; that the origin of its usage is unknown; and that it was always placed on the heads of the Kings by the Archbishop of Milan, either at Milan itself, or at Monza, a considerable town on the Lambro. Otto the Great received it at the former place, most of his successors at the latter.

† *Non decet talem super nos regnare Regem qui decem draclmis vite tibi obsequium præparat.* Luitprand, i. 6.

History.

From
A. D.
889.
to
A. D.
1000.
Arnulf in-
vades Italy,
A. D.
896.

is crowned
Emperor
at Rome,

is poisoned,

and dies.
A. D.
900.

Death of
Lambert.

ment. But the new Emperor was soon disturbed by a fresh invasion from Arnulf; who no longer crossed the Alps to assert the claims of Berenger, but to profit in his own person by the distractions of Rome. The factions of the reigning Pope Formosus, and of Sergius, an ambitious Priest who had been disappointed of the Tiara on the election of his rival, convulsed the Eternal City; and the former of these competitors, seeking strength from foreign alliance, tendered the Imperial Crown to Arnulf as the price of his support. The partisans of Sergius vigorously defended themselves as the Germans approached the Leonine walls; and Arnulf prepared for assault, having first, according to a bold flight of Luitprand, encouraged his rude soldiers by a set speech in Latin hexameters.* His success might have been uncertain but for a singular accident. As the storming party advanced, a hare started from the ditch, and took to the walls, pursued at a rapid pace and with deafening shouts, by the assailants, who were diverted for the moment from the sterner purposes of War. The besieged not perceiving the animal, and unable to account for the sudden enthusiasm kindled in their enemy, were struck with panic and abandoned the ramparts; which were scaled by the Germans, mounting, in defect of ladders, upon their saddles and the panniers of their sumpter mules piled on one another. The capture of the City and the Coronation of Arnulf immediately followed; and one enemy alone remained to be subdued, Ageltrude, the widow of Gnidio, who still defended a Lombard fortress for her son Lambert. Reduced to extremity, she bribed an officer attendant upon the Emperor to drug his cup, not with poison but with a narcotic potion. It is difficult to imagine that this mixture was not intended to produce death, yet all authorities concur in stating it to have been no more than a powerful opiate. If this were really so, Ageltrude may deserve the praise of shrinking from absolute murder, in an Age which regarded bloodshed as a crime of no very deep hue; and she may have cheated herself into a fond belief that she was guiltless of homicide, because her victim instead of perishing immediately, and therefore less painfully, dragged on the protracted miseries of a lifeless existence. The first effect of the soporific draught was to throw Arnulf into a profound sleep of three days' and three nights' continuance; and when he at length opened his eyes, under the application of tormenting stimulants, he could scarcely be said to awaken. His attempts at speech were unintelligible, and he seemed, says the Chronicler, more to bellow as a Brute than to utter words as a man.† Nevertheless under this distressing hebetude of faculties, he survived three years, and fell in the end a victim to a more painful and loathsome disease. Lambert appears to have outlived him but two years, involved in a perpetual struggle with Berenger, and eventually to have perished by a deep laid scheme of assassination executed during a hunting party, by the hand of a Noble‡ whose Father he had put to death.§

On the death of Lambert a new competitor for the

Italian Throne was raised by the great Feudatories, ever ready, as we are assured, to serve two masters, in order that they might control one by the terror which the other inspired.* Louis III. King of Arles, the fresh puppet of the Italian Nobles, was unsuccessful in the enterprise to which he had been invited; and owed his freedom to the lenity of Berenger, who dismissed him after exacting a solemn oath that he would never revive his pretensions. Not scrupling to violate this engagement, Louis invaded Italy a second time, advanced to Pavia and received the Crown; but surprised while lying in careless security at Verona, he was punished for his treachery by deprivation of sight. His liberty, however, was again granted; and still retaining some imperfect vision, he continued to possess his hereditary dominions of Arles, and the idle title of Emperor, during the remaining twenty-four years of his life; chiefly intrusting the control of State-affairs to Hugh Count of Provence, a Noble destined afterwards to a more fortunate career in Italy than that of his master.

To the miseries resulting from these Civil wars, by which Italy had been incessantly agitated since the deposition of Charles the Fat, are to be added yet other calamities resulting from the frightful ravages of the Saracens and Hungarians. During the first half of the IXth Century a predatory Tribe of Arabians had wrested Sicily from the sway of the Western Empire; and extending their incursions to the neighbouring continent of Italy, although driven from the walls of Rome, as we have before seen,† by the energy of Leo IV., they permanently established themselves at Naples. About the time of Berenger's accession, these freebooters advanced upon the Garigliano and harassed the surrounding districts; while another band, unconnected with them, crossing from Spain, spread equal consternation over Piedmont. But a far more terrific scourge than that of the Saracens menaced Italy, when the fierce tide of Hungarians, urged on by the pressure of more powerful Savages in its rear, roiled down from the Ural mountains, swept along the banks of the great intervening rivers till it touched the confines of the Eastern and Western Empires, penetrated within the line of the Danube, nor stopped for a moment in its course till it had devastated Southern France, and was gathering strength to burst upon Spain from the Pyrenees, upon Italy from the Alps. The superstition of that Age (and similar events might not be far, perhaps, from exciting a similar belief in our own) connected this overwhelming inroad with the Final Judgment, and the Consummation of all things; and the identity of the Heathen Invaders with the Gog and Magog of Scripture, afforded a subject for the fervour of Theological speculation.‡ Another origin was assigned to them by the terror of the sufferers; and since it increased the panic of their name, the Hungarians themselves were not backward in encouraging a belief which derived them from a foul union between a

* Luitprand, i. 8, where also the incident immediately following is related.

† *Mugitum reddere non verba edere videbatur.* Luitprand, i. 9. From the same Chapter it appears that Arnulf eventually died of the *morbus pediculosus*.

‡ Hugh, Count of Milan.

§ Little doubt appears to exist of the assassination of Lambert, although his death was openly attributed to accident.—And so was that of William Rufus under very similar circumstances.

• Luitprand, i. 10.

† Ch. lxxv. p. 434.

‡ Denina mentions a contemporary MS. which he had seen in a Monastery at Novales, recognising the Hungarians as Gog and Magog; (Lib. ix. c. 2. note) personages who, by the specious facility which symbolical interpretation affords, may be, and have been adapted, according to the dreams of an irregular fancy, to signify any given oppressors. Thus the Arabs traced the Northmen instead of the Hungarians to the above origin, calling them *Mangogers*. Coade, *Historia de la Dominacion de los arabes en España*, i. 283.

Annals of
Italy.
From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
Louis III.
of Arles
reigning
in the
Crown of
Italy, in the
period of
his sight.
A. D.
902.

Barons of
the Saracens

and Huns

History.
From
A. D.
588,
to
A. D.
1000.

Sorcerer and a She-wolf; a tradition said not yet to be wholly extinct on the Austrian borders of Turkey.* Their sanguinary habits of indiscriminate violence and rapine might indeed justify almost any opinion, however wild and exaggerated, respecting their descent. Luitprand had seen a Book relating their customs, in which it was stated, that before the mothers gave the breast to their new-born Babies, they inflicted severe gashes on the Infants' faces, in order that they might teach them to endure pain with fortitude from the earliest moments of life.† In their wars, (and war was their single occupation,) destruction appeared the sole object of hostility, and they pillaged not to enrich themselves but to impoverish their enemies. Expert in horsemanship, and unerring in the deadly use of the bow, they were equally formidable in every species of combat, in attack or retreat, in the foray or the pitched field; and their charge, although irregular and undisciplined, was irresistible from its weight, fury, rapidity, and desperation. Ever on the march, their food was such as accident might provide; and the raw flesh upon which, perhaps, necessity at first compelled them to subsist, might afterwards become the diet of their choice; and might also occasion the accredited popular tale that they drank the blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain.‡ On their first approach to Italy they were met by Berenger with a force thrice exceeding their own; and alarmed at this disproportionate opposition, the Barbarians asked permission to retire. They were disdainfully refused; and in the Battle which ensued on the Brenta, despair on the one part, rashness, presumptuous confidence, and secret jealousy§ on the other, deprived the Italians of their apparent superiority, and they were totally and most bloodily defeated. The Alps now became the permanent fastness of the victorious Barbarians, and the rich plains of Italy were their annual prey. For more than a quarter of a Century after this defeat, we read of scarcely intermitted, merciless visitations. On one occasion, Pavia, at that time the Capital of Lombardy, and second in wealth to no City of the Peninsula excepting Rome, even if Rome herself were superior,|| was burned to the ground: forty-three Churches perished in the flames, and out of her whole population only two hundred Citizens were reserved from general massacre.¶ When the last promontory of Calabria forbade all further progress, the Hungarians refused to abandon their conquests until the head of every native of Italy was ransomed; and it is said that ten bushels of silver were poured at their feet as a capitation tax.

Each successive Pretender to the nominal Crown of the Empire, during the troubled period which we have been considering, had received possession of it according as his sword, his gold, his influence, or his obsequiousness prevailed over the reigning faction at the Vatican. Few portions of the Papal Annals are indeed more flagitiously disgraceful than that which embraces the

sixty years following the dismemberment of the Carolingian Empire.* When the party of Sergius triumphed by the elevation of Stephen VII., himself afterwards destined to a violent death, the body of their late opponent Formosus was savagely disinterred, clad in the Pontifical robes, placed in a chair of state, and saluted with a ribald mockery of homage. After these insults, it was wantonly mutilated and cast into the Tiber. Some fishermen, who dragged it to land a few days afterwards, carried it to the Basilica of St. Peter; and the same spirit of party which on one side had prompted base and unmanly outrages upon a lifeless enemy, awakened sufficient credulity on the other to propagate a belief that as the holy Corpse was carried once more to its tomb, the carved Images of the Saints which decorated the Church, stooped from their niches and bowed themselves before the Coffin.† The disposal of the Tiara soon passed from the hands of powerful and profligate Nobles into those of equally powerful and far more profligate Women.‡ The influence which Patrician birth and well-filled coffers bestowed upon the Roman Theodora was greatly heightened by her singular personal beauty, and the facility with which she rendered her charms subservient to her ambition. Her avowed lover, John X., was translated by her intrigues from the Archbishopric of Ravenna to the Chair of St. Peter, in order to relieve the pangs of absence to which she had been exposed by his more distant preference;§ and if that minion did not atone for the scandal to which his unseemly aggrandizement gave birth, by any distinguished exhibition of piety or Priestly virtue, he at least earned the praise of a brave and skilful General by his operations against the Saracens on the Garigliano.¶

Triumphant over all his competitors, it was from John X. that Berenger finally received the Imperial Crown; and he then enjoyed a short period of repose, till the restless turbulence of the Feudal Lords, most of whom were largely indebted to his clemency and forbearance, organized a new conspiracy; the object of which was his death, and the transfer of his Sceptre to Rodolph King of Transjurane Burgundy. The plot was discovered, but the lenity of Berenger only encouraged his ungrateful Vassals to its renewal. A hard fought action near Verona was won by Rodolph; and Berenger, abandoned on the field of Battle, and devoid of all means of escape, threw himself on the ground among the slain, and covering his body with his shield, lay as if he also were a corpse. A soldier of the enemy in pursuit pricked him with his lance; and Berenger having sufficient

Annals of
Italy.
From
A. D.
888,
to
A. D.
1000.
A. D.
897.

Theodora.

John X.
A. D.
94.

Berenger
is crowned
Emperor.
A. D.
915.

A. D.
921.
Defeated
by Rodolph
of Bur-
gundy.
A. D.
923.

* Muratori, while reviewing the Xth Century in his *Annali*, ineffectually attempts to discredit the statements of Luitprand and Baronius. It should be remembered, moreover, that of those writers so damnable of the Pontificate, one was a Bishop, the other a Cardinal.

† Luitprand, i. 8.

‡ *Quam fœdissima Romana Ecclesia facies quam Romæ domarentur potentissima æquæ ac sordidissima Meretrices, quarum arbitrio mutarentur sedes, darentur Episcopi, et, quod ædum horrendum et infandum est, intraderentur in sedem Petri eorum amantissimi Pseudo-Pontifices, qui non aut nisi ad consignanda tantum tempora in Catalogo Romanorum Pontificum scripti.* Baronius ad ann. 912. n. 14.

§ Theodora autem Glycæi mens preterita, ne amantissimum militiorum interpositione, quibus Ravenna arcestratur a Româ, rarissimo concubitu potiretur, Ravennatis hunc ordem Archiepiscopatus coegit decedere, Romanumque, pro nefas! summum Pontificum usurpare. Luitprand, ii. 13.

¶ Platina, in vita.

* Simonetti, *Rep. It.* ch. i. p. 39. note.

† ii. 1. It was from a similar fancy of bestowing precocious hardness that Peter the Great (justly the Great notwithstanding his semibarbarous) washed the mouth of the new-born Czarowitz with brandy.

‡ Gibbon, ch. lv. and Regimine in his *Cronica*. *Vicino a guisa di fere e non d'uomini; e fuma e che mangio carne cruda e bevoio sangue.*

§ Ad augmentum autem predicationis Christianorum non parva inter eos cur discordia. Luitprand, ii. 6.

|| Luitprand, iii. 11.

¶ Frædoardus, *Chronica*.

History.

From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
A. D.
924.

fortitude to remain without motion, escaped the death-blow which would have followed if he had shown signs of animation. At nightfall, he effected his retreat to Verona, and from that City, ever faithful in allegiance, he might have again advanced to victory, but for an act of unequalled baseness and perfidy. Flambert, a Noble Veronese, was bound to the Emperor by strong ties of private attachment, cemented by the holy rites of the Church, for Berenger had lately held his Vassal's son at the Baptismal font. We are unacquainted with the motives which prompted this traitor to listen to proposals for the assassination of his friend and Sovereign; and to remain unmoved in his foul determination even after Berenger had discovered and forgiven the intended crime. The Emperor having gently expostulated with him on his atrocity, and sought to awaken a remembrance of past affection, accompanied with the following words the presentation of a golden cup of costly price: "Drink the contents to my health and friendship, and keep the container."⁹ In order to prove his generous abandonment of all suspicion after this touching interview, Berenger slept that night, without his customary sentinels, in a summer-house near the Cathedral. Yet unmoved either by remorse, or by these tender manifestations of his Sovereign's confidence, Flambert, accompanied by a retinue of armed followers, met him on the morrow as he repaired to Mass; and approaching with outward marks of respect, as if to receive his embrace, stabbed him to the heart. It was too late to arrest the blow, but the assassin and his accomplices were instantly cut to pieces; and the blood of the murdered Emperor which stained the pavement in front of the Cathedral, was long believed in Verona to be indelible by human art.[†]

Two years of anarchy succeeded this most nefarious conspiracy. The Lombards had despised and cast away a King whose great qualities were tempered by a gentleness neither merited nor understood in the unhappy times upon which he was thrown; and on no occasion has the moral of the well-known Fable of Æsop been more distinctly illustrated than by the reign of his successor. It was during the interregnum which followed the assassination of Berenger that the Hungarians made that disastrous inroad upon Pavia which we have already noticed; and the enemies of the deceased Emperor alleged that, in the first instance, the invaders were set in motion by his wish to employ them against his insurgent subjects. Their ravages were unsuccessfully opposed by Rodolph; and the fickle Lombards, who had invited him to overthrow their late Prince, now abandoned his cause no less suddenly and unreasonably than they had at first espoused it. The vacant Crown was offered to another Pretender, Hugh then King of Provence; who having secured this new prize by the influence of his half-brother Lambert, Duke of Tuscany, and of his sister Hermengarda, the powerful widow of a Marquis of Ivrea, chased Rodolph back to Burgundy; and

either at that time, or in a few years afterwards, purchased his future abstinence from Italy, by a cession of the throne of Arles.* The sole views of the new King were directed to the establishment of a secure despotism; and, one by one, his chief Vassals were sacrificed either to his suspicions or his revenge; almost the earliest of his victims being that brother to whom he was indebted for sovereignty. The plundered fiefs of the Italian Nobles were bestowed upon Provençals, implicitly devoted to their master's will; the richest Ecclesiastical benefices were occupied by his Bastards; and more than one of his mistresses received the donation of an Abbey in recompense for her dishonour. Luitprand, who was bred in his Court, and who records his vices with gentleness and palliation, extolling on the other hand the patronage which he bestowed on Learning, admits that his great fault was addiction to women; and he tells us of three favourites, who influenced him at the same time by the possession of widely different characters of beauty, and whom the amorous monarch distinguished, according to their voluptuousness, their ardour, or their dignity, by the names of Venus, Semele, and Juno.†

Eagerly seeking to counterbalance by the contraction of foreign alliances the domestic hatred which he was conscious his tyranny must engender, Hugh, not long after his accession, despatched an embassy to the Greek Emperor Romanus. The mission was attended with a remarkable and somewhat grotesque incident. Among the presents which the Envoy, Luitprand's Father, was instructed to convey, were two powerful dogs of a rare breed. The Eastern Despot on giving audience, was clad in a light, effeminate attire, to which the Dogs had never been accustomed; and probably mistaking the Sovereign for a wild beast, in pursuance of their instinct, they sprang upon him ferociously, and would have torn him to pieces on his very throne, but for the timely intervention of his attendants.‡

The undisputed possession of Lombardy was little

* A Provençal Proverb records the facility with which Hugh obtained the Crown of Lombardy. *Il a été reçu comme le Roy Huguet*. Blair places the cession of Arles and its union with Transjuran Burgundy in the year retained in the text. By some other authorities it is stated to have taken place in 931, 933, or even 934.

† iii. 5.

‡ Luitprand's Father was sent ambassador, as the Bishop relates with a natural and amiable pride, *tum propter morum probitatem, tum propter linguæ urbanitatem*. In his account of the attack upon the Greek Emperor by the Dogs, he says, *Peto enim quid dum hunc, Græcorum more, christo (therio) apertum, habitus insidit (canes) ridentur indutum, non hominem sed monstrum aliquod putaverunt*. (iii. 5.) *Theriatrum*, which the transcriber or the printer has converted in the above passage into *Theriatrum*, is explained by Du Cange, on the authority of St. Jerom, Isidore, and Tertullian, to be a sort of female cloak, worn in Summer, in *Æge*, whence its name. *Theriatrum* is the word used by the LXX for the vest, as the English Translation gives it, which Rebecca covers herself on Isaac's approach, (Genesis, xxiv. 65.) and again, in like manner, in *Canticæ*, v. 7. A striking instance of the danger of a single false preconception is afforded by the manner in which the generally most accurate authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* have treated this incident. Romain, they say, *parut avec une espèce de pelisse qui le couvrait de manière qu'il n'eût aperçue-on son visage. C'était par conséquent en hiver*. (ii. 9.) There can be little doubt that the learned Benedictines imagined that the dogs were most likely to mistake the Emperor for a wild beast in consequence of his being covered with hair. Without looking further, therefore, they converted *Theriatrum* into a fur pelisse, and regardless of its etymology they deduced from that dress of their own invention that the Embassy must have occurred in Winter; when in fact the Emperor, like the voluptuous Creticus in his transparent *matrice* at Rome, was perspiring under the thinnest garment which could be thrown over him.

Annals of
Italy.
From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
1000.

Embassy to
Constantinople.

and assassinated.

Hugh of
Provence
King of
Italy.
A. D.
926.

* These words, which are Luitprand's, are, perhaps, a little too pointedly turned to have been really spoken. *Amara Salutiſque mea cuncta quod contineris habito, quod continere habeo*. (ii. 19.) But whence does Summorum derive those which he has given? *Que cette coupe est entrée sous le gobelet de l'abbé de votre faute et de votre retour à la vérité. Prenez-la et rappelez-vous que votre Empereur est le parrain de votre fils*. (Rep. li. ch. i.) Perhaps there is not another instance in which the admirable Historian last mentioned has fallen into the common French error of substituting that which he fancies ought to have been said, for that which a nearly contemporary authority asserts to have been absolutely said.

† Luitprand, ii. 20.

History. calculated, however, to sate the excited ambition of Hugh; and, but for a single act of haughty and intemperate violence, it is probable that a more glittering prize might have fallen to his share. The power and the infamy which Theodora had long enjoyed at Rome were bequeathed by her in due season to her daughter Marozia, a successor well fitted to maintain both those hereditary possessions.* By a first marriage, Marozia had added to her former vast wealth the rich fief of Camerino; and when upon the death of Alberic its Count, she renewed the nuptial contract with Guido, at that time Duke of Tuscany, elder brother of Lambert and half-brother of King Hugh, she obtained sufficient power to surprise the Castle of St. Angelo; to imprison the Pontiff whom the blind passion of her late mother had raised to the Tiara; to put his brother to death before his eyes; to abridge his own days by poison; and to nominate as his successor one of her own Bastards, to whom the public voice ascribed Pope Sergius III. as Father. Tempted, perhaps, by the zest of an illicit and forbidden connection, Marozia, when a second time widowed, tendered her hand to the brother of her late consort; and Hugh, undeterred by the notoriety of her general gallantries, eagerly accepted an invitation which appeared to place both Rome and the Imperial title at his command.† The nuptials were celebrated with a magnificence which did but heighten their infamy; and at a banquet not many days after their conclusion, the young Alberic, son of Marozia by her first husband, was reluctantly compelled to attend and to offer feudal service to his Step-father. It was his duty to present a water-vessel to the King; and either from awkwardness, or not improbably from design, having spilt its contents over the Bridegroom, he was insulted by an angry blow.‡ The high-spirited youth, fired by this great indignity, appealed to his Countrymen, asking "Whether their former Slaves, the Burgundians, should now be their Rulers? whether Rome were indeed so deeply degraded as to submit to the chains of a Strumpet?" The Citizens were roused to arms by these words; Hugh escaped their fury, but Marozia was seized and immured in a Monastery; and Alberic, during the remaining two-and-twenty years of his life, swayed the government of Rome, either as *Patrician* or *Consul*; nominated and controlled the Popes; and bequeathed his title and his power to a Son, Octavian, who merged the first in the Pontificate as John XII., and afterwards lost both by his unparalleled enormities.

The tyranny of Hugh was increased by this ignominious failure; but the Lombards shorn of all power did

not possess sufficient energy to attempt their own deliverance. One only of their great Feudatories retained his ancient estates; Berenger, a maternal Grandson of the late Emperor, who was permitted to hold nominal dominion over the Marquisate of Ivrea, his Step-mother Hermengarda, Hugh's sister, being invested with the real government during his minority. No sooner, however, had this youth advanced to manhood than his subjects eagerly regarded him as their deliverer from the yoke of the Lombard usurper. The ready suspicion of Hugh awakened him to this danger: and secret orders were already issued to seize Berenger and his Consort, and to tear out the eyes of the former, when the youthful pair, warned of these savage intentions, crossed the glaciers of St. Bernard, in the depth of winter and during the advanced pregnancy of the Marchioness, and threw themselves as suppliants upon the protection of Otho the Great, at that time King of Germany. They were received with courtesy; and although no open assurance of support was immediately offered, it was manifest from the freedom with which Berenger was permitted to assemble round him all discontented fugitives from Italy, that no obstacle would be raised against any enterprise in which the overthrow of Hugh might be contemplated.

Five years elapsed before the projects of the exiled Prince were ripe for execution. Meantime, so skillfully had he negotiated with the Lombards, so secretly had he compassed his designs, and so general was the disaffection from Hugh, that when Berenger entered Italy his ranks were swelled at every step of his advance, and the Tyrant was unable to muster a sufficient force to confront him. Contrary to the most frequent usage in History, Hugh, although deposed, was suffered to live, and he retired to a Monastery of his own erection in Burgundy. The assembled Nobles, acting on their customary policy of weakening the powers of Royalty by a division of prerogative, proclaimed Lothaire, son of Hugh, King, but confided the executive to Berenger. Far, however, from being content with this virtual Sovereignty, the ambition of Berenger stopped not short till he was even in name also a King; and it is to be feared that he played most foully for his prize. Lothaire is believed to have been poisoned by his order; and his murderer then endeavoured to obtain the consent of his widow Adelaide, daughter of Rodolph of Burgundy, to a marriage with his own son Adalbert. The injured Queen, whom virtue no less than beauty had rendered an Idol among her subjects,* indignantly rejected this unnatural union, although urged upon her with brutal severity;† and found means to escape from a prison on the Lago di Garda, into which she had been thrown in consequence of her resistance. Crossing the Lake by night in a small boat, with a single female attendant, she concealed herself for a few days in a neighbouring wood; and when hunger compelled her to look for other refuge, it was opened to her in the Castle of a relation, the Marquis d'Este, at Canozza. Her retreat,

Annals of Italy.
From A. D. 888. to A. D. 1000. Early History of Berenger II. His flight to Germany.
A. D. 940.

He invades Italy.
A. D. 945.

Deposition of Hugh.

Lothaire King.

He is poisoned.

Cruel usage of his widow Adelaide.

* *Theodora diras habuit natus, ubi non actum conjugales, verum etiam Venere exortivo promptiores.* Luitprand, li. 13.

† *Denina* has some just remarks upon this disgraceful pandering of Honour to Ambition. *Esagone credere ch' in quel tempo l'onesta delle femmine non fosse appresso i grandi d'un pregio incalcolabile, e ch' le donne anche passati i verdi anni non perdessero l'amor de' mariti, e finalmente ch' il desiderio d'aver loro lo stato superasse ogni altro riguardo.* Rivol. d'Italia, ix. 4. p. 25. The reader cannot be at a loss for a much more modern application of the above striking words.

‡ *Corruzione veramente poco conveniente a usarsi da un Re.*

Id. A. p. 26.

§ *Luitprand* makes Alberic etymologize at some length upon the name of the Burgundians, and he concludes with certain derivations, awakening a suspicion that *gourmanderie* was among the vices of King Hugh. *Ego autem rex germani, i. e. per sapientiam, ex Burgundis quasi quindones appellio; vel quod ex superbiis toto gutture loquenter; vel, quod veritas est, quod edacialis, quæ per gulam exercetur nimis indulgenti.* (ii. 12.)

* *Dum abnueret, innocens cupia fuit, diversis angustata cruciatibus, capillis coarctis divinitus, frequenter pugni angustia et calceibus.* *Strevi Corpus Hist. Germ.* 245. and the authorities there cited. The above passage is borrowed by *Struvius* from *Odilo*, Abbot of Clugny, Vita S. Adalheidis, for the Empress was canonized after her death.

† *Regina Dno amabilem, cultu decoram, consilio precidam, morum omni honestate valde præclarum, et regis æorum statorumque prosperis ortam.* *Annal. Sazo.* ad ann. 961.

History.

From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
Otho the
Great in-
vades Italy,
marries
Adelaide,
and is
crowned
King.
A. D.
951.
Grants the
feudal
Crown of
Italy to Be-
renger II.
A. D.
961.

Otho crown-
ed Emperor
at Rome.
Depose-
ment of Be-
renger II.
Annexation
of the Impe-
rial Title to
Germany.

State of
Rome.

Intrigues of
John XII.

A. D.
963.

however, was speedily discovered and invested by Berenger; and she might again have fallen under the grasp of her persecutor, but for the intervention of Otho. The promise of her hand, and of the throne of Italy as her portion, roused the King of Germany to her rescue; and crossing the Alps with a large army, he relieved Canozo, celebrated his nuptials within its towers, and then advanced without resistance to Pavia, where he was crowned, together with his Bride. The troubles of his native dominions, however, recalled him to Germany after a few months devoted to his Italian conquests; and before his departure Berenger, by a cession of the March of Treviso, the German key of Lombardy, obtained confirmation in a feudatory Crown, and did homage to Otho as his Lord.* Ten years of suffering followed under his renewed sway, till the brilliant triumphs achieved by Otho over his nearer enemies enabled him to pay attention to the cry of the oppressed which burst from all Italy; from the Pope, whom Berenger had attempted to despoil, no less than from his own subjects. Again passing the Alps, Otho pressed his march, unopposed, on Milan, where he once more received the Iron Crown; and hastening on to Rome, he was now circled with that of the Empire by John XII. The capture of Berenger soon afterwards, and his transfer to Monastic seclusion at Bamberg, relieved the conqueror from the danger of immediate rivalry; and the permanent annexation to Germany of the Imperial Title, (which, notwithstanding the many Pretenders who assumed it, may be considered to have been virtually in abeyance since the deposition of Charles the Fat,) accompanied the temporary reunion of Italy to that Kingdom, and brought the glories of Otho to their summit. From his time to that of Maximilian I., in 1508, no Sovereign of Germany assumed the style of Emperor until he had been formally crowned by the Pope; and Maximilian gave the first example of partial emancipation from that thralldom by declaring himself Emperor Elect.

Obscure as are the Annals of Rome during the Xth Century, it is plain that the Kings of Italy never established authority within her walls. Some faint gleams of independence shoot across the general darkness, and a misty Image of Republicanism may be occasionally discovered struggling with the Anarchy by which the Eternal City was convulsed. The Popes, although not Sovereigns, were at least great Feudal Lords; and John XII. soon discovered that in Otho he was really mastered by a Conqueror, whom he had invited for his deliverance from thralldom which Berenger had only menaced. Secretly entering into a League with Adelbert, the son of the deposed King, he first stimulated the Roman populace to insurrection; and

then, at the approach of Otho with an overpowering force, hastily abandoned the Vatican, and retired to Capua. The Emperor summoned a Council after his flight, and feigning surprise at the Pontiff's absence, inquired in what place the Head of the Church, who ought to preside in that Assembly, was now to be found. He was answered by a Cardinal, who denounced the fugitive as guilty of crimes from which human nature revolts, and which the remarkable language of the times affirms to be so black, that the author of them would blush if he heard even Players accused of their commission.* Every mouth furnished some addition to the hideous catalogue of guilt; and the modern reader may perhaps smile at the mixture of conventional offence with moral atrocity which formed the sum of accusation. One declared that John had celebrated Mass without communicating; that he had ordained a Deacon in a stable, and consecrated as Bishop a Boy ten years of age; another that he had frequently committed Simony, and publicly hunted; a third, that he had girt himself with a sword, and worn a helmet and cuirass; and a fourth that he had neglected Mass, and never signed himself with the Cross. Indecorous, doubtless, as were these several acts, unfitting the exalted and venerable station filled by the delinquent, and involving great and heavy blame, they still can scarcely be thought deserving enumeration among the charges which follow. John had savagely mutilated some of his most dignified Clergy; he had wantonly committed many acts of incendiarism; he had polluted the most holy places with the foulest varieties of lust; and scarcely an altar existed in Rome which had not flowed with blood, and been desecrated by rape and adultery. It might seem unnecessary to accumulate any further charge, when perjury, sacrilege, incest, and murder were sufficiently established; yet one, we are told, still remained; and the universal voice of Ecclesiastics, as well as Seculars, pronounced by acclamation, that the Pope had pledged a health to the Devil; and while amusing himself with a dice-box, had invoked Venus, Jupiter, and other Pagan Deities, for a lucky cast. The Emperor forwarded these accusations to the Pontiff; and in his Letter he appears to have been more deeply impressed with horror at the last two charges than at any of their predecessors.† John boldly denied the authority of the Council, and threatened its members with excommunication; but, on non-appearance after a second summons, he was deposed, and the vacancy supplied by the election of Leo VIII. It was on that occasion that Otho exacted a most important oath from the Conclave; that they would never in future elect a Pope without the previous consent of himself or his successors.‡ No sooner, however, had the Imperial troops withdrawn from the Capital, than the memory of Alberic revived attachment to his undeserving Son; and John, being readmitted into the city in spite of the recent solemn pledge, inflicted barbarous punishments upon his enemies, and prepared the City

* Luitprand tells an amusing story of an intrigue between Walla, Queen of Berenger II., and a Chaplain, to whom the education of her daughter was intrusted. The unfortunate lover, while crossing one night to his Mistress's chamber, was seized in the Palace Court by some watch-dog, and detected in consequence of his cries and struggles. The Queen adroitly persuaded her husband that the Priest's designs were addressed to one of her attendants; and Berenger contented himself by taking some precautions for the Chaplain's future observance of his vow of Chastity. The Historian implies that Walla had good reasons for her attachment; yet from the following description these were assuredly not to be found in the outer man; *stature brevis, color fuliginæus, rusticus, setigerus, indolens, egrotans, barbarus, durus, ultimus, peticulus, inanis, relictus, iniquus.* (v. 15) "My Mistress with a monvler is in lore!"

† *Talis de vobis tamque obscuri protulerunt, ut si de huiusmodi dicerentur vobis verendum ingerebant.* Luitprand, vi. 9. *Horrorum in this passage probably may be rendered more accurately Murders.*

‡ Luitprand was present at this Council, and interpreted Otho's German speech which the Italians did not understand. *His vultu are Diaboli in amore vultu bilis omnes tam Clerici quam Laici acclamant.* (vi. 8.) and the Emperor, in his Letter afterwards, dwells more forcibly upon that absurd act of profane folly than upon any other charge, *dicens et adeo auditu ipso horridum, &c.* (vi. 9.)

§ Luitprand, vi. 6. *Baroni Annal. Eccl. ad ann. 963.*

History: for a vigorous resistance. But his insane career of wickedness was soon terminated by an appropriate death. During an adulterous assignation, he fell by an uncertain hand. Luitprand indeed, without the smallest misgiving, and from reasons which he deemed irrefragable, asserts that the fatal blow was struck by the Devil; who also prevented his victim and disciple from receiving the Viaticum.* If this were really so, it was but an evil and ungrateful return for the singular compliment which John had paid him; and we may be permitted to incline to another and a less marvellous belief, which attributes the stroke to the merited vengeance of the husband whom the Pope was dishonouring.

The death of this monster did not abate the opposition of the Romans to the Antipope, as they termed Leo; and they immediately proceeded to a new election, which terminated in favour of Benedict V. The sword of the Emperor annulled that choice, and the Puppet whom the Church still acknowledges as her legitimate head in the series of the descendants of St. Peter, was compelled to strip himself of his Pontifical habits in the Lateran, to acknowledge his usurpation, to surrender his Pastoral staff to be broken by his successful rival, and to bury himself in exile in the heart of Germany. On the death of both Leo and Benedict the struggle was renewed; and John XIII., nominated by the Emperor while in Germany, was chased from Rome, and passed six months as a wanderer in Campania. Otho, at length, indignant at this fresh disobedience, reentered Italy in arms, severely chastised his refractory subjects, dug from their grave, burned and scattered to the winds the remains of a deceased Roman Prefect, who had authorized the outrages against the Pope, ignominiously paraded the similar reigning Magistrate, mounted with his face to the tail of an ass, through the public streets, then delivered him to scourging and imprisonment, and visited his colleagues, the mock Tribunes and Consuls, with either death or banishment.

The authority of Otho the Great was always more firmly established in Northern Italy than in the Provinces of the South; and his sway therefore was proportionately milder in Lombardy than at Rome. Without dispossessing the Feudal Lords, or even formally regulating their privileges, he counterbalanced their hitherto unrestrained authority by encouraging the Order of Citizens in the great Towns; and he thus sattered the first seeds of municipal government, which, in many instances, after a long struggle, were to germinate into Liberty. Apulia and Calabria meantime were still appendages to the Eastern Empire; but their Nobles submitted with reluctance to that foreign Vassalage; and Otho, willing to profit by their disaffection, and at the same time to establish some appearance of rightful claim to their future allegiance, demanded for his son the hand of Theophania, a step-daughter of the Emperor Nicephorus. The pride of the phantom Cæsars disdained foreign nuptial alliances; and France was the only nation permitted to boast legal exception from this foolish and arrogant policy of the Byzantine Court.† The demand of the Saxon Prince, therefore,

who had already given offence by the assumption of the Imperial title, was at first haughtily rejected; and his ambassador, the Historian Luitprand, (who has written a particular and very curious narrative of his mission,*) was imprisoned in violation of all civilized national usages. To these indignities an act of perfidy was added, which roused Otho to arms; for Nicephorus afterwards, feigning consent to the proposal, seized the deputation appointed to receive his daughter in Calabria, and treacherously massacred, or transported in chains to Constantinople, the Nobles of whom it was composed. The ill success of the war in which this needless and impolitic cruelty involved Nicephorus occasioned a conspiracy, which led to his murder; and Theophania was the pledge of Pence by which his successor, John Zimisces, purchased the renewed friendship of the German Court. The marriage and coronation of the younger Otho, now associated in the Empire, were celebrated with great pomp at Rome; and that City, Ravenna, Pavia, or Capua, continued to be the residence of his Great Father till he returned to Germany in the year before his death, which occurred in 973.

was founded, is largely and neatly reviewed by Gibbon, ch. lvi. The remark of the Brother of Nicephorus to Luitprand was very pointed: *invidiosa res ut Porphyrogenita Porphyrogeniti gentibus maceretur.* (*Lepanto ad Nic. p. 130.*) Yet it was implied that consent would be granted provided Otho bridled high enough.

* The Vignette by Luitprand, addressed to Otho and Adelaide, is among the most interesting and entertaining memorials of the Middle Ages. The Ambassador was treated with great indignity, and at length strictly confined under a guard during several months, to a most uncomfortable house, which had been allotted rather for his prison than for his residence. Grievous are the murmurs which the Bishop utters relative to the coarseness and scantiness of fare to which he was condemned; and he appears to have quitted Constantinople with a rooted abhorrence of its Cookery. The following are some specimens of his complaints. *Accipiet aut substantiam nostram quod Circosorum vinum de pice, talem gypsi compositionem sibi impositibile fuit—putus pro optima vini calicis—cora alto et cepe bene olens, oleo et guro sordida—lenuit dulorem meum Imperator Sanctus munere nungno, mittens mihi, ex delectationis causa vis, hancum pinguem, ex quo ipse comederat, olio, cepe, porri laute suffraginatum, guro delibatum, quem vestrum tum mensas inesse optavi, ut qui dilectus Sancti Imperatoris faustis esse non creditis, talem his perspicere crederitis.* The last commendation, no doubt, is ironical; but the Bishop soon reverted to his graver strain. *Et cum amorum quidam aromata, panes, vinum, poma mitteret, sed cuncta fundentes montes calaphis odia corrotis dimiserunt; et nisi divina pietas paraverit in conspectu meo mensam adferens cui tribulatio me, una mihi poraret mors foret accepta.* Of the Episcopal character among the Greeks he formed, and on good ground, a very lowly estimate. *In omni Græci, veritatem dico, non mentior, non repere hospitem Episcopum: soli monasterio audent nudas, passim vestem (sibi vicibus) soli apponentes, balneum tunc vitæ permodum non balneum et utilitatem.* The outraged Ambassador revenged himself for his ill usage most characteristically. First, he has transmitted to posterity the following portrait of Nicephorus as he appeared at his audience. *Hominem omni monstruorum, pygmaem, capite pinguem atque oculorum parvitate talipum, barbâ curtili, lili, apri et amicaud foliolum, cervicis digluth turpatum, profusitate et drustate comarum totis Jopum (another reading gives hirtum) colore Ethiopum, cui per median nolis occurrere metem, vestre extenuam, nabus aciem, cursu ad monarum ipam brevem longissimum, strabus parvam, calcarea probaque equalem, vestem byzantinam et nimis veterem, vel disturante ipsa ferdito et pulchro ornamento indutem, Sicyonius calcementis calcatum, linguâ procerem, ingruo vulpem, perjurio suo mendacis Ulysses.* Secondly, he scrawled on the walls of his chamber, and on a wooden table, which seems to have been his principal furniture, nineteen bald, vituperative hexameters; and, lastly, he turned his back upon Constantinople with the following bitter tale dictum. *His conspectus verbas, recto Nonas Octobris, horâ decimâ, ex illâ quondam opulentiâ et florentiâ, nunc funditus, peripit, mendace, dolus, repus, cupidis, acerbis, comolus Civitate cum ducato (quid) non hater agressus? Atque quadragesima et novem, cunando, ambulando, equitando, jejundando, stundendo, suscipiendo, flendo, genendo, Neapactum vni.*

Annals of Italy.

From A. D. 888.

A. D. 1000.

Embassy of Luitprand.

Treachery of Nicephorus.

A. D. 969.

Marriage of Otho II. with Theophania.

A. D. 970.

* *Quidam nocte extra Romanam dum ex eujusdam viri uxore absterget, in temporibus adeo a Diabolo est percussus, ut ultra diem octo ipse eodem rite ex vulnere mortuus. Sed Eucherius viaticum ipsius unctis per eum permissum non precepit; quomodoam a suis cognatis et familiaribus qui præsentes erant peragere sub attentatione eundem.* (vi. cap. ult.)

† The imaginary Law of Constantine upon which this prohibition

History.

From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
Otho II.
claims
Southern
Italy.
A. D.
982.
His defeat
at Bassen-
tello,

and re-
markable
escape.

Fresh dis-
tractions at
Rome.

Boniface
VII.

Death of
Otho II.
A. D.
984.

The designs which the late Emperor meditated upon Southern Italy were openly avowed by Otho II. so soon as he was disembarassed from Civil troubles in Germany, which occupied the earlier years of his inglorious reign. He then claimed as the marriage portion of his Consort all the Apulian and Calabrian possessions of the Oriental Crowns, and pouring down with a numerous army, he occupied the whole country to the verge of the sea, and for a while pursued his operations so much to the detriment of his enemy, as to obtain from the ready flattery of his Courtiers the title of the "Pale Death of the Saracens."⁸ Near the village of Bassentello, however, he was encountered by an allied force of Greeks and Saracens; and too incautiously following up a successful charge in the early part of the battle, he was overwhelmed by an unbroken reserve of the enemy, and routed with a bloody slaughter of Noble followers, and the loss of almost his whole army. Abandoned even by his body-guard, and with his horse grievously wounded, the Emperor fled singly to the shore; where preferring captivity under a civilized conqueror to the hazard of massacre by Barbarians, in order to escape the pursuit of the Saracens, he surrendered to the Captain of a Greek vessel lying at anchor within sight. The Greek was not impetrable to a bribe, and being persuaded to make sail to an opportune part of the coast, he permitted the captive Emperor to establish communication with his friends on shore at Rossano. The price of treachery was already on the sands, lading several mules with gold; and a boat under some specious pretext approached the ship, when Otho springing from the deck, swam to the friendly bark, seized an oar with his own hand, and before the Greeks had recovered from their surprise, gained the beach, and drove before him the mules and their rich burden to the mortification of his disappointed captors.†

The Calabrian war diverted the attention of the II^d Otho from the distractions of Rome, in which City, not long after his Father's death, Benedict VI., the Pope reigning under the Imperial sanction, had been treacherously seized by one of his Cardinals, and starved or strangled in a vault of the Castle of St. Angelo. The murderer assumed the Tiara under the name of Boniface VII., and during a short reign of fourteen days, stripped a rich spoil of plate and jewels from the Churches; and then, dreading an insurrection, fled with his booty to Constantinople. Ten years after the commission of these atrocities, when the chagrin consequent upon the defeat of the Emperor at Bassentello had occasioned his death,‡ Boniface, relying upon the weakness of the executive Government during the minority of Otho III., returned to Italy, and renewed his course of crime. A second Pope, John XIV., fell a victim to his cruelty and ambition; and the assassin, thus stained with double homicide, swayed the Church till his sudden death, after nearly a year's tyrannical rule, saved him from a fierce retribution at the hands of the populace of Rome. His corpse was dragged through the streets, subjected to every extremity of outrage and

contumely, and in the end ignominiously suspended from the horse of an equestrian statue of Constantine.

The hatred against Ecclesiastical Government which the bloody deeds and oppression of Boniface had excited, contributed to the temporary elevation of Crescentius; one of those ambiguous personages whom our ignorance of details permits to be classed, according to the various prepossessions of his Biographers, either as a Demagogue or a Patriot. The two characters are indeed no less widely remote from each other than are the Antipodes; but, unhappily for the fame of the latter, they may too often appear divided by very thin partitions; unless we are admitted near enough to discern with accuracy to what extent the sordid dregs of personal interest or ambition have been sublimed by the purifying fervour of more generous motives. Under the rule of Crescentius, the Popes were deprived of all Civil power; John XV. was banished and recalled at his pleasure; and on the death of that Pontiff, a Greek Priest under the title of John XVI. was opposed to Gregory V., a member of the Imperial Family, whom Otho had nominated. Crescentius appears to have relied on succours from Constantinople, to which Court he promised the fealty of Rome as the price of alliance. But the Greek Emperor was tardy in his movements, either from distrust of the fidelity of his new ally, or from a growing jealousy of the Western Church. The march of Otho upon the rebellious Capital was, on the other hand, rapid and uninterrupted, and his resentment upon entering its walls was wreaked most deeply and bloodily. The Antipope was put to death after barbarous tortures and mutilations; and the Consul, who had retired to the Mole of Hadrian, long afterwards distinguished, on account of his occupation of it, as the Tower of Crescentius, and now familiar to us as the Castle of St. Angelo, was dragged from his hiding-place either by force or fraud, and hurried to the scaffold.

His death was not long unrevenged; but the motives which prompted his widow Stephania to compass the fall of Otho III. are no less variously and uncertainly represented than is the character of Crescentius himself. It is difficult to believe that after she had been exposed to brutal violation by the German soldiery,* she should succeed in captivating the Emperor; yet such influence obtained after such dishonour, if we trust to some authorities, afforded fit opportunity for perpetrating her designs of vengeance. Nor is our difficulty lessened when we are told elsewhere,† that immediately after her husband's execution, she listened with corresponding ardour to vows of attachment from him by whose command that husband had perished: till roused to fury by the denial on the part of her lover to advance her to the dignity of Empress, she poisoned him either by perfumed gloves or by a medical potion. Otho died without children in his twenty-second year. The German writers speak of him with exaggerated praise as "The Wonder of the World;" a swollen title for the just attainment of which not any voucher is afforded by History, and even sufficient time appears to have been wanting. Perhaps somewhat of this unmerited eulogy, bestowed by Ecclesiastics, the sole Chroniclers of the Age, may be attributed to the devout tenour of his life. He confessed himself to St. Romualdo;‡ at the suggestion of that holy Ascetic he undertook a Pilgrimage barefooted to St.

* *Pallida Mors Sarcenorum. Chronicon Laurakense*, p. 121. Otho Frisingensis, vi. 26.

† *Dittmar, Chronicon*, p. 59. Gobelinus Persona, *Æt.* vi. c. 49.

‡ Some authorities speak of a wound which Otho II. received from a poisoned arrow in that engagement, under which he languished and died: but such a hurt must have incapacitated him from the great bodily exertion necessary for his escape. He might perhaps be so wounded in a subsequent action.

* Arnulphus Mediolanensis, l. 10.

† Reimerus, *Vit. S. Walboldus Ludiensis*, sec. 9.

History. Michael of Monte Gargaro, he wore a robe on which were embroidered all the symbols of the Apocalypse, and he subscribed himself in one of his Diplomas, "Servant of the Apostles." These were merits of no common order in the estimation of his contemporaries.

We have passed in silence two very tragical tales connected with Italy which will be found in most Histories of Germany, under the reigns of Otho II. and III. One that Otho II., in revenge for the murder of Benedict VI. and the turbulence of the Romans, invited all the Patricians indiscriminately to a splendid Banquet in the Vatican; and that when his guests had taken their places, the Hall was filled with armed men, who commanded the terrified Nobles, on peril of their lives, not to move from their seats, whatever they might hear or see. The chief opponents of the Imperial Government were then cited by name, dragged one by one from the table, and massacred before the eyes of their companions. After this butchery, the entertainment proceeded with much courtesy and festivity. The second story relates to a supposed Empress of Otho III., who, like Phædra, being rejected by an Italian Count whom she solicited, falsely denounced him to her husband as having made illicit advances, and thus procured his death. The widow of the guiltless victim, confident of her deceased Lord's innocence, from his dying asseverations, boldly and successfully underwent the ordeal of Fire in its avowment; and so far convinced the Emperor of the complicated wickedness of his Consort, that he adjudged her to the stake. Muratori* rejects both these narratives as Fables; showing that notwithstanding their great importance they are unnoticed by every contemporary writer; and that they rest upon no better authority than that of some barbarous Latin verses of Godfrey of Viterbo, (who did not flourish till two Centuries afterwards,) rendered into elegant prose by Sigonius.† There can be no doubt, however, that Otho II. used his Italian subjects harshly, and was much disliked by them in return. The loss of the Battle of Bassentello is attributed to their disaffection. The illustrious Gerbert, afterwards Pope as Sylvester II., in one of his Epistles (xii.) states that the Romans instituted a very rude comparison, *ipse Cæsar omnium hominum excellentissimus a furciferis asino comparatur*; nay yet more that they named him *Sanguinaris*; and one of the Emperor's Diplomas enjoins, in return for their civilities, that no Italian shall be believed on his oath.

The close of Otho III.'s reign, and the commencement of a new Century, afford a resting place at which we may pause awhile on the Annals of Italy, and direct our attention to those of other portions of Europe.

Observations on the present Annals during the reign of the 11th Century.
II. The Century which contains the remaining acts of the 11th Dynasty of FRANCE, after the dismemberment of the Carolingian Empire, is not only among the most obscure, but also among the least interesting, which the History of that Country presents. The contemporary writers throughout much of its course are few and of little credit; and we are occasionally deprived of all other guidance except that of tradition, reduced to a more enduring form many years after the events which it records had occurred. In this dearth of materials our sketch will of necessity be rapid.

Charles the Simple, who under other circumstances

would have been entitled by hereditary right to the Crown of France, was still regarded as illegitimate; and Count Eudes, the heroic defender of Paris, the son of Robert le Fort, and a reputed descendant of Charles Martel, found little difficulty in prevailing upon a Diet assembled at Compiegne, to reward his valour by investiture with the Kingdom which it had preserved. The boundaries of that Kingdom, however, included no more than the comparatively narrow tract between the Meuse and the Loire, the centre of which was occupied, as its coasts and frontiers were ravaged, by the predatory Northmen. Guido Duke of Spoleto unsuccessfully attempted to wring the Crown from Eudes; Aquitaine peremptorily rejected his dominion; Baldwin Count of Flanders braved his power and repulsed his troops; and there was scarcely a feudatory Lord, throughout the dominion which once paid service to the Monarch of France, who did not now assert authority almost equal to that of his nominal Sovereign. Partly by ignominious purchase, partly by force of arms, the Northmen in 889 and 890 were persuaded or compelled to abandon fresh attacks on Paris; and, in the latter year, unable to pass the walls bravely manned by the Citizens, and anxious to continue their retreat to the sea, they dragged their barks from the Seine overland, and when below the Town launched them once more into the river.* Whatever personal valour could achieve, was not likely to be wanting in Eudes; and we read, that, on one occasion, when he unexpectedly fell in with a body of 19,000 Northmen in the Forest of Montfaucon, placing himself in the van of his own few followers, not exceeding 1000 horse, he resolutely charged and overthrew the great multitude opposed to him; and killed with his own hand a chieftain, who during the conflict had dashed his battle-axe with so great violence against the King's head, that but for the good temper of his helmet his life must have been forfeited.† But it was in a war of partisanship that he was most sure of success; for not long afterwards, when in the presence of another Barbarian host on the banks of the Oise, so little confidence did he feel in the attachment, the obedience, the fidelity, or the courage of his own army, that he wisely preferred negotiation to the chance of a pitched battle.

This ignoble Treaty, a defeat which he sustained from another division of the same invaders retiring before the successful arms of Arnulf King of Germany, and the natural jealousy of the great Lords, who ill-brooked the Sovereignty of one whom they reputed but as an equal, diminished the first popularity of Eudes; and encouraged the partisans of Charles the Simple to assert his claim to the throne. Accordingly, during an Assembly held at Rheims in the absence of Eudes, on an expedition against Aquitaine, the young Prince, scarcely then in his fourteenth year, was presented by the Archbishop Foulques to the Nobles, as the legitimate posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer. His personal likeness to his Father was too strong to be denied; Arnulf of Germany supported his cause, and a Civil war ensued between the competitors, which after various fortune terminated to the disadvantage of Charles.

* In the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1821, may be found a description of a boat dug out of the banks of the Seine, near the Champ de Mars, in 1805. It was a simple canoe, hewn out of a single tree, and able to contain eight men with baggage and provisions. There seems good reason to believe that it was a Norman bark left on the spot on some such occasion as that noticed above. See Wheaton, *Hist. of the Northmen*, 230.

† Abbo, l. 2.

Annals of France.
From A. D. 888. to A. D. 1000. Reign of Eudes. A. D. 885. A. D. 892.

Transactions with the Northmen.

A. D. 891.

Charles the Simple asserts his right to the Crown.
A. D. 893.

* *Annali d' Italia*, ad ann. 981. 996.

† *De Regno Italia*, vii.

History.

From
A. D.
868.
to
A. D.
1000.

Accession
of Charles
the Simple.
A. D.
898.

Early His-
tory of
Rollo the
Norman.

His banish-
ment.

His vision.

The conduct of Eudes was marked with generosity; he granted his rival a munificent establishment; it is said that he even shared with him some portion of his dominions; and there is little doubt that on his death-bed he earnestly recommended all who approached him to transfer their allegiance to Charles as his successor, and not to agitate any pretensions which might be advanced by his own brother, Robert, the powerful Duke of France.

The first fourteen years of the reign of Charles the Simple who succeeded, are entirely without contemporary record. From the few lights which we are able to collect, there is little doubt that they were passed in continued struggles both with the Northmen, and with the feudatory Lords, who asserted independent rule over many of his Provinces. It is thus we read of Kings of Brittany, of Lorraine, of Provence, and of Burgundy; and so weakened and degraded was their ancient Sovereign, the King of France, that his name is omitted in an enumeration of the Princes who governed Christendom, with which Luitprand begins his History. Nevertheless it was in that forgotten Realm that a great Revolution was to occur, affecting in its ultimate consequences the fortunes of England even more than those of France.

Putting aside the numberless fabulous legends which have been grafted by the later Norman Chroniclers on the history of the founder of their race, we may confine ourselves to the simpler narratives of the Scandinavian writers, against whom no imputation of adulatory falsehood can reasonably be advanced. Rollo, or as he is called in the Norwegian dialect, Hrolf, was the eldest son of Rognwald, Jarl of Møre; a distinguished chieftain of ancient family, to whom Harald King of Norway intrusted the government of the conquered Orkneys. Endowed with great bodily strength, Rollo early addicted himself to nautical enterprises. "Hrolf," says a native Chronicler, "was a famous *Fikinger*, (Sea-king,) and was so stout that no horse could carry him. He was therefore obliged to go on foot, and thence was called *Gaungro Rölfr*: (Rollo the Walker:)" he cruised much in the Baltic Sea.[†] A feud between the sons of King Harald and the Jarl of Møre, cost that aged chieftain his life; and his murder was retaliated with circumstances of extraordinary cruelty. While Harald was incensed on that account against the family of his ancient friend, Rollo, on his return from a piratical expedition, yet further exasperated the anger of his King by the violation of one of his most important Laws. A rude and oppressive custom had long existed by which the Vikings seized for their own use the cattle of the unprotected peasantry; and this imprisonment of provision, or *Strandlug* as it was termed, had been forbidden under strict penalties by the reigning Monarch. Perpetual exile was the sentence passed on Rollo's offence; and thus banished from his home, if a Sea-king can be said to have cultivated any other home than the waves, he pursued with more than former energy his life of piracy. It is not easy to trace his course of wandering with precision, but he is thought to have served in England both for and against Alfred; and while in that Country a vision, as we are assured, foretold his future destiny. In his dream he believed himself to be afflicted with leprosy, while standing on a

high mountain washed by a pure spring. He plunged into the water and was cleansed, and he observed that a flock of birds which had bathed in the same fountain, flew away and commenced building their nests. It required little skill in Oneirocritics to annex an appropriate interpretation to this vision; and we may be forgiven for believing that Rollo was persuaded at some after period of his life, rather than, as the Chroniclers avouch, by a Christian prisoner, at the moment, that his leprosy was sin; the mountain, the Church; the water, Baptism; and the flock of birds his warlike comrades, who were ordained, together with himself, to find a sure abiding place after conversion. Be this as it may, the first certain appearance of Rollo in France occurred in 876, when as the commander of no more than six barks, he partook in an incursion which Charles the Bald was compelled to buy off by subsidy. His name does not appear among the Chiefs who, ten years later, assisted in the Siege of Paris; and it is little probable, therefore, (as the ready flattery of the Norman Poets and Chroniclers has affirmed,) that he had before that date attained sufficient power to assist Alfred in the recovery of his Crown,* and to decline the munificent proffer of half his Kingdom, which the gratitude of the restored Monarch sought to bestow as a reward.

In the early part of the reign of Charles the Simple, it is plain from a scene most vividly described by the Norman Poet Robert Wace, that Rollo had not yet acquired that preeminence among his Countrymen which, ere many years, he was to enjoy. The armies of the French and of the Northmen were encamped on the opposite banks of the river Eure; and the former, anxious for pacific negotiation, despatched messengers to ask a parley with the Chief of the Pirates. "*We are all equal*," was the reply. Being asked what was their design in invading the Country, they answered, "To subdue it;" and in a bloody engagement which followed they made good their boast.[†] Two years afterwards, Rollo having stormed Bayeux, and slain its Governor Count Berenger, proffered his hand;[‡] yet reeking with her father's blood, to Popa, a maiden of distinguished beauty, and contracted with her an ambiguous marriage. It was then that having fortified himself in his strong hold at Rouen, and having been elected their permanent Chief by the free choice of his comrades, he directed his powerful mind to the organization of a band of wandering adventurers into a fixed and well-regulated Colony.

Of his transactions for many years after this settlement we possess few notices; till at length we find him at the head of a general confederation of Northmen who ascended the three great rivers of France, pillaging the intermediate Country. Charles struck with terror earnestly sought to treat, and obtained an armistice of three months' duration. When that time had expired, Rollo again advanced and laid siege to Chartres. The Bishop of that City flung himself upon vengeance against the invading *Saracens*, as they were named; announced that Paradise would be the immediate reward of those faithful champions who should be slain in opposing them; and having thus kindled an indomitable enthusiasm, fixed on the point of a lance a tunic once belonging to the Virgin, the choicest treasure of the reliquary of his Cathedral; and placed himself at the head of a

* i. 2.
† *Snoerre, Haralds Soga ens Hrolfsgaga*, c. 24. cited in Wheaton's *Hist. of the Northmen*, p. 240.

• Alfred's restoration took place in 860.
• *Roman de Rollo*. Wheatman, 243.
• *Rolt en a ft sa mie*. *Ibid.*

Annals of
France.
From
A. D.
698.
to
A. D.
1000.

A. D.
900.
Elect of
the North-
men.

A. D.
911.

Delivered
Chartres.

History.
From
A. D.
888,
to
A. D.
1000.
Treats with
Charles,
and other
kisses him-
self in Nar-
mandy.

gallant troop of Franks and Burgundians, whom Robert, brother of the late King Eudes, and Richard Duke of Burgundy had gathered in his aid. Rollo was totally defeated, but soon recovering his strength he poured down again upon the Country once more left open to him by the disbanding of the recent levy. "What can a single man avail?" was the reply of Charles to the representations of his miserable subjects; "it is a host which gives strength to a King;" and wholly unable to resist, he offered to abandon Neustria, and to cement alliance by the marriage of his natural daughter Giselle with the Norman Chief. The wary conqueror observed that the proffered lands were ruined and desolate; and when Flanders was tendered in addition, he complained of the marshiness of that district. In the end the King agreed that Brittany should be added to the portion; thus somewhat dexterously transferring to a bold warrior a quarrel rather than a possession; not, as may be believed, without a hope that a Province which then denied his supremacy, might be won by the arms of the Norman, to revert subsequently to himself.

Fury
brought to
Charles.

The Baptism of the Scandinavian Sea-king formed one article of the Treaty; and it was accompanied by the repudiation of Pöpa. It was then requisite that he should do homage, according to Feudal custom, for his great Signory of Normandy. "By my God," exclaimed the rough soldier, "never will I bow my knee before another man nor kiss his foot;" and his well-remembered oath passed into a family name, corrupted afterwards into *Bigod*, or *Bigot*.^{*} Then deputed one of his soldiers to comply with the slavish service, he burst into peals of inextinguishable laughter, when the insolent Barbarian seized the foot of the King under the pretext of kissing it, and raised it so high as to throw Charles backward on the ground from his chair of state. The French, powerless to resent this bitter insult, allowed the ceremonial to proceed without a comment, and Rollo condescended to take the oath of fealty by placing his hands between those of his Lord. Such was the first act of that Feudal system in NORMANDY, as the Country became styled from its new owners, which ere long was to be transported to England by one of Rollo's descendants.

His wise
government.

The Government of Duke Rollo during the next sixteen years was wise and vigorous; his efforts were successfully directed to the gradual civilization of the 30,000 rude soldiers whom he swayed; and from his accession may be dated the close, unless in a few partial instances, of that rapine and brigandage, which for more than a Century had devastated some of the richest Provinces of Europe. The Normans, unlike most other foreign Colonists, adopted, for the greater part, the Laws, Language, Religion, and usages of the People among whom they settled, infusing into each a portion of new vigour and freshness from their own masculine and independent habits. Strange also it may appear, the establishment of these fierce Pirates in France, contributed greatly to the advancement of Literature. The wild marvels of their own popular superstitions were intermingled with the glowing imagery of the South, and gave rise (if we may venture to pronounce thus boldly on a much controverted subject) to the Romance

of Norman Minstrelsy; long the delight of the Palace and of the Baronial Hall, and even yet attractive to the Poet no less than to the Antiquary. Through the sound policy of Rollo, the settlement of strangers within his dominions was encouraged by strict laws for the protection of property; and in illustration of the excellence of his Police, it is asserted of him, as of some of his elder native Princes, and of our own English Alfred also, that he suspended bracelets of gold by the road side without a guard, and that they remained inviolate during the long period of three years. The *Clameur de Haro*, corresponding with our Anglo-Saxon *Hue and Cry*, by which the Hundred wherein a crime had been committed was raised in pursuit of the offender, has frequently been referred to Rollo; and although the origin of the term may be traced more satisfactorily through a different etymology, the appropriation of it to the first Norman legislator sufficiently proves the general high repute of his Jurisprudence.^{*} One stain alone appears to tarnish the memory of Rollo after establishment in his Duchy. His marriage with Giselle proved unhappy; the Princess transplanted, if we may so express ourselves, to a coarse soil, and a boisterous climate, languished for scenes better adapted to her gentle spirit, and died of grief. We are ignorant of the details which occasioned the public execution of two officers whom King Charles despatched to inquire concerning the fate of his sister.[†]

The cession of Normandy, although stigmatized as disgraceful, and no doubt extorted by necessity, might have been equally dictated by a sagacious policy. France yielded no more than a Country long since lost to her, and which she was unable to dispute; and by its formal surrender she converted a peridious enemy into a grateful ally. It was otherwise on the vacancy of the German throne, occurring towards the close of the same year which witnessed the creation of the new Duchy; and the most ignominious event in the history of Charles the Simple, is that the great Diet of the Empire rejected him, the last survivor of the stock of Charlemagne, even its bastard branch being now extinct, on account of his proverbial incapacity. Lorraine was the only portion of Germany which transferred to him its allegiance, and its possession involved him in some contests with the native Princes. In the latter years of his reign he weakly surrendered himself to the implicit guidance of a favourite of low origin; and the ancient Lords of his Kingdom regarded with deep indignation their exclusion from the Royal Audience-chamber by the Hagenau. To proud bidding of the Court-minion Hagenon. To escape their murmurs, Charles at length secluded himself in his mountain Palace at Laon; a residence which he had first chosen as affording security from the irruptions of the Hungarians. Meanwhile a conspiracy for

Annals of
France.

From
A. D.
888,
to
A. D.
1000.

Rise of the
favourite
Hagenau.

Discontent
of the
Nobles.

^{*} "The Normans," says Minsheu, "had such a pursuit with aerie after offenders, as this is which they called *Haro*, wherof you may read in the *Grand Coutumier*, cap. 54. Some call it *Harel*, the reason wherof they give to be this. That there was a Duke of Normandy called *Rot*, a man of great justice and severity against grievous offenders; and that thereupon when they follow any in this pursuit they cry *Ho-Rot*, as if they should say 'Ah Rot, where art thou that wert wont to redress this, or what shouldst thou doe against these wretches if thou wert now living? In which call they which are within hearing must make pursuit or pay a fine.'

Mr. Wheaton, however, decides in favour of the Icelandic *herrip*, cry of army, compounded of *her*, or *hær*, an army, and *rip*, a whoop or cry; and corresponding with the French *sauz l'escort*.

[†] Velly, l. 355.

^{*} Much as foreigners, to our shame, have nick-named the English "Goddamns."

[†] The death of Rollo is most generally fixed in 927.

History. his deposition was organized by the discontented Nobles, and Robert Count of Paris and his son Hugh the White, (probably so named from his armour,) the most powerful Vassals of his Realm, on the King's refusal to dismiss his favourite, openly renounced their allegiance by the significant ceremony of breaking and throwing on the ground a straw which they held in their hands;* and Charles abandoned by the troops whom he had summoned to his standard, took refuge in Lorraine. The insurgents treated this flight as a solemn abdication, and Robert, with the consent of the chief Ecclesiastics, was proclaimed King, and crowned at Rheims. But his reign was of short duration. Within twelve months, Charles returned by unexpected marches, surprised his rival near Soissons, and although ultimately defeated, so far triumphed as to leave Robert among the slain.† The fall of their leader but increased the ardour of his followers, and under the guidance of Hugh, they rushed on to complete victory. On his retreat from the field, Charles applied for succour, but in vain, to all his chief Vassals; till his relation Heribert Count of Vermandois at length assisted him of support. The fugitive King gladly hastened to St. Quentin, where his unexpectedly ally prostrated himself at his feet, and observing that his son received the Monarch's salute standing, harshly reproached him for the unseemliness of such a posture before his Sovereign, and accompanied the rebuke with a severe blow. Deeply impressed by so marked a token of personal respect and loyalty, Charles dismissed his suite, and abandoned himself altogether to the protection of Heribert; who repaid this unsuspecting confidence by foul and most perfidious treachery. By night, he secretly conveyed the deluded Prince to confinement in his Castle of Chateau Thierry, and then hastened to receive the price of his treason from the hands of his enemies.‡ When the captivity of her husband was announced to Edgiva his Queen, she lost no time in crossing the seas with Louis their son, and seeking an asylum in the Court of her brother Athelstan, King of the Anglo-Saxons. From that emigration, Louis, then a boy but nine years of age, has become known to us by the title of *l'Outremer*, a name which, except from a dread of violating the solemnity of History, we should render by its most correspondent English, "the Outlandish."

Hugh the White, the richest and most powerful Feudatory of his time, Lord of Paris and of the entire domain between the Seine and the Loire, might now without difficulty have placed upon his own brows the Crown which had been worn both by his uncle Eudes and his Father Robert. Prompted, however, either by a generous ambition, which preferred the more noble title of King-maker to that of King, or by a shrewd policy which discovered a wider extension of his own influence by bestowing on another a title which would have brought envy on himself, he declined the dazzling offer. The Chroniclers, indeed, assign another motive

* Velly, 388.

† By some authorities Charles is said to have killed the usurper with his own hand. Other, and perhaps more trustworthy, writers attribute the death of Robert to Comte Fulbert, the standard bearer of the King.

‡ The death of Heribert, which occurred in 942, is said to have been attended with circumstances of peculiar horror, arising from the bitterness of his remorse. When reminded of his spiritual welfare, he fixed his eyes on the Priest, and replied, "There were twelve of us who conspired against Charles;" words which he continued to repeat so long as he retained any power of utterance.

which will be more gratifying to the lovers of Minnie History. Rodolph, (or Raoul as he is more generally named by the French writers,) son of Richard Duke of Burgundy, was his brother-in-law; and before Hugh decided upon the disposal of the throne, he is said to have asked his sister Emma whether she would prefer that himself or her husband should be King. The high-minded Dame replied that she was prepared to kiss the knees of her husband in token of homage, but not those of her brother; and the reply obtained Rodolph his Kingdom, which was virtually administered by Hugh. A period of anarchy and confusion succeeded; the *prestige* of Royalty was diminished by the transfer of nominal sovereignty to private hands; and many of the chief Seigneurs declined recognition of the new King. A fresh band of predatory Northmen also, profiting by the disturbed state of France, made a descent from Denmark, were joined by some few of Rollo's subjects, and contested the Duchy of France both with Hugh and Rodolph. After many alternations of fortune (during which, on one occasion, the King was grievously wounded and nearly captured) the invaders were almost exterminated in a general engagement at Limoges.

A Crown bestowed by Vassals is held also only during their pleasure, and not many years elapsed before Heribert of Vermandois, disgusted by the refusal of a Fief for which he applied, released Charles the Simple from his confinement, and concerted measures for the overthrow of Rodolph. Peace was mediated by Hugh at the expense of the honour of both parties; for Rodolph conceded the demanded Fief, and Heribert recommitted the unhappy Charles to prison. His imbecility had so far increased as to render him a harmless rival, and Rodolph felt able to indulge with security a generous wish for his freedom. He established him in a Palace at Attigny, where surrounded by a mockery of State, the drivelling Prince still believed himself to be a King, and expired happy in his delusion, after a year's enjoyment of his imaginary restoration.

Still, however, the turbulent spirit of Heribert prompted him to fresh enterprises, and the few remaining years of Rodolph's sway were consumed in petty warfare, conducted either by Hugh or by himself against their ambitious rival. After a disturbed reign, Rodolph died without issue.* No member of his family pretended to the Crown of France, and even his hereditary dominions of Burgundy passed away from his natural heirs. In a contest which arose between his brother and his brother-in-law for their possession, Hugh the Great increased the already exorbitant power from which he derived that title by a large appropriation to himself; and thus brought his descendants one step nearer to that Kingship which he rejected in his own person. Once again preferring the secure authority of hereditary Lordship to the unstable tenure of an elective Monarchy, and calculating that he might exercise upon a younger mind, perhaps a yet greater influence than he had maintained even over the pliant Rodolph, he addressed himself to Heribert and William Longsword, (the latter of whom in 927 had succeeded his father Rollo in the Dukedom of Normandy,) to assist in the recall of Louis, the son of

* Rodolph, like Arnulf of Germany, is said to have been a victim of that horrible disorder, the *morbus pediculorum*. Velly, i. 395. The authorities for the reigns of Rodolph, and Charles the Simple, are contained in Bouquet, *Recueil*, vol. viii. and Pistorius, *Script. Rer. Germ.* vol. i.

Annals of France.

From A. D. 888. to A. D. 1000. Rodolph proclaimed King.

A. D. 926.

Release of Charles the Simple. A. D. 928.

His death. A. D. 929.

Death of Rodolph. A. D. 936.

Accession of Louis IV P'Outremer.

History. Charles the Simple, from his asylum in England. The throne of France, which that young Prince accordingly ascended, bestowed little more, however, upon its possessor than the sovereignty of the City of Laon.

But Hugh was unacquainted with the character of the youth whom he had elevated for his own purposes. Brave, active, and high-spirited, Louis panted to emancipate himself from an unworthy tutelage; and he was supported in his design by the counsels of his mother Edgiva, who beheld in the Count of Paris rather the detroner of her husband, than the restorer of her Son. While preparing for a future struggle with his powerful Vassals, the young King involved himself in a much more formidable contest with Otho the Great, by accepting homage proffered by the Lorrainers, ever anxious to escape the German yoke. Singularly opposing public to private interests, at the moment in which Louis defied his Barons, and endeavoured to wrest a Province from the King of Germany, he closely allied himself by marriage to the very enemies whom he was creating; and received the hand of Gerberge, widow of the late Duke of Lorraine, sister of Otho, and sister-in-law of Count Hugh.* Otho, as might be expected, united himself with the discontented Lords of France; and although Louis in the first instance overran Alsatia, and was assisted by an English fleet in mastering the ports of Lorraine, the rapid movements of his more skilful opponent soon compelled him to retreat his steps; a defeat by his Barons at Chateau Porcier led to the abandonment of all the Northern districts; and but for the moderation of Otho, to whom the insurgent Seigneurs had already paid homage, his Crown must have been irrecoverably lost. That Prince, to whom the title of Great has been assigned with far more justice than History in general bestows it, was more anxious to promote the tranquillity of the Western World than his own individual aggrandizement; and abandoning all claim upon a sceptre already within his grasp, he pardoned the aggression upon himself, reconciled Louis to his disobedient subjects, and at the same time fully guaranteed the interests which those subjects had intrusted to his protection.

A new object of ambition soon presented itself to the restless spirit of Louis. William Longsword, the son and successor of Duke Rollo in Normandy, inherited little of his Father's eminent qualities, and showed himself far better adapted for the monastic retirement which he long and earnestly coveted, than for the active duties of a Statesman and a Warrior. In the adjustment of a petty feud with Arnulf Count of Flanders, he was assassinated by order of that Chieftain with circumstances of peculiar treachery; and his death appeared to afford Louis an opportunity of strengthening himself by seizure of the vacant Duchy. William had left only one illegitimate son, Richard, then ten years of age, who although he afterwards won by his valour the distinguished title *Sans peur*, seemed at the time an easy victim to the unprincipled ambition of a more powerful neighbour. The King of France in the first instance proceeded to Rouen to organize a Regency for his great Fief, and he there obtained possession of the person of Richard, under the pretext of qualifying him for his future Dukedom by a suitable education in the Court of Laon. But there was another eye directed not less eagerly than his own towards the fair Province of Normandy; and when the King of France discovered

that the Count of Paris meditated designs upon the Duchy, in order to secure some portion of a booty, the entire attainment of which was now manifestly hopeless, he entered into a nefarious treaty of partition by which the ill-gotten spoil when attained was to be divided between the plunderers.

The ingenuity of Osmond, a Norman governor to whom the superintendence of the young Duke had been committed, devised means for his escape from Laon. His confinement had been embittered by much cruelty; and either to terrify him from any attempt at flight, or perhaps really with the intention of rendering him a cripple, and unfit for the active duties of sovereignty, Louis is said to have threatened to sear the sinews of his legs. Osmond, having first instructed his pupil to feign so desperate an illness, that the vigilance of his sentinels became relaxed by his long confinement to bed, from which at length he was never expected to rise again, then concealed him in a truss of hay. Attention to his favourite horse ranked highly among the duties of a brave soldier of that period; and Osmond, carrying on his shoulders a burden apparently by no means unusual, passed the city gates to a spot in which he had secretly provided means of speedy flight; and arrived with his important charge at Coucy, having evaded all pursuit. Meantime the artful representations of Bernard Count of Rouen, who administered the Government of Normandy during the minority of Richard, created a belief in Louis that he should ultimately profit far more by the assistance of the Normans themselves, than by maintaining his alliance with Count Hugh. The whole Duchy, it was said, should become his own in fitting season; why, therefore, should he condescend to share it with a Vassal, whom the Normans were ready to assist him in subduing? Misled by these false hopes, the fickle and faithless Prince abandoned his former League, and even declared certain towns, upon which Hugh was advancing, to be guaranteed by his Royal protection, and therefore to be inviolable.

Bernard by these artifices secured his aim; he effectually divided the two assailants, by whose joint force he must have been overwhelmed, and he also gained time for the arrival of important succours from Denmark, which might be directed against each of them in succession. The King of Denmark, Harald, led his troops in person, and after his landing, the two Monarchs met in conference. The discussion at first was friendly, at least in appearance; and the guardianship of the minor seemed a point of mutual interest. But an unlucky allusion to the murder of Duke William, and the recognition, among the suite of Louis, of Herluin, Count de Montreuil, who had been the unwitting cause of that bloody deed by seeking the Duke's protection from the Count of Flanders, led from angry words to open violence. A fiery-spirited Dane first reproached Montreuil as the source of calamity to his master, and then stretched him dead at his feet by a thrust of his lance. Eighteen French Nobles, and nearly all their attendants, were massacred in the general affray which ensued; and Louis escaped from the scene of blood, the *Guc de Herluin*, (Herluin's ford,) as it was ever afterwards named, only to be thrown into prison by the Regent Bernard. Even if the quarrel had not been altogether premeditated, the Normans gladly profited by its occurrence to secure the person of the French King.

* Both Hedwige, consort of Hugh the Great, Count of Paris, and Gerberge were sisters of Otho.

* William the Conqueror alluded to this capture of Louis, in his speech to his army before the Battle of Hastings: "Did not your Fathers make captive the King of the Franks, and hold him as a

Annals of France.

From A. D. 888, to

A. D. 1000,

Escape of Richard of Normandy

A. D. 944.

Artifices of the Regent Bernard.

Arrival of Danish troops.

Imprisonment of Louis.

History. The affection and activity of his consort, Gerberge, excited powerful interest in behalf of her captive husband; and the Kings of Germany and of England, and the Count of Paris himself solicited his release. The price was the investment of Duke Richard with all the prerogatives of his Father and Grandfather; and even when that unwilling ransom was guaranteed, Louis found that he had only changed his jailer. He was surrendered to the Count of Paris, who placed him again in strict custody, in the hope of extorting a cession of the now sole domain of the Crown, the City of Laon. The King's deliverance was not effected without a solemn promise of the resignation of that territory; a promise which he did not scruple to violate so soon as Otho armed in his favour. In the petty warfare which ensued, and continued during four years, Louis displayed much ability and personal courage; and spiritual no less than secular weapons were raised in his behalf. Twice was Hugh excommunicated by the decrees of an Ecclesiastical Synod confirmed by the Pope; and twice did he regard their denunciations with contempt and carelessness. So low indeed had fallen the power of the Church in the middle of the Xth Century, that neither of the two anathemas fulminated against the Count of Paris deprived him of the services of a single follower; while, on the other hand, he found means to allure numerous partisans from the ranks of his enemy. The persuasions of Otho and of his son-in-law, Conrad of Lorraine, ultimately mediated that accommodation which the arms of Louis and the threats of the Clergy, were equally inefficient to extort; and Hugh, materially strengthened in power, renewed oaths of allegiance to his shadow of a Sovereign.

reconciliation with Hugh.
A. D. 950.

Marriage of Edgiva.
A. D. 951.

Death of Louis IV.
Accession of Lothaire.
A. D. 954.

Death of Hugh the Great.
A. D. 956.

The petty struggles which harassed the conclusion of the reign of Louis IV. merit little attention; but one remarkable occurrence in his family must not be wholly omitted. Three years before his death he was abandoned by his mother Edgiva; who, regardless of her own honour, the wrongs of her former husband, and the disproportion of her years, threw herself into the arms of Heribert II., Count of Vermandois, son of that Noble of the same name, who had so long retained Charles the Simple in imprisonment. Deeply wounded in his domestic peace by this disgraceful misalliance, menaced by a new invasion of the Hungarians, and unable to control his refractory Barons, notwithstanding the display of much talent, valour, and firmness, Louis, after holding a nominal sceptre during eighteen years of anarchy, died in consequence of a fall from his horse, started at a wolf. Of his two surviving children by Gerberge, Lothaire, the elder, in his fourteenth year, was proclaimed his successor.

The support of Hugh the Great secured the accession of the new King, from whose minority the subtle and ambitious Count drew sure hopes of his own further aggrandizement; and the other Lords of France readily followed the example of the chief Feudatory. Aquitaine was at that moment the leading object which Hugh coveted, and he might have been successful had not his projects been arrested by death.* His vast possessions

prisoner in Rouen, until he had restored Normandy to Richard your Duke, then a boy? and in that interview did not the young Duke wear his sword, while the King was deprived of his, and even of his dagger?" Wheaton, p. 292, and the authorities there cited.

Hugh the Great, although himself unmarried, was son of King Robert, nephew of King Rudes, brother-in-law of King Rodolph, and father of King Hugh Capet. By his three marriages he was

were divided among three sons, but we are interested in the fortunes of only the second, Hugh Capet, who was about ten years of age at his Father's death, and who inherited the County of Paris and Duchy of France. The extreme youth of the King and of his chief Vassal, rendered both of them unfit for personal administration, and the Governments of each fell to the care of their respective mothers, Gerberge and Hedwige, women of vigorous minds, and sisters of the Emperor Otho. The transactions of the reign of Lothaire are among the most obscure in French History, and of the seven years between 966 and 973 not one contemporary record survives. At the conclusion of that dark period we know that a few years after the death of Otho the Great, a war ensued between his successor, Otho II., and Lothaire; and that the latter nearly succeeded in capturing his cousin, surprised and altogether defenceless in his Palace at Aix la Chapelle.* Otho having escaped to Cologne, expressed his resentment by a solemn defiance, in which the Herald assured the King of France that his master would return the unexpected visit before October closed. Punctual to his engagement, the Emperor, early in that month, invaded France at the head of a force which has been magnified to 60,000 men. After ravaging Laon, Rheims, and Soissons, he presented himself before the gates of Paris; and informed Hugh Capet, its Count and Governor, that he would greet him with a louder Litany than ever yet had reached his ears. Accordingly, assembling a great body of Priests upon Montmartre, he mingled his soldiers among them; and this anomalous Choir then chanted at the fullest stretch of their lungs, the Canticle of the Martyrs, "Hallelujah! the holy army of Martyrs praises Thee, O Lord!" There was not a roof in Paris which did not reecho the Hymn.

Satisfied with this idle bravado, the Emperor commenced his retreat; and in the passage of the river Aisne, his baggage and rear-guard being separated for one night from the main battle, were cut off by the French.† On the morrow, Otho despatched the Count of Ardenne with a challenge to Lothaire. It was proposed that the two armies should meet on equal terms, in an open plain, without advantage or artifice; Lothaire might choose the bank of the river on which the engagement should be fought, provided that party which had to cross received hostages from the other for the security of its passage. On hearing this defiance, Geoffroi Count of Anjou, a follower of Lothaire, gave a remarkable proof of the low estimation in which Royalty was held in France. "What need is there," he said, "to hazard the lives of so many brave men for the quarrel of two Kings? Let them descend into the field themselves and decide the combat; we will look on, and acknowledge the Conqueror as our Chief." The chivalrous loyalty of the German Count returned a dignified rebuke to this proposal of the Frenchman. He had

respectively brother-in-law of Louis the Stutterer, and of Otho of Germany, and son-in-law of Edward of England.

* The flight of Otho and his Empress was so rapid, that Lothaire sat down to the dinner prepared for their repast; *apud Imperatorem et fratrem suum pro prandio paratis refectis eaverunt.* Guilelmus Naugius, ad ann.

† A very unusual miracle was worked on this occasion, according to the German Monkish Chronicles, by Udalric, Bishop of Augsberg, who accompanied Otho in his retreat. He led the Emperor and his army dry-shod across the Aisne, the waters standing apart as a wall, like those of the Red Sea. Unluckily, it seems, the good Bishop forgot the rear-guard.

Annals of France.
From
A. D. 686.
to
A. D. 1099.

War between Otho II. and Lothaire.
A. D. 975.

The Germans besieged the French army.

History.
From
A. D.
688.
to
A. D.
1000.
950.
Death of
Lothaire.
A. D.
968.

often heard, was his answer, that the French but lightly regarded their Kings, and the words just spoken convinced him that the charge was true. "We doubt not," he added, "that our Monarch would be victorious in single combat; but never will we stand by as quiet spectators while our Emperor is fighting; never shall it be said that we shrink from a peril to which he was exposed!"*

No further details of this War have reached us; but we know that Peace was concluded in 980; that on the demise of Otho II. Lothaire endeavoured to profit by the weakness of the minority of his successor and namesake; and that he himself died a few years afterwards. The short reign of his son, Louis V. *le Paineant*, was, as that title implies,† yet more inglorious than his own, and is equally without trustworthy record. Of the intrigues by which it was agitated no particulars remain, but from their result there can be little doubt that they were mainly directed by Hugh Capet. Louis became embroiled with his mother, Emma, who, even during the lifetime of her husband Lothaire, was openly accused of gallantries with Adalbéron, Bishop of Laon; and her son, a King in nothing but in name, and yet more unhappy in marriage ties than his Father,‡ after a reign of fourteen months, was poisoned by the hands of Blanche his Consort. At this point it will be convenient to pause before we commence the History of a new Dynasty.§

III. THE GERMAN ANNALS, during the period upon which we are about to enter, are so closely and so frequently interwoven with those of Italy, that in treating the History of the latter Country, we have already anticipated much of that of the former also. On the de-thronement of Charles the Fat, the Crown of Germany, as we have seen, was conferred, for the first time by Election, on Arnulf, a Bastard of Carloman of Bavaria, and thus illegitimately descended from Charlemagne. Much of the calamity which Europe afterwards endured from the Hungarians is to be attributed to the rash policy by which that Prince, not long after his accession, invited their hordes into Bohemia, a Duchy which he had granted to the Slavonian Chieftain Zundebold, by whom this increased power had been ungratefully employed to the detriment of his benefactor. The rebellious Vassal was punished; but the outpost into which the Barbarians had been thus incautiously admitted was steadily maintained, and afforded them unhappy facilities for their subsequent destructive inroads. The year following this first success of Arnulf was distinguished by one much greater over the Northmen; when, if the Annals of Fulda may be credited, 120,000 of those fierce invaders were chased into the river Dyle, near Louvain, and two of their Sea-kings were slain in battle.

* Balderici, *Chron.* l. 97. Meseray seems thoroughly ashamed of this incident by his attempt to pervert it. The Germans, he says, declined single combat for their Emperor, *conferant par la tacite-ment qu'ils ne le croioient pas si brave que le Roy de France.* Geoffroi of Anjou, known as *le Grise-gonelle*, from wearing a grey surcoat, notwithstanding his unworthy proposition, was a brave soldier; and had no far distinguished himself in the engagement at the Aisne, as to merit the hereditary dignity of Great Seneschal of France, nearly corresponding with that of Constable in later years.

† The native Historians, however, interpret *le Paineant* more as *Jovencus qui nihil fecit*, than as *inefficax*.

‡ It has been reported nevertheless by some authorities, that Lothaire was poisoned by Emma. *Il y eutroit cependant de la tendresse à promettre avec cet infameux mystère*, is the cautious remark of Velly.

§ For the reigns of the last three Carolingians, see the scanty materials in Bouquet, *Recueil*, tom. viii.

The Italian campaigns by which the succeeding years of this reign were occupied, and which led ultimately to Arnulf's death, need not be again related here. Upon his decease, through a reasonable fear lest the integrity of the German Kingdom might suffer by deviation from the natural line of succession, after a short demur, his son Louis III.,* although a child not more than seven years of age, was called to the throne. During his minority, the Government was administered by Otho Duke of Saxony, and Hatto† Archbishop of Mentz; to the latter of whom is attributed a foul act of treachery, for which a Roman Senate would have adjudged deserved retribution.‡ A feud between Conrad Count of Franconia, and Adelbert Marquess of Papenburg, led to the assassination of the former; and the murderer, having disobeyed the Royal citation when summoned to trial for this homicide, was besieged in his strong Castle of Bamberg. As the fortress resisted all efforts of the assailants, Hatto obtaining an interview with Adelbert, assured him of the clemency of the King if he would but solicit it in person, and pledged himself that he should return in safety to his Castle. Adelbert relying upon this promise, accompanied the Prelate on his way to the Royal Camp; but scarcely had they quitted Bamberg when Hatto, pleading fatigue, proposed that they should return awhile for refreshment. The Marquess readily consented without suspicion of his danger; and after entertaining his betrayer with hospitality within the walls of his Castle, renewed his expedition. On their arrival in the Camp of Louis, Adelbert was put in chains, condemned as a rebel and a traitor, and led out to the block. Before the headman performed his duty, the dying Noble expostulated with Hatto on his gross violation of faith; and he was answered, that on the contrary, faith had been kept inviolably, for that he had already been restored in safety to his Castle.§

The reign of Louis III. was principally spent in bloody and unsuccessful contests with the Hungarians; and when in his nineteenth year he died broken-hearted, as is said, by his reiterated defeats, and childless, (thus extinguishing in his person the direct German line of Charlemagne,) the vacant Crown was tendered to the late Regent, Otho. That high-minded and disinterested Prince, instead of accepting the dignified station thus

* Louis the Infant, as he was designated, is sometimes described as Louis IV., but improperly. His only predecessors of the same name on the German Throne, were Louis le Debonnaire I. and Louis le Germanique II.

† Hatto, perhaps, is only another form of Otho. The Etymologists trace it through *Avra*, which Festus says is a Thebanian word, to the Hebrew *ṢṢ*, *Pater*.

‡ Livy relates a perfidious subterfuge, similar to that of Hatto, practised by one of the Deputies whom the Roman prisoners taken at Cannæ despatched to solicit payment of their ransom. Hannibal, it seems, accepted their simple parole that they would return; and after the mission had failed, one of them did return stealthily to the Carthaginian Camp, but without appearing before his conquerors, or again surrendering himself. Having stifled conscience by this sophistical evasion, he took up his abode in Rome. But the Senate deemed more severely of the nature of an oath; and when the breach of faith was discovered, a unanimous vote determined that the virtual perjurer should be recovered to Hannibal in the custody of Public Officers. (xxi. 61.)

§ All the Chroniclers, except Regino and two of his copyists, agree in this disgraceful narrative. Some of them are not content without annexing a fearful judgment to Hatto's great iniquity; and they add, that after he had been killed by lightning, his body was borne away by the Devil to be plunged into the crater of *Ætna*; while the grisly carrier recited a Pentameter, but enough assuredly to be of his own composition:—

Sic peccata lues, sicque ruenda ruas.

Annals of
Germany.
From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
Louis III.
A. D.
900.

Treachery
of Arch-
bishop Hatto.

History.

From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
Disinterested
conduct
of Otto
Duke of
Saxony.

Conrad of
Franconia.
A. D.
911.

Contests
with Henry
Duke of
Saxony.

offered to him, explained to the German Barons, who now arrogated to themselves the disposal of a Throne no longer hereditary, that the dangers of their Country required in her ruler a younger arm, and more active powers, than belonged to his advanced age; and, casting aside all remembrance of former private feuds which had divided the two families, he pressed upon their choice one of his bravest contemporaries, Conrad, son and successor of the lately-murdered Count of Franconia. The chief Lords of the Five Nations which then composed Germany, assented to this prudent counsel; and the Franks or inhabitants of Franconia and the modern Palatinate, the Suabians, the Bavarians, the Saxons who occupied Westphalia and Lower Saxony, and the Lorrainers on the left bank of the Rhine, elected Conrad their King at a General Assembly.

This elevation, however, of one whom the great Body of Nobility considered only as their peer, was regarded by many of them with no slight jealousy; and the throne which Conrad ascended was but insecurely founded. Not only was he often occupied, and for the most part, with ill success, in endeavouring to repel the Hungarians, but his reign was one continued struggle against the rebellion of his own discontented Feudatories. Charles the Simple, of France, appeared in arms to contest some districts on the Rhine; the Dukes of Bavaria, of Suabia, and of Lorraine were not curbed without open warfare. But his chief and most powerful enemy was Henry of Saxony, who had now succeeded to his Father's Duchy; and who, perhaps, lamented a decision which had transferred to the brows of another a Crown which might otherwise have graced his own. The transactions in the ensuing Civil contests are obscure; but we are told of a great victory won by Henry near Merseburg, in which so bloody was the carnage, that the Saxons, in derision, expressed a doubt whether Hell was large enough to contain the huge number of Franks whom they had sent thither in one day. When open force proved ineffectual to deliver Conrad from this potent rival, it is said that the treacherous arts of Hatto were again employed; and that Henry narrowly escaped destruction from the snares of the wily Prelate.* It is not easy, however, to reconcile the latest acts of Conrad's life with a supposition that he was privy to any treacherous design against Henry. After eight years of turbulent rule, perceiving the approach of death, he summoned his chief Lords about his couch, and earnestly recommended them to choose the

Duke of Saxony as his successor; at the same time impressing upon his own brother, Eberhard, the impolicy of advancing any claim for himself; and commissioning him to bear the Regalia, as his last bequest, to Henry.

The German Nobles assented; Eberhard obeyed the dying injunctions of his Brother; and it is probable that the great abilities, the eminent valour, the superior fortunes, and the increasing power of Duke Henry had worked conviction in all parties, that the Saxon predominance could no longer be successfully resisted.

The new King, when he received the announcement of Conrad's death and his own election, was engaged in his favourite amusement of Hawking, a pastime affording him title, *The Fowler*, by which he is best known in History.† The early years of the reign of this Founder of the Saxon Dynasty were passed in a successful opposition to the claims of Charles the Simple upon Lorraine, a territory which Henry may be considered to have annexed definitively to Germany;‡ and in repressing the turbulent spirit of his own haughty Vassals. A fortunate incident enabled him also to suspend the hostilities of the Hungarians; and in the end he acquired sufficient strength to chastise them with unexampled severity. During one of those overwhelming inroads before which the King, unable to maintain himself in the field, on account of paucity of numbers and want of discipline in his troops, had retreated, or almost fled, into Westphalia, chance threw into his hands a prisoner of distinguished rank and estimation among the Barbarians. To their lavish proffers of ransom Henry perseveringly refused assent; and the liberty of the captive could be purchased on no other terms than a solemn compact of Truce, and a remission of tribute during nine years.‡ The interval of repose thus gained from an enemy too powerful to be resisted at the moment, was employed in wise and most salutary measures. Soldiers were diligently levied and trained; and their military education was so conducted as not to interfere either with Agriculture or other Civil duties. The cares of Henry were next directed to the regulation of internal Police, and to the extinction of a wild banditti which the long disturbed state of Germany had permitted to grow within its bosom, and whose lawless ranks were not unfrequently headed by leaders of

* So states a writer upon whose single authority, as will here be seen in the cases of Otto II. and III., no great reliance is to be placed, Godfrey of Viterbo, (*op. Struvii Corque Germ.* i. 216.) But he is supported in this instance very generally. The point is scarcely worth inquiry, or other reasons might be produced for this title.

† Lorraine was afterwards divided by the German Emperors into Upper, or the Duchy of Moselle, sometimes known singly as the Duchy of Lorraine; and Lower, or the Duchy of Lothiers, or Brabant.

‡ A remarkable Duel was fought on horseback during this negotiation. Craco, a Goliath among the Hungarians, had repeatedly challenged the whole German Camp without meeting any champion to accept battle for exclusive of his gigantic strength and stature he was reputed to possess magical powers, and by some diabolical agency to have blinded no less than forty opponents before slaying them. At length, a townsman of Ratisbon, Haas Dollinger by name, then lying under sentence for treason, undertook the combat on promise of a free pardon. He was twice unhorsed without being hurt, and in the third encounter, by directing his lance adroitly under the Giant's ear, he wounded him mortally. Of the spoils, which were suspended in the Cathedral at Munster, the helmet weighed 20 lbs., the cuirass was made of an elephant's hide covered with iron scales, and the sword measured 7½ feet in length. Charles V. removed these arms; but a monument attesting Dollinger's victory is said still to exist in his house near the *Hôtel de Ville* at Ratisbon. (*Baize, Hist. d'Allemagne*, iii. 313.)

• The story is related by Wittekind, but not by any means clearly. Hatto, he says, invited the Duke of Saxony to a banquet, with the intention of securing his person; and among other presents calculated to disarm his guest's suspicion, he ordered a skilful workman to provide a rich chain of gold. One day the Archbishop, while inspecting the progress of this trinket, sighed deeply; and explained, in return to the inquiry of the goldsmith, that his grief arose from a knowledge that the chain upon which he was employed, when finished, would cost the life of one so excellent and so dear to him as Henry of Saxony. The artist made no observation at the moment, but having finished his task, found an opportunity of relating the occurrence to Duke Henry, who reproached the Archbishop with his intended perfidy, and declined the proposed interview. (*Ibid.* i. p. 636.) We need not comment upon the inconsistencies and improbabilities of this story. Matthis, without adducing any authority, implies that the chain was to catch and strangle its victim; but how it is by no means easy to conjecture. *Henrico vice insidias struere per tergum aureum, quæ sic adornabitur ut et Henricum caperet, cuiusq; occideret.* (*Theatrum Hist.* p. 861.) And the Authors of the *Universal History* do not diminish the perplexity when they aver that the treachery was to have been executed by means of a poisoned golden bracelet.

Annals of
Germany.
From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
The Illu-
stration
of Saxony
Henry I.
The Fowler
A. D.
911.

True with
the illus-
tration.
A. D.
911.

True with
d'Ann.

ancient stock and gentle blood. Those bold and daring spirits who either anarchy or necessity had marshalled against their natural Country were now allured by promises of amnesty to become her foremost defenders; and being established, by grants of land, on the frontiers under the government of Marquisses, they raised a powerful bulwark against future invasion. Then, in order to prepare the military population which he had created for the great struggle likely to ensue on the termination of the Hungarian armistice, he instituted martial games, and a species of tournament; and directed numerous expeditions against minor enemies; so that the Poles, the Lorrainers, the Slavonians, the Bohemians, the Danes, and the Abotrites, (a Heathen People on the confines of Bulgaria whom he converted to Christianity,) each in turn afforded employment and encouragement to his armies. Nor were the more peculiar works of Peace neglected; numerous towns were repaired, beautified, or strengthened by fortification, and from this reign may be dated the origin of those distinguished places than Goslar and Quedlinburg.* This prepared on all sides, Henry awaited without alarm the approaching close of the Truce; and when the Hungarian Chiefs sent an embassy demanding renewal of tribute, the assembled Saxons raised their right arms to Heaven, in token of fidelity to their Prince and of indignation against their foe, and the Barbarian Envoys, dismissed not only with refusal but with insult, were instructed to deliver to their Commanders a mangy dog with cropped ears and tail, as the only tribute to be expected for the future. Roused by this unlooked for dishonour, the Hungarians poured in at once upon opposite frontiers, denouncing the extremity of vengeance, and menacing extermination to every Saxon of either sex above ten years of age. But their progress was unexpectedly checked, partly by the sword, partly by rigour of climate, partly by famine; and the host which had entered the Western Provinces, wasted away slowly and miserably, after a short and savage plunder of Alsace and Lorraine. In the East their overthrow was more rapid, complete, and signal. Dispirited by tidings of the ill fortune of their comrades, and alarmed by a vigorous march of Henry to the relief of Merseburg which they had invested, they hastily abandoned their camp, and commenced a straggling and disorderly retreat. The Germans occupied the abandoned position, released such of their fellow-countrymen as were prisoners, and eagerly pressed forward in pursuit. "It was then," says Luitprand,† "that you might hear from the Christian ranks the holy and marvellous shout of 'Lord! Lord!' while on the other side the flying Heathen raised the foul and devilish war-whoop of 'Hui! Hui!'" Henry had instructed his soldiers on no account to break their line till after they had received the first volley of arrows; and this fell harmless on the impenetrable wall presented by their shields, locked together in the foremost rank and covering their whole

bodies. So rapid was the charge which instantly succeeded that not a second arrow could be placed on the bowstring; and the Savages were thus deprived of the advantage of their favourite weapon. Forty thousand Hungarians are related to have fallen on the plain of Keuschberg; a name which marks the field of battle to the present hour; and which has been thought to bear no less testimony to the high moral purity, than the victory itself does to the distinguished valour of the Conqueror.*

A solemn Thanksgiving evinced the pious gratitude of Henry for this most splendid triumph, and such Artists as the times afforded were employed to record its memory on the walls of the Banqueting Chamber in his Palace at Merseburg. More than twenty Churches and numerous other Religious establishments are believed to have been founded under the auspices of this great and energetic Prince; who, devout after the manner of his Age, ascribed his victories chiefly to the virtue of a Lance studded with nails from the True Cross. That instimable relic, once possessed by Constantine the Great, had become, we know not how, the property of Rodolph of Burgundy; and from him, as a most coveted prize, Henry had succeeded in wringing it, partly by menaces, partly by solicitations, and yet more by a cession of territory.† At length having freed his Kingdom both from domestic and foreign peril, he resolved to assert his right to the well-earned Crown of the Empire; and for that purpose he mediated an expedition to Rome; but the completion of his design was arrested by death, and reserved for his successor. After a reign of seventeen years, employed no less to the solid benefit of his Country than to the permanent establishment of his own fame, Henry the Fowler was struck by paralysis, and having first secured the approbation of his Nobles to the succession of his eldest son Otho, he expired at Mansleben in the sixtieth year of his age.

The Coronation of Otho I. was celebrated with peculiar solemnity at Aix la Chapelle, and the details of its ceremonial, involving many points curiously illustrative of the Political State of Germany at the time, may be found given with unusual precision in the Chronicle of Wittenburg.‡ Although Otho succeeded to a flourishing Kingdom, not inherited, as his Father's dying words impressed upon him, from a long line of Ancestors, but acquired by that Father, through God's assistance;§ and although the power so delivered to him received at his hands large increase both of strength and glory, his reign presents an almost uninterrupted

Annals of
Germany
From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.

The Lance
of Constantine.

Death of
Henry the
Fowler.

Otho I. the
Great.
A. D.
936.

* *Dieux Name Keuschberg in dem Berge und Feldlager geboren ex accidentis, nemlich, das der Kaiser in sein castrum dem wälschlich Weib zu sijn leiden wolle, dem zuvor ist derselb Ort des Feld-lagers mit dem Darff darunter gelegen Riede genant.* Struvius, who cites the above passage from the *Chronicle of Brothum*, (i. 15.) is inclined, however, to think *Keuschberg* is a corruption from *Künigberg*, (i. 229.)

† Sigebertus, ad ann. 929. Luitprand, iv. 12. Otho the Great is said by Raimulphus to have presented this Lance to Albeistan of England in 963; a fact which may reasonably be doubted, since Otho himself was likely to entertain full belief of its supernatural efficacy, as we shall soon perceive, at Augsburg. But the writers *De Cruce* express great misgiving respecting the genuineness of the pretended Nails. Not more than four of these are allowed to have existed at any time; and Cornelius Curtius justly remarks, that the Lance of Constantine, as commonly described, would more than exhaust that number; *quaternum Clavum matrum numerum exhaustis primis, ut quos in Lanced collocant auctores, plures Cruces componantur.* *Id. de Cruce Dominici*, 99.)

‡ *Id. ib.*

§ *Id. ib.*

* The abhorrence of Cities which Tacitus ascribes to the Germans long endured among them. *Nullo Germanorum populo Urbes habitari nisi notum est; ne post quidem inter se junctas urbes. Colunt divitiis, atque divitiis.* (Germ. 16.) Thus, in a later Age, Ammianus Marcellinus does not notice a single German City; and the names recorded by Ptolemy (ii. 11.) must be considered those of villages only. One of Henry's provisions for increasing the population of his Cities was a stipulation that every ninth peasant should form part of his garrisons, and assist in building. (*Annal. Sax. ad ann. 927.*)

† *Id. ib.*

VOL. XI.

History.

From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000

War with
his brother,
Henry of
Brunswick.

Reconcil
tion.

A. D.
942.

Rebellions of Lasharba

A. D.
951.

A. D.
953.

His death

A. D.
957

War with Bohemia.

A. D.
950

with the
Hunga-
rians.

A. D.
955.

series of Civil or Foreign warfare. It would be equally tedious and unprofitable were we to dwell on the numerous contests in which he was involved with the Feudatories of his Crown; and it may suffice to say, that the early part of his reign was disturbed by a long and painful struggle with his Brother, Henry Duke of Brunswick, whom evil advisers persuaded to assert a claim to the throne, on the weak ground that he was born after his Father's accession; an advantage (if it were such) not belonging to Otho, on account of the very primogeniture which had secured his relection. Frustrated in numerous daring attempts, and reduced to extremity, Henry at length threw himself at his Brother's feet, in a mourning habit, and solicited pardon for his rebellion. By the undeviating fidelity of the remainder of his life, he deserved the clemency with which he was received; and his reward was investiture with the Duchy of Bavaria, in which Otho, by a remarkable exercise of prerogative, refused to confirm the sons of a former Duke.

A yet more distressing and unnatural struggle awaited Otho with his eldest son Ludolph. That Prince, the issue of his first marriage with Editha, daughter of Edmund King of England, had been nominated by his Father to the succession; but cherishing, or affecting some idle fear that a second marriage might impeach his right, when Otho received the hand of Adelaide with the Kingdom of Italy as her portion, he retired from Court in disgust, threw himself into the arms of the discontented Bavarians and Lorrainers, and collected round him a knot of conspirators in his residence at Saalfeld. Before the plot which he meditated had ripened, it was suppressed by the vigilance of Otho, whom it recalled from his first successes in Italy. But Ludolph, impenetrable by his Father's gentleness, no sooner gathered strength afresh than he occupied Mentz with a considerable force, and even gave battle to the Royal army, in a spot between that City and Ratibon.* The Rebels were defeated, and Ludolph for a while escaped pursuit and punishment by leaguings with the Hungarians; till, destitute of all hope of further resistance, he found an opportunity for reconciliation, by placing himself unexpectedly in Otho's path, as he was hunting near Saalfeld, and avowing the deepest and most heartfelt penitence. Those protestations, however, were the result more of necessity than of conviction; for ere long he renewed his intrigues, and passing into Italy, either to escape discovery, or to obtain facilities for his treason, he was prevented from a repetition of open violence only by a death which can scarcely be deemed untimely.

Fourteen years of war, conducted with various fortune, were necessary for the entire reduction of Bohemia to obedience. The King, Bodislavus, had wrested the Crown from a murdered Brother, and had defeated the first armies despatched to contest his usurpation; nor was it until Otho found leisure to march against him in person, that he was completely subdued and rendered tributary. The Hungarians also, although awhile restrained by their great defeat in the preceding reign, continued their molestations wherever a point appeared vulnerable; and few years elapsed during which some Province of the Kingdom failed to suffer from their irruptions. At length, fully recruited in strength and burning for revenge, they deluged Bavaria

with a mighty host than had ever before taken the field under their Leaders. "Unless the sky shall fall and overwhelm us," was their proud boast as they advanced, "or the Earth shall gape and swallow us up quick, who are they that may compete with us in numbers?" It was on the banks of the Lech, near Augsburg, that Otho encountered the Barbarians. On the first day,† a large Body of the enemy having crossed the river unperceived, fell suddenly on the German baggage and camp stores, and routed three out of the eight battalions into which Otho had distributed his army; till the valour of his son-in-law, Conrad of Franconia, rallied the fugitives, and restored order. Ere sunrise on the following morning, the Festival of St. Laurence, Otho, prostrating himself on the ground, confessed, with many tears, that it was on account of his own sins that the late reverse had been suffered; and he then vowed, if he were successful in the ensuing fight, to endow a Bishopric at Merseburg, and to dedicate as a Religious House a Palace which he had recently commenced building in that City. Then, having heard Mass and communicated, he armed himself with his buckler and the holy Lance of Constantine; and briefly encouraging his followers, plunged into the hostile ranks. The Hungarians fought resolutely, till surprised, wearied, and overpowered by the obstinate fury of the Germans, they betook themselves to indiscriminate flight; and were either drowned in attempting to swim over the Lech, or burned or put to the sword as they sought refuge in the neighbouring villages. No mercy was asked or even expected; none indeed was likely to be accorded to those by whom the exercise of that virtue had been wholly unpractised; and death, without regard to dignity or station, was ultimately the lot of those whom the sword had neglected during the battle and pursuit. Three even of their Princes, who had been taken prisoners, were ignominiously hanged at Ratisbon. Never before had so great a blow been inflicted on the power of the Hungarians, and never afterwards did it recover from this overthrow. On the part of the Germans the field had not been gained without much bloodshed; and among the slain was included the intrepid Conrad, by whom the ill fortune of the first day had been retrieved; he was pierced by an arrow while he raised his vizor for a few moments in order to gain breath. But the spirit of the Hungarians was for ever broken; we hear no more of them as the scourge and the terror of Europe; and thus twice severely taught that they were not irresistible, they subsided into peaceful neighbours, and became gradually imbued with civilization.

Of Otho's chastisement of the Danes, the Sclavonians,

* The threat of the ancient Scythians to Darius, when they sent him the symbolical Bird, Mouse, Frog and Arrows, is somewhat of the same character with this boast of the Hungarians; but, in the former instance, the Scythians were the aggrieved party, in the latter the Hungarians were aggressors. *Ἦν ἡ ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν ἀποκτείνεσθαι ἢ εἰς οὐρανὸν, ἢ ἰσπερ, ἢ καὶ γυναικῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πατέρας, εἰ βασιλεὺς γυναικῶν ἢ τοὺς λαοὺς ἐκτελέσειεν, οὐκ ἀντιστάμενοι ἰσίου, οὐδ' εὐθὺς τὸν τελευτῆσαν βαλλόμενοι.* Herod. iv. 132.

† All modern accounts which we have seen of the Battle of Augsburg, even that of Gibbon, whom it is not easy to detect in inaccuracy, treat it as only of one day's continuance. Dittmar, however, whom we have followed, (lib. i. p. 332.) plainly distributes it into two days; on the first, the Germans are thrown into confusion and saved by Conrad; on the second—*posterior die, id est, in Festivitate Christi Martiris Laurentii*—Otho achieves his splendid triumph.

† *Sumpit Rex elepeum* Lanced cum sacer. Ditmar, *ibid.*

* Horsedat, or Rossada!, as it is named by the Chroniclers.

History. and the Abotrites, we cannot afford more than a passing mention. His transactions with France and the Greek Empire, and his brilliant career in Italy, which annexed the Imperial dignity for ever to the German Crown, have been sufficiently detailed in former pages; and we hasten to the close of a long, glorious, and beneficial reign,* which has deservedly ranked Otho THE GREAT among those few Sovereigns for whom the voice of an impartial Posterity has retained, in its fullest meaning, a title, in too many instances bestowed solely by the adulation of Contemporaries. Not long after his return from his last expedition to Italy, Otho celebrated the Festival of Easter with unusual magnificence at Quedlinberg; and the list of the Ambassadors who on that occasion were present at his Court, furnishes no inadequate estimate of his extensive power and reputation. Among the splendid train which surrounded his throne, were counted Envoys from Greece, Rome and most other Italian Cities, Denmark, Hungary, Schlonia, Bulgaria, Poland, Russia, and Bohemia. A few weeks afterwards he died tranquilly, and with marks of the most sincere devotion, after an illness of a few hours, with which he was attacked while attending Vespers. His remains were interred by those of his English Consort Editha, in the Cathedral of Magdeburg; where the original tomb, having survived even the fury of Tilly, still notifies the spot in which reposes the First, and one of the best and wisest Emperors by whom the single sceptre of Germany has been swayed.

Otho II. But little interest attaches to domestic transactions in the reign of Otho II. He maintained a successful struggle with his cousin, Henry of Bavaria, known in History by the title of the Quarreller, and son of that Henry of Brunswick who had similarly contested the throne with his Father; and he was engaged in other Civil dissensions and petty struggles during the five years which preceded his inglorious War with France. With his still more inglorious Calabrian expedition and his subsequent death,† the Reader is already acquainted.

Otho III. During the minority of Otho III., who on his Father's death succeeded to the Empire, in the twelfth year of his age, Henry of Bavaria renewed his ambitious designs upon the Crown, obtained possession of the Infant's person, and claimed the Regency, till a strong effort of the other German Princes released their Sovereign from this thralldom. A brief quarrel with Lothaire King of France, who seemed willing to revive his pretensions to the long-contested territory of Lorraine, and successful expeditions against the Danes and Slavonians, are the sole Political incidents of this reign unconnected with Italy. To the devout spirit by which,

* The discovery of the gold and silver mines of Goslar, from which Saxony derived great wealth and importance, is usually referred to the year 968.

† The death of Otho II. is sometimes attributed to a far more marvellous cause than those which we have before mentioned; namely, either a wound received in battle, or the chagrin consequent upon his defeat by the Greeks, and the sarcastic triumph of his Empress Theophania at that victory of her Countrymen. He is said to have heard that, on Mount Gangara, a nightly service was celebrated by Angels, who forbade the presence of any mortal. His curiosity being greatly excited, he consulted the Pope, who advised him by no means to tempt the prohibited Assembly. In spite of that sage counsel he rashly hazarded the adventure. The Angels forgave the intrusion; but, for the omission of some rite which he had neglected to perform, they bent him so severely, that he died a few days after his return to Rome. (*Fragmentum Urbinianum*, tom. ii. p. 32. cited by Struvius, i. 260.)

as we have already intimated, Otho III. was imbued, the discovery of the Tomb of Charlemagne is attributed by the Chroniclers. In the first year of the XIth Century, the Emperor was warned by a dream to disinter the remains of the great Carolingian Prince, which were known to be buried somewhere in Aix la Chapelle, although the precise spot was forgotten. After three days' preparation by Fasting, Otho pointed to a stone in the pavement of the Church of the Virgin, as resembling that which had been shown him in his vision; and on its removal, within a vaulted crypt which it concealed, the body of Charlemagne was desecrated. It was wholly uncorrupted, sitting on a golden throne, girt with a sword of the same precious metal, the head circled with a jewelled diadem, the right hand bearing a golden sceptre. This gorgeous figure having been publicly exhibited, was deposited, with much pomp, in a magnificent shrine erected for the purpose, in the body of the Church; which soon, as may be readily imagined, obtained considerable repute for miracles.* Such is the meagre record of Otho III., whose early death without issue transferred the Imperial Crown, as we shall perceive on renewing its Annals, to a junior branch of the Saxon Family.

IV. The intricate and perplexed Annals of SPAIN during its possession by the Arabs, have been left by us in greater arrear than those of any other leading European State, and we revert to them with little hope of presenting any distinct and lucid narrative. So obscure indeed and beset with difficulties is this subject, that the Jesuit Abarca, one of the most esteemed native writers, has not hesitated to confess, that although he had laboured indefatigably, during forty years, in the dark labyrinth of Controversial Divinity, he had trodden no path in that tortuous and mazy pursuit from which he felt so hopeless of extrication, as from the one presented to him by early Spanish History.†

The point at which our narrative recommences is the elevation of the fugitive Ommeidan Abdalrahman, the 1st of that name, (*Addikhil*, or *The Enterer*, as he is termed,) to the Khalifate of Cordova. A few years enabled him to reduce the whole of Andalusia under his dominion, by the overthrow of the Abassidan Emir Jusuf; to procure the recognition of his Sovereignty by all the districts of Spain which had hitherto submitted to the Moslem arms; and even to render Froila King of Asturias his tributary. The title *Emir-al-moumenin*, or as it has been corrupted, *Miramamol*, or *Miramotin*, Commander of the Faithful, which he assumed,‡ evinced his claim no less to the Spiritual than to the Temporal prerogative of the Khalifs, the true Vicars of the Prophet; and in his magnificence he fully equalled any even of his Oriental predecessors. Harassed by perpetual revolts of his Mohammedan subjects; defeated at Pontumo by Froila, with the loss of more than 50,000 men, whom he had despatched under Omar, one of his

* Ditmar, iv. p. 357. The Authors of the *Universal History* reject the above incident as fabulous; and ask how so rich a booty, if it really existed, could have escaped the pillage of the Northmen, by whom Aix la Chapelle had been sacked since the burial of Charlemagne? To that objection Ditmar affords a very sufficient answer; *velut ante oblitiscantur ignorabatur locus certus ubi quiescerat.*

† *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, i. 734.
‡ *Id.* i. 736. IV Hævel, *et c.* *And.* states, that this title was not assumed by the Khalifs of Cordova till the reign of Abdalrahman III.

Annals of Spain.

From A. D. 883. to A. D. 1000.

Discovery of the remains of Charlemagne. A. D. 1000.

A. D. 1002.

IV. Inadequacy of early Spanish History

A. D. 756. Abdalrahman I.

A. D. 760

History.

From
A. D.
889.
to
A. D.
1000.
778.

His magni-
ficent em-
bellishment
of Cordova.

Generals, for the reduction of Galicia; and invaded by Charlemagne, who wrested from him the Spanish March between the Ebro and the Pyrenees; Abdalrahman nevertheless has perpetuated his memory by the sumptuous embellishment of Cordova, and by numerous useful Public works, for the construction of which a long period of profound tranquillity would scarcely have sufficed under a less energetic Prince. The embankments which he raised in order to restrain those frequent inundations by which the Guadalquivir devastated the level neighbourhood of his Capital, were ornamented with extensive and luxuriant gardens; and in some measure to gratify the longing appetite for objects to which his youth had been accustomed in far distant climes, a passion clearly indicating a generous and affectionate temper, he planted in the centre of those pleasant walks the first Palm tree known in Spain, the parent stock of the many similar groves which now adorn it.† Eulonis of the devotion with which the Abasides had rivalled in Bagdad the splendour of the Mosque of Damascus, and of the *Alakea* at Jerusalem, he founded also in Cordova that *Mezquita* which, from the vastness of its extent, the costliness of its materials, and the beauty of their workmanship, after the lapse of ten Centuries, cannot be viewed, even in the moiety still existing as a Christian Church, without delight and admiration. The plan of that magnificent edifice is said to have been designed by the pencil of its founder; who in order both to evince his proud or pious humility, and to stimulate the diligence of the workmen, personally laboured among them for an hour every day. Police, Education, the due administration of Justice and the equitable collection of revenue, occupied other portions of the care of this great Prince, who after a reign of more than thirty years of glory transmitted to his son, Al Hakem I., a Kingdom which derived from himself almost all its power, its splendour, and its opulence.

Al Hakem I.
A. D.
796.

Alfonso II.
the Chaste.
A. D.
791.

The feeble successors of Froila on the throne of Oviedo, Aurelio, Silo, Mauregato, and Bermudo I.,—scarcely deserve record, and we pass on to the reign of Alfonso II., or the CHASTE as he is called, more per-

* Mariana states that it was Jomif who was defeated by Froila at Pontorno, and that he was so far weakened by his losses on that occasion, as to be compelled to submit to Abdalrahman. (vil. 4.) But Roderic of Toledo, (ix.) and other authorities more to be trusted than Mariana, consider the Battle to have been fought with Omar. Froila employed the greater part of the spoil of this victory in the construction of the City of Oviedo, which he founded as a bulwark for the plain country. It soon became the Capital of the Spanish Christian Kingdom, which thenceforward is known more generally as the Kingdom of Oviedo than of ASTURIAS.

† Conde, *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, i. p. 147. *Partie II.* cap. 9. has translated from the Arabic (unhappily he has thought it necessary to torture them into his own Spanish versification) some very touching lines upon this Palm, written by the Khalif himself. Much as they must suffer by a second translation, and that into Prose, we give them below, borrowing our version, as we believe, from the pen of an accomplished Poet, more conversant than any other contemporary with Spanish Literature. "Fair Palm tree, thou also art a stranger here! The gentle air of Algarbe court and kiss thee. Thy roots are fixed in a fertile soil; thy head is erected towards Heaven; but thou too wouldst shed tears of bitterness, if, like me, thou couldst look back! But thou feelest not, as I do, the calamities of Fortune. I wept under the Palms which the Furiat waters, when my unhappy fate and the cruelty of the Abasides compelled me to forsake what I so dearly loved. The Trees and the Rivers have forgotten my sorrows, and thou, my beloved Country, retainest no remembrance of me! but never shall I cease to lament for thee." *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. I. p. 24. On Conde's History.

haps in derision than in honour.* It was in his time that Louis the Debonnaire, then King of Aquitaine, gathered his first laurels under the walls of Barcelona. His chief opponent in that long and perilous siege, if we believe the Chroniclers, was a leader immortalized in Romance, Marsilio King of Saragossa: yet it must not be dissembled that the existence of any such personage is reasonably mistrusted; and that Abilemelec, the son of Omar, upon whom Abdalrahman had bestowed the Government of Saragossa and of all Eastern Spain, the most probable type of the Hero of Ariosto, was dead long before the expedition of Louis.† The general and almost unvarying texture of the Annals both of Christian and Moslem Spain during many succeeding years, consists of destructive but inconclusive conflicts between the rival Kingdoms; in which losses are extenuated and advantages exaggerated, according to the National prejudices of the particular writer. Exclusive of this savage and uninteresting warfare, the reign of Al Hakem I. is unhappily distinguished also by unintermitted revolt in the Khalifate; the suppression of which compelled him to numerous acts of frightful severity, and entailed upon his memory the title of *The Cruel*. Under his successor Abdalrahman II. (Alausat, *The Middle*, as he is distinguished from his son II. a common enemy hitherto unknown either to Spaniards or Arabians, interrupted their mutual discord; and the Northmen, little regarding whom they ravaged so as booty was obtained, appeared with a Fleet of sixty vessels off the coast of Portugal, occupied Lisbon, penetrated the Guadalquivir, and advancing to the walls of Seville, plundered and destroyed its suburbs.‡ No sooner had that tempest passed away, than Abdalrahman, affecting to attribute it to the intrigues of Ramiro, King of Oviedo, marched with a vast army upon the modern Provinces of Burgos and Soria. The Battle which ensued is memorable in Spanish History, on account of its connection with a long-enduring superstition. On the first day, the hasty levies of the Christian host withstood the more numerous and better disciplined Arabs, not without much loss and difficulty; and during the following night, Ramiro, occupying a rising ground, prepared his shattered forces for combat on the morrow with little hope of escaping destruction. A well-timed stratagem, however, fired the Spaniards with invincible enthusiasm. Waking from a brief sleep snatched on the field, the King declared to his astonished followers that he had been visited by St. Jago in a dream, who bade him be of good cheer, since he might calculate upon certain victory. The rumour of this supernatural warning spread rapidly and joyously through the lines; and while the fervour of his troops was still freshly kindled by the marvellous announcement, Ramiro gave the signal for attack, and led them to the charge, under the war-cry so well known afterwards in the History of Spain, *Santiago y cierra España*!§ Imaginations thus exalted by belief in a pro-

Amich of
Spain.
From
A. D.
985.
to
A. D.
1000.
King of
Biscaya.
A. D.
801.

Abbasid.
A. D.
621.
Invasion
of the
Northmen.
A. D.
843.

Ramiro I.
A. D.
820.

Battle of
Covadonga.
A. D.
844.
Miracle of
St. Jago.

* Voltaire, who never cites any authority, differs from most other writers in the reason which he assigns for this title. Mauregato, he says, had consented to pay an annual tribute of a hundred Spanish maidens for the Scraggle of Abdalrahman; and Alfonso refused this cruel and dishonourable mark of servitude. *Sur les Maures*, ch. xxvii. † Conde, i. p. 198. note. *Partie II.* cap. 12.
‡ The Arabs declared that these *Magicres*, or sons of Magic, (see note, p. 470.) did not spare old men, women, children, or even domestic animals. Conde, i. p. 283. *Partie II.* cap. 46.
§ St. James and close Spain! The body of St. Jago had been discovered in 808. It was found in a tomb under a small hermitage in the depths of a wood, upon the site of which now stands the

History. digy, and yet further stimulated by the heat and tumult of Battle, were little likely to reject any further invention however gross and palpable: and it was readily credited, when once asserted, that the Apostle James himself, mounted on a white steed, and waving a white banner blazoned with a red Cross, headed the onset, and personally combated for his votaries. Sixty thousand Moslems perished on the field or in flight; and the spoil of this brilliant and most unexpected Victory of Clavijo, so named from a town of which it ensured the capture, was devoted to the erection of two Churches at Oviedo. In those structures the Apostle was without share; but Ramiro further subjected every acre of land throughout his dominions to a yearly tribute of wine and oil for St. Jago; and he vowed also a horseman's portion in every future booty, as an offering to the Holy Champion under whose auspices none but a Heretic would refuse to believe that he had been miraculously delivered and triumphant.*

From A. D. 888. to A. D. 1000. The frequent victories of Alfonso III., the next but one Asturian King in succession to Ramiro, during a rule extending over nearly fifty years, obtained for him the title of *The Great*. The City of Toledo, perpetually in revolt from its Moslem Lords, was often bloodily contested by the Christians, and more than one Lieutenant of the Khalifs endeavoured to establish himself independently within its walls. Notwithstanding the general success of Alfonso's arms, it was during his reign that the Khalif Mohammed was sufficiently powerful to extort by Treaty from the imbecility of Charles the Bald of France a cession of the Spanish March, which had been held by his Crown for nearly a Century. The rivalry which endured for more than twenty-five years between Mohammed and Alfonso terminated but with the death of the former, and the high deserts of the Great Asturian Monarch were evilly rewarded in his latter days. A rebellion of his son Garcia was suppressed only by the imprisonment of the offender; and so great was the consequent disaffection of the Spaniards, that the aged King, in order to satisfy his fickle and thankless subjects, abdicated in favour of the ambitious youth. No higher testimony need be offered of Alfonso's unstained honour, of his wisdom, valour, and generosity, than is afforded by the remarkable fact that, two years after his resignation of the Crown, he was intrusted by the King his son with the command of a powerful army; and returning from his expedition with his customary success and laden with spoil, he died full of glory and of years while wintering at Zamora. His memory is perpetuated by

a better title to the knowledge and the gratitude of Posterity than could arise from any slaughter of the Mohammedans; and one of the best of the few guides which we possess through the dark period of the two Centuries preceding his reign, is a *Chronicle* from his pen, commencing at the death of Wamba and terminating at his own accession.

The splendour of the Khalifate of Cordova was raised to its height by Abdalrahman III., (*Annâsir Lidinillâh, or The Defender of the true Faith*.) a Prince upon whose heroic qualities the Arabian writers delight to dwell. When a boy he gave ample promise of his future greatness; at eight years of age, he could repeat the Koran by heart; (that favourite attainment, as it would seem, of every Moslem youth destined to eminence in after life; for there are few of their Worthies concerning whom a similar feat is not recorded;) he knew all the traditions of the Sunnites, the Proverbs of the Arabians, and the best pieces of his National Poetry; he managed a horse with unrivalled dexterity, was fleet beyond all competition in the race, threw the javelin with unerring aim, and excelled in every other manly exercise. Ascending the throne in the flower of his age, he speedily plunged into contest both with the Asturian Princes, (who, in the reign of Ordonno II., assumed the title of *Kings of Leon*, in consequence of a transfer of their Court from Oviedo to that City,) and with those of Navarre; a State now rising into considerable power. The hardy mountaineers of that Country, reduced by Charlemagne, had asserted their independence under the weak rule of Charles the Bald, when they first advanced their Counts of Pampeluna to the dignity of Kings, in the person, as is generally believed, of Garcia Jimenes. Over the joint forces of these two Powers, Abdalrahman obtained a signal victory near the Gold mines in the valley at Junquera; and during the few years not of repose, but of superiority, which that Battle won for him in Spain, he directed his arms to the invasion of Africa. The possession of Fez for a few short months was gained with difficulty; and the Fatimites took full vengeance for that dishonour by a bloody massacre on its recovery. To the prosecution of Abdalrahman's ambitious hopes in another Continent, the Christian Monarchies of Spain were indebted for preservation; and the force, which if concentrated against Leon and Navarre might have rendered them for ever tributary to the Khalifate, perhaps have incorporated them with its dominion, was exhausted by unavailing struggles on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean. Yet in spite of that great waste of life, not less than 100,000 men, veterans, well armed and disciplined, were gathered at Salamanca when the Khalif undertook the siege of Zamora. Seven circles of walls, a double fosse, and the bravery of an adequate garrison, enabled that City to maintain itself till King Ramiro II. descended from the mountains to its relief, with a force not unequal to that of the Arabians. Abdalrahman broke up with his main body to prevent the approach of the enemy, and in the plain of Simancas, on the banks of a small tributary of the Douro, was fought a murderous and fiercely contested engagement of two days' continuance, (one having intervened between them in consequence of a panic occasioned in both armies by an Eclipse of the Sun, which occurred on the first,) in which the Christians assert a complete victory, and the Muslims admit a drawn battle. Zamora was taken and retaken; and in a second action on the Douro, the Chroniclers on each

Annals of Spain.
From A. D. 858. to A. D. 1000.

Abdalrahman III.

A. D. 912.

A. D. 914.

Erection of the Kingdom of Navarre.
A. D. 857.

Defeat of the Spaniards at Junquera.
A. D. 921.

Abdalrahman invades Africa.
A. D. 938.

Battle of Simancas, August 8.
A. D. 938.

City of Compostella; and the spot was revealed by the nightly descent of lights and Angels. Herreiras relates the fact with most unflinching gravity. (Part iv. sec. 9. ad ann.)

* The miracle belonging to the Battle of Clavijo is avouched by Mariana, (vil. 6.) but it appears to have been exhibited on several other occasions also. By the learned Benedictines it is attributed to the Battle of Simancas in 938. (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, i. 739.) These repetitions have not escaped the eye satiric of Cervantes, who makes Don Quixote explain as follows to Sancho the origin of the invocation of St. Jago. *Mira que este gran Caballero de la Cruz brameja hávalo dado Dios á España por Patron y amparo suyo, especialmente en los rigorosos trances que con los Moros los Españoles han tenido; y así le invocan, y llaman, como á defensor suyo, en todas las batallas que acómeten; y muchos veces le han visto visiblemente en ellas, derribando, ahogando, destruyendo, y matando los Agarenos Espugnados; y de esta verdad te pudiera traer muchos exemplos, que en las verdaderas Historias Españolas se cuentan*, cap. 111.

History.

From
A. D.
888.
to
A. D.
1000.
A. D.
950.

Alliance
between Ab-
dalahman
and
Sancho I.

A. D.
956.

A. D.
967.

Embassy
from Con-
stantinople
A. D.
967.

Splendour
of the Kha-
lifate under
Abdalah-
man III.

The Medina
Azahra.

side, according to their custom, claim the victory for their own Countrymen.

Upon the death of Ramiro II., a feud arose between his two sons, and Sancho, the younger of them, asserting a right to some portion of his paternal Kingdom, endeavoured to obtain the dismemberment of a Province in his favour. The troubles consequent upon resistance to that most impolitic claim, compelled Sancho to secrete himself for a while in Navarre; and it is believed that during his exile, while labouring under a dangerous illness, he asked and obtained from Abdalahman a safe-conduct, and permission to reside at Cordova, then celebrated for the skill of its Physicians.* Gratitude for that kindness on the one hand, and esteem generated by its recognition on the other, produced a close friendship between these Princes of opposite Faith: and when a favourable opportunity occurred for the elevation of Sancho to the throne of Leon, Spain witnessed with astonishment the singular spectacle of the union of Christian and Moslem banners in the same host, for the accomplishment of the same purpose. By the aid of Abdalahman, and of his uncle, Garcia of Navarre, Sancho established himself in his Kingdom, and maintained his power and his alliance with the Khalifs, till he was poisoned, as is affirmed, by his chief opponent, Count Ferdinand Gonzalez of Castile.

Nor was it by the Christian Powers of the Peninsula only that Abdalahman was courted. A few years before his alliance with Sancho, a magnificent embassy had been despatched from Constantinople by the Emperors Constantine VII. and Romanus, in which no pains were spared to conciliate the good will of the Khalif. The Envoys were instructed to offer the most costly presents. Their letter of credence was written in characters of gold upon an azure ground, the seal by which it was closed was of massive gold, engraven on one side with a likeness of our Saviour, on the other with those of Constantine and of his Imperial Father Leo. It was then deposited in a box of carved silver, and that again was enclosed in another of gold, embellished with a portrait of Constantine on stained glass. The whole was placed in a case shaped like a quiver, enveloped in a cloth of silk and gold tissue. The style with which the letter commenced sufficiently evinced the wishes of the writers to cultivate close alliance. "Constantine and Romanus, Believers in the Messiah, the two Emperors, Sovereigns of Rome, to the Great in the rightful possession of Glory, the Noble in descent, Abdalahman the Khalif ruling over the Arabs in Spain, may God prolong his life!"†

These peaceful relations with Christendom permit us to turn awhile from less grateful themes to a brief review of the internal state of the Khalifate. In the magnificence of his Court, and the costliness of his Public works and monuments, Abdalahman III. more than rivalled the founder of his dominion. Under his reign the *Mosquita* was finished; and a Palace, less durable indeed, but, if descriptions are to be trusted, more superb, was erected above five miles from Cordova. The *Medina Azahra*, or City of the Flower,—so named from one of the Khalif's slaves whom he passionately

loved, and whose statue, notwithstanding the prohibition* of the Koran, was placed over the principal Gate,—was originally no more than a favourite Retreat in Spring and Autumn; gradual additions rendered it a Mansion; from a Mansion, the necessities of a Court-establishment increased it to a Palace; till, as a settlement grew around, it was in the end transformed into a City. Four thousand three hundred columns of variegated marble supported the gilded arches and sculptured vaults of the Khalif's own residence. Rich, tessellated pavements and mosaic walls; fountains of jasper, amid which mimic swans of gold were seen disporting under canopies of inestimable gems,† or which flung back the glittering sunbeams from floods of quicksilver; aviaries, menageries, cool waters, luscious fruits, myrtle alleys, laurel groves, and odoriferous shades, are among the delights upon which the Arabian lovers of the picturesque expatiate. A Mosque and a Mint adjoined the Palace; the construction of the City, of which it formed the nucleus, occupied the incessant toil of twenty years, and 6000 blocks of heavy stone were raised every day during its progress. Even if we grant that these marvellous accounts partake in no small measure of the spirit of Oriental exaggeration, the very fact that accounts so marvellous were hazarded avouches *Medina Azahra* to have been a work of consummate magnificence: and yet so utterly has it past away, that not even a ruin, since its demolition during a Civil struggle in the year 1008, attests its former existence. Nor was it on that single spot, nor for his own private pleasures only that the coffers of Abdalahman poured forth their measureless contents. An Aqueduct at Ecija, a noble Mosque at Segovia, a *Miskra*, or Sanctuary appended to that of Tarragona, Baths, Fountains, and Hospitals almost beyond number in each of his principal Cities, in Cordova a long range of quays, and an Arsenal commensurate with the wants of his vast military establishment, announced the unceasing attention of the Prince to the Public welfare. His Body-guard consisted of 4000 Andalusian and 4000 Moorish Horse, superbly mounted and equipped, and chiefly officered by members of the Royal Blood; and to half that number of Selavonian Infantry was intrusted the custody of the Palace. He frequently maintained at the same moment, armies sufficiently strong to command victory in Africa, in Galicia, and in Catalonia; fleets adequate to protect his coasts, and to support communication with his most distant expeditions. The Ports, or depots of Seville, Cadiz, Tarragona, and Almeria were restored, or rather created, at his command; and through the latter, especially, was opened a boundless source of commercial opulence to his subjects.

* This prohibition had been already violated in the Cottage of the Omniads of Cordova, which bears the impress of their heads. But the account of the statue may be apocryphal; it is not noticed by Conde. A characteristic anecdote of the Lady, however, is recorded by other authorities. On first viewing the Palace she was struck by the contrast between its fairness and the dark hue of a neighbouring mountain, and observed to her lover, "See you not, my Lord, the beauty of this fair damsel in the embrace of that Negro?" Abdalahman gave immediate orders that the mountain should be levelled; but the task exceeded even his power, and eventually its complexion was changed by covering it with rich blossoming figs and almonds. (Ibn Halyan, as given by Mr. Shakespeare, 173.)

† A pearl of extraordinary value presented by the Emperor Leo VI. is especially noticed as ornamenting this fountain. But as Leo died in the very year of Abdalahman's accession, we are inclined to believe that this pearl formed a portion of the offerings in the embassy from his son Constantine, which we have just mentioned.

* Mariana (viii. 4.) says that the visit to Cordova was paid by Sancho in the hope of diminishing his jealousy; or in the homely words of Captain John Stephens, the translator of the Spanish Livy, "to bring down his fat." Other authorities maintain that Drup was the Prince's device.

† Conde, i. 439. *Parte II.* cap. 84. *History of the Mohammedan Empire in Spain, &c. designed as an introduction to the Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, by J. C. Murphy, 98.

History. In his Court were found the most learned men of the East, invited and established by his liberal patronage; so that among other Sciences, Poetry, Medicine, and Natural Philosophy were professed and taught; and the gems of that celebrated School, which within two Centuries boasted no less a name than that of Averroes, were planted by the fostering hand of Abdalrahman. The warehouses of Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople were piled with merchandise from Spain; and in the manufacture of leather, cotton, linen, and especially of silk, the Saracenic marts scarcely admitted a rival. Among the other exports we are told of all the metals, cochineal, ambergris, yellow amber, load-stone, antimony, talc, marcasites, rock-crystal, oil, olives, saffron, ginger, and myrrh; corals gathered on the coast of Andalusia, pearls on that of Catalonia, rubies dug from the mines of Beja and Malaga, and amethysts from that of Carthage. To the dominion of the Muslims, Spain is indebted for the culture of rice, of the fig, and of the sugar-cane; the choicest plants of Africa and the Levant were intermingled with those of Europe; the soil was meliorated, and an unknown fertility developed by the general practice of irrigation; so that not a step can be trodden even at this day in the rich Provinces of Granada or Valencia, in which the remains of some canal or watercourse, of some huge basin or reservoir, or of some subterranean drainage do not proclaim the superior skill and the gigantic labours of the Saracens in Agriculture. It has been calculated that Cordova, under the sway of Abdalrahman III., contained 290,000 houses, 600 Mosques, 900 Baths, 50 Hospitals, and 80 Schools, and the adjacent Country 12,000 villages. The annual revenue of the Khalif exceeded six millions sterling, a sum probably surpassing the united receipts of all the contemporary Princes of Christendom.*

But this great benefactor of others was far from enjoying in his own person the happiness which he distributed around him with a hand so lavish and unclosed: and the domestic History of Abdalrahman affords one among the countless examples how little enviable is "the head that wears a Crown." A son, Abdallah, listened to the evil prompting of interested advisers, and conspired against his Father. The plot was betrayed; and the unhappy Prince, who, but for this one fault of ambition, appears to have deserved esteem and attachment, was seized and imprisoned. The proofs of treason were distinct; and Abdalrahman, obedient to that which he considered Public duty, and maintaining an inflexible sternness not exhibited in other portions of his History, enacted that unnatural part in which he had been preceded by the elder Brutus, and was himself to be the forerunner of more than one European Sovereign. The wound thus self-inflicted was never healed; and the Khalif, unless roused to action, was absorbed in profound melancholy. His Poetry, for Abdalrahman was no mean Poet, was deeply tinged with this inward bitterness of spirit. In some lines, abounding with Oriental imagery, and addressed to one of his Vizirs who had remonstrated, in verse also, upon

his Master's indulgence of painful remembrances, he thus vents his immediate grief. "The keen breath of sorrow has tarnished the freshness of the roses of my youth, and I tremble lest the lilies of more advanced age should be blasted by the hurricane. The brightness of my days has passed away, and a gloomy night has overspread me with shadows, which no future morning can dissipate!" To a friend who possessed his confidence he admitted that during his nearly fifty years of sovereignty, he had tasted but forty days of happiness; and, perhaps, the largest addition which this scanty stock of felicity could receive was added, when Death closed the eyes of one adored by his subjects, dreaded by his enemies, surrounded with every appliance ministering to human pomp or pleasure, a Lord of inexhaustible treasures; and a Despot with unlimited prerogative.†

Few successors could have been found more amply qualified to continue, and even to increase the benefits of Abdalrahman's rule than his son Abul Abbas Al Hakem II., who mounted the throne on his decease. The fifteen years of that Prince's reign, with a single short exception, were passed in friendship with the Kings of Leon; and that unusual period of repose was dedicated by the Khalif to the tranquil furtherance of the noble projects of his Father, and the advancement of Literature, his own ruling passion. Fresh impulses

Annals of Spain.
From A. D. 888. to A. D. 1000.

His death. A. D. 961.

* Conde, i. 453. Parte II. cap. 87.

† Cardonne states that this declaration was found after his death in a paper written by his own hand, *Hist. de l'Afrique et d'Espagne sur la Domination des Arabes*, i. 329. Conde gives the anecdote as it is found above. The number of days is greatly reduced by Mr. Shakespear, who translates as follows from the Arabic of Ibn Khaldun. "Note this, thou man of understanding, and mark how small a portion of real happiness the world affords even in the most favourable circumstances. The Khalif Anasir, the heir of generosity, whose eminence in the World and whose ascension in the Empire are proverbial, found in a reign of fifty years seven months and three days, only fourteen days of undisturbed enjoyment. Praise to Him who possesses eternal glory and ever-during sway! There is no God but he!" (*ut sup.* p. 105.)

‡ The enchanted offerings with which the Slave of the Lamp provided Alaladdin when he demanded the Sultan's daughter in marriage, scarcely exceeded in magnitude a present which Abdalrahman's chief Minister, Ahmed, laid at his master's feet, after a successful expedition to the banks of the Douro. Exclusive of this voluntary gift, the Khalif was entitled also to a fifth of the whole spoil. Ahmed's donation consisted of 400 pounds of virgin gold, 420,000 sequins in ingots, 400 pounds of aloes, 500 ounces of amber, 300 ounces of camphor of the first quality, 30 pieces of cloth of gold and silk, 110 furs from Khurasan, 45 housings reaching to the ground, of gold and silk manufactured at Bagdad, 4000 pounds of spun silk, 30 Persian carpets, 800 suits of fur, 4000 pounds of polished steel, 1000 bucklers, 100,000 arrows, 15 Arabian armour of polished steel, 1000 harts and Spanish horses also horses superbly harnessed, 20 mules with rich trappings, 40 slaves, and 20 beautiful young women all sumptuously attired. The whole was accompanied by a panegyric in verse. (Cardonne, i. 326. DeMairé, i. 441.) Mr. Shakespear gives a yet more marvellous version of this present, in making which the Vizir did any thing but impoverish himself; for the Khalif in return doubled his salary, making it 80,000 *dinars*, gave him precedence of every other State Officer, and, as if fairly exhausted in his efforts to aggrandize the favourite, bestowed upon him the inflated and unmeaning title *Emir des Emirs*, or *Lord of the double Vizier*. (p. 102.)

§ We have omitted all notice of a Persecution (if it can be so called) which the Christians resident at Cordova brought down upon themselves during the reign of Abdalrahman III. It would have been far too long for our pages. But many interesting particulars of the insane fanatism, which, under the stimulus furnished by Saint Eulogius, exalted martyrdom, as it was termed, from a mild and reluctant Prince, may be found in an able Criticism (to which we have before referred) on Conde's Work in the 1st No. of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*. A Criticism which from internal evidence we ascribe to very high authority.

* The above calculations are borrowed from Conde, i. 487. Parte II. cap. 94, and may be found also in Gibbon, *Outlines of the History of the World*, Macul. Works, iii. 6. Bro. For the rest we have relied upon De Maré, and yet more upon Mr. Foster in his *Mohometanism Unveiled*. In that learned and most remarkable Work is given a masterly survey of the benefits conferred on Europe by the Arabs, of which we can here attempt no more than a slight, rapid, and most inadequate sketch.

History.

From
A. D.
888,
to
A. D.
1000.

Account of
his Library.

were given to Agriculture; and not only was Earth's more barren surface compelled into fruitfulness, but new wealth was discovered and raised from mines within her bosom. By a general diffusion of useful labour, all Orders were made contributors to the well being of the State; and those fierce classes of the population, hitherto accustomed to wield only the sword or the lance, were insensibly converted into peaceful tillers of the ground or industrious artificers.

"The Library of Al Hakem," says Mr. Forster, "according to original authorities, conveys an idea of the state of this Art (Bibliography) among the Arabians in the Xth Century, which may well moderate the pretensions of the most scientific modern collector. Even in the life-time of his father, the great Abdalrahman, Al Hakem maintained agents in Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Persia, whose sole office it was to purchase for their Royal master, the best books in every branch of Learning. Men of letters, from all Countries, frequented his Palace of Mervan; and these also he engaged, by the most liberal promises and rewards, to procure copies for him of the most rare, curious, or instructive Works within their reach or knowledge. He wrote himself to all the more distinguished Authors of the Age, desiring copies of their Works, for which he paid with his wonted generosity. At the same time he employed the most accomplished copyists to transcribe for him such books of price as he could not otherwise obtain. In the arrangement and classification of the splendid collection formed by these worthy arts, Al Hakem displayed no less taste and judgment, than he had before discovered zeal and munificence in their acquisition. With his own hand, he catalogued and classed his Library; which was skillfully subdivided into various compartments, each several compartment containing the books which treated on some particular Science. Each bookcase, each shelf was furnished with its Table of contents; and these particular Tables, again, were incorporated into one general catalogue; which according to Ebn Hayan, a contemporary writer, in its unfinished state, occupied forty-four volumes of fifty pages each. In this seemingly and scientific order was disposed the Royal Library of Cordova; a collection which, in the reign of Al Hakem II., already comprised all the standard Treatises on the Arts and Sciences; all the then known Works on Eloquence or Poetry; and a rich accumulation of Histories, both ancient and contemporary."^a

^a *Mohametanism Unveiled*, ii. 337. A few of the Works contained in Al Hakem's Library as given by Conde, may be accepted as a specimen of the Literature of his time. He possessed all the Genealogies of the Arabian Khalifs, together with narratives of

One instance of the equity of Al Hakem's government may be cited from among the many which his Chroniclers have preserved. The Khalif wishing to enlarge his Gardens at *Medina Azhara*, offered a liberal price for some adjoining ground; and notwithstanding the refusal of the owner to sell a patrimony to which he was attached, the Royal agents forcibly occupied the plot, and erected upon it a Pavilion. The ejected proprietor appealed to the Cadi of Cordova; and that Magistrate repairing on the moment to Azhara, with a mule and an empty sack, prostrated himself at Al Hakem's feet, and requested permission to fill the sack with earth. The Khalif, although surprised, readily granted leave; and when the sack was filled, he was again asked to assist in placing it on the mule. Al Hakem, smiling at the jest, as he considered it, tried to raise the sack, but staggered under its weight; and was thus addressed by the Cadi in a tone of severity: "Commander of the Faithful, that sack which you are unable to lift contains but a very small portion of the ground which you have unjustly appropriated from another. How will you be able to support the burden of the whole field when you stand before the judgment-seat of Allah?" The sublime moral lesson contained in these few searching words was received with no less gratitude than it merited; the field was restored to its owner, and in order to atone for the brief wrong which he had suffered, he was presented with the Pavilion just built upon it, together with its costly furniture.*

With the close of Al Hakem's reign, we may pause awhile on the Spanish Annals. The scenes of blood and turbulence which ensued would offer but a painful contrast, if placed in too close apposition with the mild glories and benevolent sway of the Son of Abdalrahman.

their acts and expeditions. For the purchase of a copy of *El Agni*, a very precious collection of Songs, he gave his agent in the first instance 1000 crowns of gold, and in case these were not sufficient an unlimited letter of credit. The desired Work was obtained, together with a complete and circumstantial pedigree of the Omniades, and a most elegant copy of verses eulogizing the Princes of that race. A considerable number of Books were bequeathed to him by the Omniadian Abdulfarag, whom he had largely patronized; they were principally Genealogical and Poetical. The testator's own chief production, *Kiteb el Agni*, a volume of Songs with their music which had cost the labour of forty years, had been already presented by him to the Sultan of Aleppo. (i. 458. 466.)

* The reader will, perhaps, call to mind the long existence of the Blacksmith's forge in the outskirts of the Palace at Brighton. The balancet of that nuisance, although voluntary, is almost a matter of National regret; for never could be exhibited a prouder or more practical illustration of the freedom of our institutions, and the impartiality with which our Law throws its protection over the property even of the meanest individual.

Annals of
Spain.
Ebn
A. D.
888,
to
A. D.
1000.

A. D.
976.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE ANGLO-SAXON ANNALS, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE IXth CENTURY, TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

FROM A. D. 800 TO A. D. 1066.

History
From
A. D.
800.
to
A. D.
1066.
Reign of
Egbert,
King of
Wessex.
His objec-
tion of
the Cornish
Britons.
A. D.
823.
Bravery of
Wessex and
Mercia.

THE first nine years of the reign of Egbert over Wessex were peacefully consumed in regulating the domestic Government, improving the internal condition, and increasing the military strength of his Kingdom. It was not until the expiration of this period, that he entered on a successful career of ambition, which had been silently prepared by the wisdom of his policy. His earliest enterprise was the subjugation of the Cornish Britons; and a series of invasions, in which he repeatedly overthrew their forces in the field, and ravaged their territory with fire and sword even to the Land's End, finally compelled that unfortunate race to yield to his yoke. But the struggle, though unequal, was long and obstinately maintained; and the obscure record of a sanguinary encounter between the forces of Wessex and the Britons, so late as the twenty-third year of Egbert's reign, marks the duration of a brave though fruitless resistance to the conqueror.*

In the rival pretensions of Mercia, an effectual counterpoise had hitherto been presented to the growing power of Wessex; and the two Kingdoms had so equally advanced in strength and importance, as to make it obvious that the ultimate struggle for the general supremacy over the Anglo-Saxon States must lie between these two. So nicely balanced were the resources of both, that the first accident of succession which should consign either to a disturbed or feeble administration, must infallibly give the ascendancy to the other. As long, therefore, as the sceptre of Mercia was wielded by the vigorous arm of Kenwulf, Egbert cautiously abstained from provoking a hazardous contest. But the death of Kenwulf, the murder of his infant heir, and the subsequent disorders of a usurpation, destroyed the equilibrium between the two States, and afforded the King of Wessex an occasion, too tempting to be overlooked, for securing the preponderance of his power. His interference was invited by the people of East Anglia, who still thirsted to revenge the Mercian treachery, which had first murdered their young Monarch and then overthrown their independence. At their suggestion, or on their behalf, Egbert was led, in the twenty-third year of his reign, into a war against Mercia; and encountering Beornwulf, the usurping King of that State, at Wilton, he there closed a bloody conflict by a complete victory over the Mercian army. Beornwulf sought safety in a precipitate flight; and Egbert, instead of pursuing him into Mercia, prudently avoided to provoke to extremity

Disorders
of the latter
State.
A. D.
819.
taken ad-
vantage of
by Egbert.
A. D.
823.

the warlike population of that Country, and preferred to turn his arms against its more feeble tributary Provinces. Detaching his son, Ethelwulf, with a strong body of forces into Kent, he at once separated both that petty Kingdom and Essex from the Mercian dominion, and finally annexed them both to the Crown of Wessex. At the same time, by encouraging the revolt of the East Anglians, he left the Mercians to exhaust their remaining strength in unavailing efforts to reduce the insurgents to obedience. In one expedition into East Anglia, Beornwulf lost at the same time a great battle and his own life; in a second invasion, his successor Ludecan shared a similar fate; and Wiglaf, the Ealdorman of Worcester, who next seized the Mercian Crown, found his Kingdom reduced by this series of reverses to a condition of helpless debility.*

This was the opportunity which Egbert had probably lain in patient expectation. By the intestine troubles which followed the death of Kenwulf, and the imprudent, or at least calamitous, enterprises of the two usurpers who succeeded him, the military power of Mercia, lately so formidable, had been completely destroyed; and the King of Wessex chose the moment of confusion, as well as exhaustion, caused by the death of Ludecan and the accession of Wiglaf, to pour his forces into the Mercian territory. The new King, totally unable to draw together an army for the defence of his crown, or even to oppose the slightest resistance to the invaders, was only successful in eluding their pursuit. During three years he lurked a fugitive and a wanderer among the morasses and woods of his dominions; and the feelings of a superstitious Age might not unnaturally receive, as the retributive judgment of Heaven, the reverse of fortune which conducted a King of Mercia for refuge to the cell of Ethelburga, the daughter whom Offa had widowed in her marriage hour, by that same crime which the East Anglians had now deeply revenged upon his Country. In her retreat at the monastery of Croyland, the Princess sheltered the royal fugitive for several months; and it was by the intercession of the Abbot of that sanctuary that Egbert was at length induced to consent that Wiglaf should retain the Crown of Mercia on the degrading conditions of swearing allegiance and rendering a yearly tribute to the Throne of Wessex. The submission of Mercia was followed by that of East Anglia.†

By the establishment of his supremacy over these

Anglo-
Saxon
Annals.
From
A. D.
800.
to
A. D.
1066.
A. D.
825.

He sub-
jugates Mer-
cia.

* Chron. Sax. p. 69, 70. Malmesbury, p. 36.

• Chron. Sax. p. 70. Ingulfus, Hist. p. 7.
† Ingulf. p. 7, 3.

History.

From
A. D.
500.
to
A. D.
1066.

Northumbria,
and Wales,

and establishes his
supremacy
over all
South
Britain.

A. D.
828.

Commence-
ment of the
invasions of the North-
men, or
Danes.

Origin of
that people.

The Sea
kings.

States, the dominion of Egbert was extended to the frontiers of Northumbria; and his successful ambition could no longer brook the independence of any portion of the old Saxon Octarchy. But the dread of his arms had preceded their course; and the Northumbrian King and Chieftains meeting him at Dore beyond the Humber, offered a peaceful recognition of his superiority, and gave hostages for their fidelity. From Northumbria, Egbert next directed his power against the Cambrian Britons; and penetrating into the remotest fastnesses of Wales, finished by carrying his triumphant arms into the Island of Anglesey. Thus victorious in every quarter of South Britain, Egbert had compelled the universal recognition of a paramount sovereignty; and though he never assumed the general title of King of all England, which modern writers have erroneously conferred upon him, the contemporary acknowledgment of his supremacy is sufficiently expressed in the dignity which is associated with his name, as the eighth and last Bretwalda of the Saxon Octarchy.*

At this epoch, however, when the genius and fortune of Egbert had prevailed over every native rival, and permanently established the superiority of the Throne of Wessex over all the Anglo-Saxon States, their common safety was assailed by a new and most dangerous foreign enemy. This was that ferocious race of Scandinavian pirates, whose ravages on the shores of Continental Europe have already been described in the calamitous annals of the Carolingian Empire; but who, instead of their more usual name of Northmen or Normans, are in our own History better known under the appellation of Danes. In its modern sense, at least, this last title was improperly bestowed: for not the Peninsula of Jutland and the Isles of the Baltic alone, but the whole sea-coasts of the great Scandinavian Continent, contributed to send forth those piratical swarms, which inflicted in common the work of devastation upon the more Southern shores of Europe.

These ferocious invaders, whose very name inspired horror among the more civilized Anglo-Saxons, had probably sprung from the remains of their own stock in Scandinavia. They claimed a common descent from Woden; and were certainly distinguished by similar qualities, manners, and Religion with the original Saxon invaders of Britain. Like them, the Northmen, spurning every pacific occupation and employment, made the stormy Ocean their home, piracy and rapine their business and means of subsistence, bloodshed and fiery destruction their pleasures, and human captives the propitiatory sacrifices to their Gods or Demons. By the dim and uncertain light of the Northern legends, the common addition of the Northmen to a life of piratical adventure may be traced to the existence of a law or custom which the scanty produce of a stern climate and sterile soil might have rendered originally necessary, and which became so extensively prevalent as to entitle it to be considered universal throughout the Scandinavian shores. This was a rule of succession by which the younger sons of every Chieftain left to their elder brother the whole patrimonial territory; received for their share of inheritance only arms and shipping; and with such associates and followers as were disposed to join their fortune, betook themselves to a life of roving and predatory enterprise. The most successful and renowned of such adventurous leaders attracted inferior Chieftains

to their banners by the fame of their exploits; and without a foot of territory, without other possessions than their war-ships, or other subjects than their numerous crews, these Sea-kings or *Vikings*, as they were called, rivalled national Princes in power, and filled every region of Europe, which their navies could approach, with the terror of their name.*

The peculiar circumstances in the internal condition of Scandinavia, which, towards the close of the VIIIth Century, enlarged the ravages of these scourges of the North, and first precipitated their fury on the more civilized portions of Europe, would be vainly sought in the fabulous History of the regions which produced them: but, as we have formerly observed, the earliest appearance of their piratical fleets beyond their own coasts coincides in point of time with the subjugation of Northern Germany by Charlemaigne; and it is highly probable that the hordes of Saxon exiles who fled before the arms of that conqueror to the shores of the Baltic, swelled the numbers of the Scandinavian Pirates, and gave a new impulse to the extension of their enterprises. The coasts of England, and next of France, attracted their ravages. Their earliest recorded descent on our own Country is placed in the year 787, when they landed from three ships on the Isle of Thanet, and put to the sword the Saxon Governor of the district, who went out to view their strange armament.† This first apparition was followed by similar desultory assaults on other parts of the coast, which served only to excite a transient alarm. But, in the thirty-second year of the reign of Egbert, a fleet of the Pirates in more formidable force arrived off the Kentish shores; after plundering the Isle of Sheppey they retreated in safety; and from this epoch, the descents of the Northmen were yearly renewed with increasing violence. In the very next summer, they landed from thirty-five vessels on the coast of Wessex itself; defeated a body of West Saxons under Egbert in person, at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire; and carried off their spoil in triumph.‡

This disaster taught the Saxon Monarch the necessity of systematic preparation for the repulse and chastisement of such persevering invaders; and his measures on this occasion are strikingly characterised by the ability and vigour in which his administration seems always to have risen superior to the spirit of the Age. Assembling his Nobles in Council at London, he explained and concerted his arrangements for the public defence; and though uncertain at what point to expect the next invasion, waited in anxious readiness for the event. It avouched the efficacy of his plans. For though the enemy, whether from policy or accident, chose the Cornish coast for the new scene of invasion, and persuaded the subjugated Britons to revolt and join them, he was able promptly to oppose their dangerous union with the assembled forces of Wessex; and in a sanguinary encounter at Hengstone Hill, in Cornwall, in which he again commanded in person, he revenged his former defeat by a decisive victory; totally suppressed the rebellion of the Britons; and after an immense

His preparations to repel their future assaults.

followed by a decisive victory over the invaders.

A. D. 833.

† Chron. Sax. p. 64.

‡ Ibid. p. 72.

* Chron. Sax. p. 71, 72.

Anglo-Saxon
Annals.
From
A. D.
800,
to
A. D.
1066.

Their first
descent on
England.

A. D.
833.

Defeat of
Egbert.
A. D.
833.

His pre-
parations to
repel their
future as-
saults.

followed by
a decisive
victory over
the invaders.

A. D.
833.

History. slaughter, drove the remains of their invading confederates to the refuge of their ships. With this success Egbert completed the achievements of a protracted and fortunate reign of thirty-six years, during which, equally by policy and arms, he had subdued every domestic opponent, securely established the paramount authority of his House over the Anglo-Saxon States, and, finally, taken a signal vengeance upon the only foreign enemies, and those the most formidable of the Age, who had dared to insult his dominions. He died within twelve months after his victory, at Hengstone, full of years and glory.*

Egbert was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf, who is said to have been destined, during the life of an elder brother, to the Monastic profession. He assumed only the Crown of Wessex, and the general supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon States; while the conquered Provinces of Kent and Essex were united into a subordinate Kingdom under Athelstan, who was either (and it is uncertain which) his son or his brother. The genius of Ethelwulf was inferior to that of his father; and one ancient writer has represented him of a feeble and indolent character;† but the actions of his reign display no want of energy or courage; and some share at least of the merit of his Government may be imputed to a Prince, who is admitted to have selected men of vigour and ability for his Ministers. These were two Prelates, Alstan and Swithin, Bishops of Sherborne and Winchester: the first distinguished for his martial and political activity; and the second for more becoming attributes of pacific wisdom. The exigencies of the times, indeed, were such as to demand rather the stirring qualities of a warlike spirit, than the milder virtues of Cloistered or even of Civil life; and the talents of Alstan are said to have been beneficially exercised in providing financial supplies, and in establishing a permanent military array of the People, for the public defence against the invasions of the Northmen.‡

These were now becoming so incessant on all points of the coast that, for effectually repelling them, it was found necessary to adopt the expedient of appointing Royal officers in every maritime district to assemble and lead the inhabitants against the common enemy, in whatever quarter they should attempt to land. Their piratical swarms hovered in fact over the whole extent of the English shore from Northumbria to Wessex, and harassed the Island with desultory assaults. It was their custom, each Summer after landing and desolating the country, to return home laden with spoil before the Winter, and to renew their depredations upon some other part of the coast in the following season. In the year after Ethelwulf's accession, his immediate territories alone were simultaneously invaded in three quarters, from as many squadrons, with various success. In the ensuing Spring, a more numerous body of Northmen made a descent upon East Anglia, and, after defeating the Ealdorman of the district, penetrated Southward to the Thames before they retired. In the following campaign, the progress of these merciless invaders was marked by four obstinate and bloody encounters; and though in one of these actions, Ethelwulf himself was defeated at Charmouth, the successes of the Northmen were followed by an almost total cessation of their enterprises,

so far as England was concerned, for the next twelve years. This interval was occupied, as we have seen,* by a series of ravages on the coasts of France: in which, encountering a less determined resistance, or allured by a richer booty, they successively sacked Rouen, Paris, Bourdeaux, and other principal Cities of that Kingdom. But at length they again assaulted England by so many simultaneous invasions, and in such formidable numbers, as seemed to indicate a concerted design of general and durable conquest. The unusual operations of one army which, debarking in the Isle of Thanet, there for the first time ventured to winter in England instead of returning to their own Country, might well awaken the gloomiest apprehensions of the Saxons, who remembered that the district thus occupied by Pagan enemies of the same race with themselves, had also been the earliest permanent settlement of their common progenitors.†

Accordingly, the imminence of the danger seems to have roused all the Anglo-Saxon States of the South to a sense of the necessity of united efforts for expelling the invaders. A general Congress of the Nobles and Prelates of Wessex and Mercia was therefore held at Kingsbury, in Oxfordshire, at which measures were concerted for the public defence. These were soon called into action: for the ensuing Spring witnessed the most tremendous invasion which had yet afflicted the Island. A fleet of no less than three hundred and fifty sail entered the Thames; and the host of Northmen disembarking from their vessels, sacked both London and Canterbury, before Bertulf, King of Mercia, to whom the defence of that part of the Country had been allotted, could march to its relief. He arrived only to encounter a total defeat; and the victorious invaders advanced into Surrey, where Ethelwulf himself, and his son Ethelbald, at the head of the assembled forces of Wessex, now awaited their approach. At Atea, or the Field of Oaks, in that County, the two armies met in a long and deadly struggle; at the close of which the Saxons prevailed with so dreadful a slaughter of the invaders, that their loss is declared, by a Chronicler of the next Age, to have exceeded any which they had before or since sustained. Nor was this the only triumph of a season which became emphatically distinguished, from the subsequent disasters of the Saxon Annals, as the happy or fortunate year. At Weubury, the Ealdorman of Devonshire had inflicted a decisive defeat upon another body of the Northmen; and, on the coast of the Kent, King Athelstan routed a third army of invaders, and captured nine of their ships. Discouraged by so many repulses, the Northmen abandoned their hopes of conquest; and after a single predatory descent in the following year, they desisted, during the remainder of Ethelwulf's reign, from further assaults upon the shores of England.‡

No other warlike achievements distinguished the life of this Prince, if we except a successful expedition into Wales, which he undertook, after the expulsion of the Northmen, to assist his tributary, the King of Mercia, in punishing the Britons for some incursions into that State, and compelling them to recognise its superiority.§ The domestic circumstances of Ethelwulf's reign, however, are invested with a superior interest from their

Anglo-Saxon Annals.

From A. D. 800, to A. D. 1066. They winter for the first time in the Isle of Thanet. A. D. 851.

Union of the Saxon States to repel the invaders.

Decisive victory of Ethelwulf. A. D. 852.

Temporary cessation of the Northman descents.

Domestic events of the reign of Ethelwulf.

* Chron. Sax. p. 72, 73. Ingulf. p. 10.

† Malmsbury, p. 37. Helm, De Gest. Pontif. p. 257.

‡ Chron. Sax. p. 73.

* Vide p. 434 of this volume.

† Chron. Sax. p. 74. Asser, p. 5.

‡ Chron. Sax. p. 74, 75. Ingulf. p. 11. Asser, p. 5, 6.

§ Chron. Sax. p. 75. Asser, p. 6, 7.

History.

From
A. D.
800,
to
A. D.
1066.

Birth of
Alfred the
Great.

Pilgrimage
of Ethel-
wulf to
Rome.

A. D.
855.

Revolt of
his eldest
son Ethel-
bald.

A. D.
856

connection with the youthful fortunes of his fourth son, the illustrious ALFRED, who was born at Wantage in Berkshire, in the year 849. The indications of a superior nature, which are said to have appeared even in his childhood, or some less excusable caprice of parental fondness, rendered him the best-beloved son of Ethelwulf; and there is evidence of his father's early design to prefer him in the succession to the throne before his elder brothers. It could be with no other purpose that the King sent him, when only five years old, to Rome in charge of the Bishop of Winchester, with a request that the Pope would solemnly bestow the Regal unction upon him; and this ceremony, which was evidently intended to establish the Royal dignity in his person by a sacred and inviolable authority, was accordingly performed by the reigning Pontiff Leo IV.* Two years later, the tranquillity in which his dominions had been left by the cessation of the Northman invasions, induced Ethelwulf himself to gratify the same pious impulse which, according to the mistaken ideas of the times, had led so many earlier Saxon Princes to undertake the pilgrimage to Rome. In this expedition, also, he led Alfred with him to revisit the Papal Capital; and crossing through France, where he was royally entertained by Charles the Bald, he performed the long and toilsome journey in safety. On his return, a second visit to the Frankish Monarch produced the disproportioned union of the aged Ethelwulf with Judith, the youthful daughter of his Royal host; and immediately after their nuptials, the Princess, being crowned as Queen with great ceremony by the Archbishop of Rheims, accompanied her husband to England.†

This foreign journey of Ethelwulf proved in every respect injurious to the peace of his Kingdom. The preference which he showed to his youngest son had excited the jealousy of the eldest, Ethelbald, whose temper was violent and ambitious; the absence of the King favoured the unnatural machinations into which the Prince entered to seize his Crown; and, above all, the West Saxons were filled with discontent at the elevation of Judith to a participation in the Regal dignity, which by the law passed, as we have formerly recorded,‡ in consequence of the crimes of Eadburga, was denied to the Consorts of their Monarchs. Favoured by the general disgust at this measure, Ethelbald, before his father's return, had succeeded in raising a powerful party, to prevent his resumption of the sceptre. The malecontents included many of the West Saxon Thegns; and Alstan himself, the famous Bishop of Sherborne and Minister of Ethelwulf, together with the Ealdorman of Somerset, were the principal advisers of the young Prince. Assembling their forces in the Forest of Selwood, the conspirators prepared, with Ethelbald at their head, to complete their project; when the arrival of Ethelwulf in England arrested its consummation. His appearance recalled the waning affections of his subjects; the greater number of the Nobles and People of Wessex, though displeased at his absence and marriage, were still more shocked at the wicked violation of filial duty in Ethelbald; and the division of feeling threatened the State with the calamities of a Civil war between the father and son. The mild disposition of the old King, his desire of repose, or

perhaps his fears, induced him to avert this catastrophe by a compromise with the revolted. He consented to abandon the Crown of Wessex, with only a nominal reservation of his own supremacy, to his rebellious son; and he was satisfied with retaining under his immediate administration the Eastern dependencies of the Monarchy, consisting of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Essex, which Athelstan, who was now dead, had formerly governed with a subordinate Royal title. Ethelwulf survived this accommodation only two years; and by his Will bequeathing this Eastern Kingdom to Ethelbert, his second son, he directed that the third and fourth, Ethelred and Alfred, should severally succeed Ethelbald, in the order of seniority, on the throne of Wessex.*

Ethelwulf was no sooner dead than Ethelbald, who had been loudest in reproaching his father's marriage with Judith, himself espoused his blooming step-mother. This incestuous union, which deservedly excited the indignation and horror of his subjects, is the only recorded event of his brief reign. By the spiritual admonition of Swithin, Bishop of Winchester, or the menaces of his People, Ethelbald was persuaded or compelled to dissolve the guilty connection; and within two years, he followed Ethelwulf to the grave. On his demise, the Crown of Wessex should by the paternal testament have devolved upon Ethelred, the third of the brothers; but the second, Ethelbert, already King of Kent, now asserted his prior title, and easily obtaining its recognition by the Witenagemot of Wessex, united the whole inheritance of Egbert in his person. He enjoyed it but six years; and his reign, though his warlike qualities are praised in general terms by the Chroniclers of the Age, appears to have been as undistinguished as that of his immediate predecessor, except by one disastrous circumstance; the renewal of the Northman descents on England.†

In the fifth year after his accession to the Throne of Wessex, Winchester, the ancient Capital of that Kingdom, was sacked and burned to the ground by an army of these invaders; who, however, in retreating with their booty to their vessels at Southampton, were overtaken and routed with retributive slaughter by the forces of Berkshire and Hampshire, under their respective Ealdormen. In the same year, another piratical squadron, assailing the Kentish coast, repeated with impunity the experiment of wintering in the Isle of Thanet; and the inhabitants of Kent, instead of vigorously attempting to repel them, gave the first fatal and shameful example of purchasing their retreat by gold. But the credulity and cowardice of these degenerate "Men of Kent" were only derided by the perfidious barbarians; who after receiving the price of forbearance, broke from their maritime camp into the Province, and plundered and desolated all the Eastern parts of it. At the same time, another fleet appeared off the Northumbrian shore, and from thence Southward, the whole coast was again menaced with a gathering storm of invasion.‡

On the death of Ethelbert, amidst this ominous and cheerless prospect, Ethelred, his next brother, ascended the Throne of Wessex under his father's Will, although the late King had left several children. His accession was immediately followed by a new and a more appalling than any preceding descent of the Northmen: of which

* Chron. Sax. p. 76, 77. Asser, De Gestis Eilfredi, p. 3, 7.
† Asser, p. 8, 9. Annales Bertiniani, (in the Benedictine Collection of French Historians,) p. 71, 72, &c.
‡ Vide p. 391 of this Volume.

* Asser, p. 9—13. Chron. Sax. p. 77.
† Idem, 14, 15. Bed. p. 78.
‡ Idem. Ibid.

Anglo-
Saxon
Annals.
From
A. D.
800,
to
A. D.
1066.

Death of
Ethelwulf.

A. D.
858.

and Ethel-
bert.

A. D.
860.

Revol. of
the North-
men pro-
prios.

A. D.
861.

A. D.
863.

Accession
of Ethelred.
A. D.
866.

History.
From
A. D.
500,
to
A. D.
1066.
Story of
Ragnar
Lodbrog.

the particular origin has been sought, and perhaps discovered, in the wildest legends of Scandinavia. According to them, this expedition was undertaken on a vow of filial vengeance, by the sons of Ragnar Lodbrog, one of the most famous Sea-kings of the Age. We gather, indeed, from authentic History, that, shortly previous to the epoch before us, this bold leader of the Northmen, ascending the Seine with his piratical squadron, spreading flames and devastation along its banks, and obliging Charles the Bald to save Paris by ransom from sharing the same fate, had already rendered his name terribly familiar in France.* That he had now, twenty years later, perished in a descent on the coast of England, is obscurely intimated by the Saxon Chroniclers.† Of the actions and fate of this renowned Sea-king, so much only is certain; but if we receive the tale of Scandinavian Romance, having been shipwrecked in a predatory expedition on the coast of Northumbria, he was made captive, and by order of Ella, King of that Country, consigned to a dungeon filled with vipers, until he was stung to death. In his Quida, or Death-song, as it has been believed,‡ he alleviated the lingering torments of his last moments with the conviction that his brave and numerous offspring would avenge his sufferings; and the imaginary prophecy was not unfulfilled. Some of his sons, who were in Scandinavia when the intelligence of his fate reached them, swore to inflict a signal vengeance on the land of his murderers; and the numerous adherents and admirers of a Chieftain, whose exploits had rendered him so illustrious, sympathized in the stern emotions, and embraced the sanguinary resolve of his children. A formidable armament, in which were eight Sea-kings, and twenty Jarls or Earls of the Northmen, all relations or associates of Ragnar, was rapidly assembled under the chief command of five of his sons, Ingwar, Halfden, Bascg, Guthrun, and Ubbra; and, in the year after his death, the whole Navy of destruction, conveying twenty thousand warriors, steered for the English shores. Being by stress of weather, or whatever other cause, carried beyond the Northumbrian coast, the fleet first made the land of East Anglia.

With the descent of the ferocious host on that Province, we recover the thread of genuine History. Though they encountered no opposition on their landing, they did not at once advance into the country; but contented themselves with fortifying a camp, in which

they determined to pass the Winter. This season of repose was occupied in collecting horses for their warriors; in still further swelling their numbers by reinforcements from Scandinavia; and in gaining over to their alliance some of the Nobles of Northumbria. Their designs in this latter respect were suggested and promoted by the state of that Kingdom. For, having thrown off the dependence upon Wessex, to which Egbert had subjected it, the whole Province was now distracted by the rival pretensions of two claimants, Osbert and Ella, to its independent and ancient Crown. If the Saxon States at this fatal juncture had cordially united against the invaders, the latter might have been overpowered: but the East Anglians, from fear or selfish blindness, basely suffered them to winter unmolested, and even supplied them with horses to mount their cavalry; the Northumbrians were betrayed by internal treason; and the principal power of Wessex was, by some strange infatuation, held aloof from the impending contest.*

In the Spring, the invading host, abandoning East Anglia, burst in their vengeful career upon Northumbria: fresh from the grim repose of their Winter's camp; led by the ruthless Sons of Ragnar; and guided by the Raven, or enchanted banner, which his daughters were believed to have woven in a single noontide, and which derived its name from the sacred bird of Woden, depicted on its texture. They had already possessed themselves of York, before the rivals, Ella and Osbert, awakening too late to the danger of their Country, and agreeing to suspend the settlement of their opposing claims, marched with united forces to surprise them in their quarters near that City. In their sudden and furious assault, the Northumbrian Princes were at first successful; the Northmen were driven into the place for refuge; a passage through the city walls was forced; and the death-struggle was renewed in the streets. But here the desperation of the invaders, to whom the power of flight was denied, prevailed over the ardour of their assailants; after an obstinate conflict the latter were repulsed; Osbert himself was slain; and the Northumbrians were finally routed with a merciless slaughter. The fate of Ella was less happy than that of his rival: he survived the defeat only to fall alive into the hands of the victors; and the sons of Ragnar are said to have inflicted an agonizing death upon the slayer of their Father. They divided and stretched open his ribs from the spine, drew out the lungs, and strewed salt upon the quivering members.† This mode of execution, termed the Spread Eagle, from the similarity of the victim's appearance to the figure of that bird, was not uncommonly practised among the Northmen upon enemies who had signally provoked their hate. The performance of the operation was the privilege of the Sea-king or other Chieftain;‡ and this atrocious custom, like the tortures inflicted by the Indian warriors of North America, marks the fendlike and wanton excess of cruelty, of which human nature in its savage state is capable. This shocking catastrophe put a period to the Anglo-Saxon dynasty of Northumbria; for the conquerors, after permitting the ephemeral and tributary reigns of three native Chieftains, seized the Country in full occupation. Ingwar, the son of Ragnar, was raised by his

Anglo-Saxon
Annals.
From
A. D.
500,
to
A. D.
1066.

Conquest of
Northumbria,
A. D.
567.

Appalling
invasion of
England by
his sons.
A. D.
566.

Their first
descent.

* Chron. Fontenai. p. 41. (In the great Benedictine Collection, vol. vii.) So also Vezel, p. 271. Aimon, p. 350. &c.

† Brompton, p. 502. Matthew Westminster, p. 314. &c.

‡ Although an English translation of the Lodbrok Quida, or supposed death-song of Lodbrog, appeared half a Century ago, to Mr. Turner, as we have already observed, belongs the credit of the first attempt to connect that and other traditions of Scandinavian Romance with our genuine Anglo-Saxon History. But it is necessary to receive the evidence of such wild Northern legends with great suspicion. Though the Quida is probably a production of high antiquity, it is impossible to ascertain its exact Age. As the composition of Ragnar himself, it would seem almost needless to remark, that it cannot be authentic; yet it is strange that the obvious and puerile absurdity of attributing it to that Chieftain has passed without comment. If sung in his solitary dungeon, how was it heard and preserved? The mode of his death is so plainly fabulous or allegorical; and the only value of the Poem consists in the probability that it was composed by some Northern Scald or Bard soon after the event of which it is the subject. As such, it would illustrate the origin of the invasion conducted by his sons in a natural motive of vengeance; and it is at least a very spirited Ode, and a curious picture of Scandinavian sentiments and manners.

* Asser, p. 15. 18.

† Saxo Grammaticus, Hist. Dan. p. 177.

‡ Snorre, Hist. Regum Norveg. (Ed. Havais, 1777,) p. 108.

and foundation
of the first Danish
Kingdom in
England.

History.
From
A. D.
800.
to
A. D.
1066.
Ravage of
Mercia.
A. D.
868.

followers to its Sovereignty; and Northumbria thenceforth became permanently a Northman or Danish Principality.*

After this decisive victory, the invaders proceeded to execute the plan which they had now evidently formed for the general and durable conquest of the Island; nor were their designs wanting in a more regular and systematic policy, than had hitherto characterised their predatory and transient descents. Whilst one division of their army remained under Ingwar to occupy Northumbria, their principal force, passing the Humber, advanced Southward into Mercia, and took possession of Nottingham. The Mercian King, Burhred, then imploring the succour of Wessex, Ethelred, with his Brother Alfred, and the forces of the paramount Saxon Kingdom, marched to his aid, and succeeded for a time in repelling the progress of the invaders. But they, full of the fierce energy of conquest, were united and persevering: the Saxon Powers, from whatever cause, seem to have been at this epoch incapable of an earnest and sincere confederation; and suffered themselves to be overpowered in succession without any hearty and combined effort for their common defence. After a deceitful appearance of inaction, the host of the Northmen, again advancing from the Humber, but varying the scene of attack, poured into Lincolnshire. All the unspeakable horrors of fire and pillage, bloodshed and violation, attended their destroying course. A heroic but unavailing defence was here made by the brave Ealdorman Algar, and the youth of the Country; for being unsupported by their King, they were overwhelmed by the numbers of the Northmen, and slaughtered to a man. Some of the most famous and opulent of the Saxon Monasteries, situated in this part of England, Bardene, Croyland, Medeshamstede, (the modern Peterborough), and Ely, were successively pillaged and burnt; and the Religious of both sexes were murdered, after undergoing every atrocity, by these inhuman Pagans.† They next entered East Anglia. Edmund, the King of that Country, the memory of whose pious and gentle virtues was long consecrated in the hearts of his People, but who appears to have wanted the more energetic qualities which the crisis demanded, either attempted no resistance, or resisted ineffectually. Falling into the hands of the Barbarians, and steadfastly refusing, as it is said, obedience to the command of their leader to renounce his Christian Faith, he was tortured to death. His remains were privately interred by some faithful domestics; a splendid Monastery was in a later Age erected over his tomb; and the modern town of St. Edmund's Bury still marks the place of his sepulture and preserves the name of the canonized Martyr. A single Winter sufficed to establish the Northmen in their new conquests; the Throne of St. Edmund was occupied by Guthrum, another of the sons of Ragnar; and East Anglia was converted from this epoch into the second Danish Kingdom in England.‡

Invasion of
Wessex.
A. D.
871

But the remaining sons of Ragnar and their followers were still unprovided with English settlements; and in the following Summer, pursuing their projects of spoliation, these Chieftains led their ferocious bands into Wessex, penetrated to Reading, and surprising that

place, began to intrench themselves in the vicinity. Their superiority, indeed, to the Saxons in the Art of War, however rude was still their knowledge of its elements, is remarkably evinced throughout the History of these invasions. No sooner had they obtained possession of the important post of Reading, than they proceeded to strengthen their position by a line of works connecting the Thames and the Kennet. Their labours were interrupted by the assaults of the Ealdorman, Ethelwulf, at the head of the armed population of the district; and in the skirmishes which ensued, the Saxons gained the advantage. The King of Wessex was now at last startled to the conviction that no alternative remained for him but to expel the invaders or perish in the struggle; and summoning the whole force of his Kingdom to his aid, he approached with his brother Alfred to encounter their power. Elated with the partial success which they had recently obtained, the Saxons made a bold and vigorous assault upon the Danish intrenchments; but they were repulsed with great slaughter. A few days later, at a Council place in the same vicinity, termed by the Saxon Chroniclers, Æscedun, of which the exact position has been much controverted, the two armies came to a more open and equal encounter. In the outset, the safety of the Saxons was endangered by the fiery impetuosity of Alfred, and the superior skill of the Northman army; but the reasonable advance of Ethelred, with the main body of his host, turned the scale of victory. After a long and dreadful conflict, the Northmen gave way; one of their Kings, Baesege a son of Ragnar, several Jarls, and a multitude of warriors were slain in the battle and pursuit, which reached to the gates of Reading; and the daring bought victory of the Saxons was purchased by a scarcely inferior loss. But even this success proved unavailing: for it was counterbalanced by a defeat which the Saxons sustained at Basing, before a fortnight had expired since their victory; and the Northmen were further, almost immediately after this, reinforced by the junction of a fresh army which had recently landed from the Baltic. It is useless to particularize the encounters which followed; and sufficient to record that, in a general conflict of doubtful issue at Morton in Berkshire, Ethelred, who, though too tardily, had in the close of his reign exhibited the spirit of a hero, and sustained the sinking fortunes of his Kingdom with a courage worthy of a happier fate, received his mortal wound. He survived the battle only a few days; and the invaders withdrew to Reading, to rejoice over his death and to revel in their spoils.*

At such a dismal epoch, and by such a catastrophe, was it that the broken sceptre of Wessex devolved upon a Prince, who of all Monarchs in a half-civilized state of Society has, perhaps, best deserved that distinctive appellation of the Great, which History has linked to his name. Either despairing of the fortunes of his afflicted Country, or influenced by the more commendable distrust, which his friend and biographer has attributed to him, of his own sufficiency for the arduous duties of the Regal office, without the special aid of Providence, Alfred, then only in his twenty-second year, at first hesitated to ascend the vacant throne. But he was summoned to the perilous station by the unanimous entreaties of the Nobles and People of Wessex, to whom the reputation of his talents and valour had

* Asser, p. 18. Simon Dunelm, p. 14. Chron. Sax. p. 79.
† Asser, p. 19, 20. Ingulf, p. 18. 24. Chron. Sax. p. 79, 80.
‡ Asser, p. 20. Ingulf, p. 24.

* Asser, p. 21. 24. Chron. Sax. p. 80, 81.

History. already endeared him; the sense of public duty, or of gratitude for the public confidence, prevailed over his feelings of despondency, and he suffered the Crown to be placed on his head by the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

The aspect of affairs was indeed such as might rationally excite the worst apprehensions. An enemy, whose superior martial skill and activity were rendered more appalling by their merciless ferocity, had already securely established themselves in the Island with overwhelming numbers; and continual reinforcements of new swarms from their Northern seats, rendered their repeated defeat unavailing, and their ultimate expulsion hopeless. Conducting their operations with a systematic policy, of which their leaders never lost sight, even whilst the wildest and most horrid devastation marked their course, the invaders had already subjugated two of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, Northumbria and East Anglia; insulted, overawed, and paralyzed the power of a third, Mercia; and penetrated into the heart of the predominant Monarchy of Wessex. Consolidating their conquests, as they proceeded, into durable occupation, they had expanded their possessions in one unbroken line over all the Eastern part of the Island from the Tyne to the Thames, and were in fact masters of one half of Saxon England. The conflict had now in fact become a national struggle between the Northman and Saxon, as it had formerly been between the latter and the Briton, for the dominion of the whole land. Not mere detached bands of Pirates, but whole races of men, with their women and children, had again, at the distance of four centuries, precipitated themselves from the Scandinavian upon the British shores. The rapacious passion for transient plunder had been superseded in the Northern mind by the steady desire of permanent settlement, under a climate and on a soil more inviting and plentiful than their own bleak and hungry regions; and thenceforth nothing less than the total seizure and subjugation of England could satiate the cupidity of this new Scandinavian immigration.†

If Alfred had assumed the Crown of his Fathers with reluctance, he prepared not the less to defend it with vigour. Almost immediately after the interment of his brother, his presence was demanded in the field to resist the progress of invasion. The main army of the Northmen, whose numbers were again reinforced by a new debarkation of their Countrymen, advancing from Reading, had penetrated into Wiltshire; and intrenching themselves, according to their practice, on the heights above the Willy, they extended their ravages along the fertile banks of that stream. Alfred met them with inferior numbers; and after a gallant, and for some time successful, effort to compensate for want of strength by the vigour of his attack, was ultimately defeated. This was the ninth general action, besides innumerable skirmishes, in which the West Saxons had encountered the invaders since the commencement of the year. It was followed by a hollow pacification. The Northmen, arrested by the obstinacy of the defence, might deem it their interest to temporize; Alfred, his Kingdom exhausted by so many sanguinary conflicts, and himself discouraged by so many unavailing exertions, might find it necessary to afford his harassed people a

season of repose; and these motives probably induced him to offer, and the invaders to accept, a sum of gold as the price of their retreat from his dominions.*

The dangerous, as well as disgraceful, character of this policy on the part of the Saxons, was almost immediately visible. The invading host withdrew only to London; where having wintered and concentrated their forces, their leaders prepared to complete the subjugation of Mercia. Burhred, who still reigned over that Kingdom, instead of opposing them courageously in arms, followed only the weaker part of Alfred's conduct, by negotiating and twice purchasing a Peace from the most barbarous and faithless of enemies. After receiving his second donative of gold, the Northmen threw off the mask; made a jest of his reliance on their promises; and perfidiously entering Mercia, ravaged the whole country with fire and sword. The pusillanimous Burhred, now hopeless of purchasing their forbearance, knew no other alternative than flight; and disgracefully abandoning his Throne and his People he escaped over sea, made the usual pilgrimage to Rome, and ended his worthless existence in that City. With him passed away another of the fleeting dynasties of the Anglo-Saxons; and the Northmen committed the temporary charge of his sceptre to Ceolwulf, one of his Thegns, who had the baseness to receive it upon the ignominious condition of tribute. He was permitted to hold it only so long as his cruelty and violence could wring sufficient gold from his wretched People to satisfy the craving of his masters. When he had exhausted every expedient of tyranny to gratify their rapacity, this pageant of Royalty was overthrown; and the despicable traitor to his own honour and that of his Country, being unceremoniously deposed, received a cruel death from the hands of the Barbarians, who had mocked his cupidity with the gift of a Crown. From this epoch, Mercia, as a separate Kingdom, existed no more; but following the fortune of conquest, first sank into subjection to the Danish power, and was ultimately annexed to the West Saxon dominions.†

By the subjugation of Mercia, the Northmen divided the possession of all England South of the Tyne with the only remaining Saxon State of Wessex. Their measures were now directed to complete the conquest of the Island. For this purpose, they separated their forces into two armies. One, under Halfden, their Northumbrian King, returning by sea to that Province, landed on the Northern bank of the Tyne, and extended its devastating career over every part of Deiro, which had yet escaped their visitation. From thence penetrating into the territories of the Cumbrian, or Strathclyde Britons, of the Picts, and of the Scots, Halfden filled all those regions with the terror of his victorious arms; and then, withdrawing into Northumbria, divided the conquered lands among his followers, and induced them permanently to occupy and cultivate the country which they had previously desolated.‡ Meanwhile, the main host of the Northmen, under Guthrin, their East-Englian King, after one of their deceitful periods of inaction, suddenly broke up from their quarters at Cambridge, made a rapid embarkation on the Eastern shore, and were heard of no more, until their appearance in the Channel revealed their purpose of invading

Anglo-Saxon Annals.

From

A. D. 800,

to

A. D. 1066.

Invasion of Mercia by the Northmen.

A. D. 872.

A. D. 873.

A. D. 874.

Their conquest;

and extinction of the Mercian Kingdom.

A. D. 875.

Half of England now possessed by the Northmen.

Their final settlement in Northumbria.

A. D. 876.

* Asser, p. 24. Simon Dunelm, p. 126, 127. Ingulf, p. 25.

† Turner, vol. ii. p. 97.

* Asser, p. 25. Chron. Sax. p. 82.

† Asser, p. 26, 27. Ingulf, p. 26, 27. Chron. Sax. p. 83.

‡ Asser, p. 27. Simon Dunelm, p. 95. Chron. Sax. p. 83.

History.
From
A. D.
800,
to
A. D.
1066.
New invasion
of
Wessex.

Wessex anew. Landing on the coast of Dorsetshire, they surprised the strong fortress of Wareham, and as usual intrenched themselves so formidably in their position, that Alfred, who, hastily assembling an army, had advanced to repel their descent, found the attempt to dislodge them impracticable. Despairing of success by arms, he had again recourse to negotiation; and on the receipt of a large sum of money, Guthrun agreed to evacuate Wessex. The experience of their perfidy to the imbecile Sovereign of Mercia, which should have deterred Alfred from all compromise with the Barbarians, only actuated him to show his distrust of their faith. For the observation of the Treaty, he desired an exchange of hostages; he required the oaths of their leaders upon their bracelets, the most sacred pledge which a Northman could offer; and he had the simplicity to believe that he should exact an additional security by inducing them to swear also upon the relics of Christian Saints. The perfidious Pagans, regardless alike of all obligations, readily complied with each of these demands; but no sooner was Alfred, in the confidence that he had now effectually bound them to depart, thrown off his guard, than a detachment of their army rallying by night from their camp, surprised his cavalry; mounted themselves on the captured horses; and by a rapid march obtained possession of Exeter, before he had leisure to recover from his astonishment or intercept their movements.*

Attempts of
Alfred to
create a
Navy.

The disgrace of having suffered himself to be thus duped by the Northmen, seems for a time to have stimulated Alfred to more energetic exertions. He had previously conceived some idea of the necessity of opposing the invaders on their favourite element; and for this purpose had fitted out a few ships, and manned them with such practical foreigners as he could induce to enter his service. Some advantage which this squadron obtained in an encounter with a small fleet of the Northmen, encouraged him to extend his plan; long war-galleys were built in all his ports; and though unable to force the enemy from their posts either at Wareham or Exeter, he now found himself in a situation to combat them successfully on the sea. The fleet of the invaders, on its passage down the Channel, encountered a violent tempest, which wrecked or disabled half its number of vessels; the remainder were furiously attacked and signally defeated by the Saxon squadron; and, by the previous storm and in the battle, the Northmen are said to have lost no fewer than a hundred and twenty sail. These disasters induced Guthrun to temporize again over proposals of Peace, which Alfred had the strange infatuation once more to entertain. Similar interchange of hostages was made, similar oaths were repeated, a similar Treaty was concluded as before. But on this occasion the Northman King, finding it necessary to suspend his designs, withdrew with his army from the territory of Wessex; and, crossing from Exeter into Mercia, fixed his quarters on the frontiers of the latter Province at Gloucester and its vicinity. There appearing desirous only of peacefully settling with his followers, he divided lands among them; and by this new artifice succeeded in lulling Alfred into a delusive and fatal security.†

Defeat of
the North-
man fleet.
A. D.
877.

Alfred again con-
cludes a
Peace.

Treachery
of the
Northmen.

The success of the Northman's wily policy is the least intelligible circumstance in the reign of Alfred, and equally difficult to be reconciled with the preceding and

subsequent activity by which his Government was characterised. The unusual season which Guthrun selected for his next attack seems to offer the only rational explanation of its results: for, contrary to the custom of the Northmen, it was made in the depth of Winter. Early in the month of January, Guthrun and his host suddenly sprang from their perfidious repose on the frontiers of Wessex, and poured like a deluge into the Kingdom. Alfred was so totally unprepared for their approach, that he had barely time to escape, almost unattended, before they entered his Palace at Chippenham; and without a battle, without even a recorded effort to assemble his forces, or to resist the progress of the invaders, we find him a deserted and wandering fugitive through his own dominions. In the expressive words of the Saxon Chronicle, the Danish host rode over the West Saxon land, and therein seated themselves; much of the people they drove over sea, and the rest they put in subjection; save only King Alfred; and he with a little band went uneasily to the woods and fastnesses of the wilds.* The flight of Alfred, after a temporary dismissal of his few followers, he found a secure concealment, was in the heart of Somersetshire, where a morass, formed by the confluence of the Parret and Thone, surrounded about two acres of dry land, which became afterwards celebrated under the name of Ethelingey, or the Prince's Island. Here, alone and disguised, he was sheltered in the cabin of a poor cowherd, who, in ignorance of his real dignity, was taught to believe him at most some fugitive Theng; and a picture, at once lively and affecting, of the condition to which he was reduced is preserved in the well-known and authentic anecdote—for he himself delighted to relate it in happier hour—of the chiding which he patiently received from the herdsmen's shrewish wife for suffering her cakes to be burned. To this retreat he gradually summoned a few of his most faithful retainers, fortified its only accessible point of approach; and began to make successful excursions upon straggling parties of the Northmen. While the enemy were ignorant of the quarter from which they proceeded, these enterprises revealed his existence to his own subjects, revived their despairing spirits, and awakened their native courage. But the first sure ray of hope broke from another quarter. About four months had elapsed since the invasion of the principal army under Guthrun, when another division of Northmen, landing under the ferocious Ubba in Devonshire, laid siege to the castle of Kynwith, into which the brave Ealdorman Odun, with a few Thengs, had hastily thrown themselves. In a desperate sally, the Saxon garrison succeeded in surprising the camp of the Northmen; and slaying Ubba himself, they struck such terror into his followers, that they were routed with great slaughter, and left their enchanted standard, the Raven of Woden, in the hands of the victors.†

Alfred hailed the intelligence of this success as the signal for issuing from his retreat, and placing himself again at the head of his subjects; who, from all sides, were now eagerly awaiting their hour of vengeance against

* Chron. Sax. p. 84.

† Asser, p. 30, 31. It is pleasing to record a circumstance which is not always appended to this tale by our Historians, that Alfred subsequently evinced his gratitude in a very munificent manner to the poor herdsmen who had sheltered him. For, observing his capacity to be good, the King caused him to be instructed in letters, placed him in the Church, and ultimately bestowed the See of Winchester upon him. Malmesbury, p. 242. Chron. Sax. p. 102.

‡ Asser, p. 30, 32. Chron. Sax. p. 84.

* Asser, p. 29. Chron. Sax. p. 83.
† Idem, p. 29. Ibid. p. 83, 84.

Anglo-Saxon
Annals.
From
A. D.
800,
to
A. D.
1066.
who dis-
cover the
true Wes-
sex war,
and crop
his in-
vasion.
1. B.
575.

The flight
of Alfred.

the invaders. The summons which he privately circulated received a ready obedience; and great numbers of the men of three Counties, Somerset, Wilts, and Hants, met him in arms at the appointed place of assembly—the "Stone of Egbert," on the Eastern confines of Selwood Forest. His presence among his subjects was welcomed with their enthusiastic acclamations; his gathering force was hourly swelled by new arrivals; and emerging from the forest, the Saxon army once more displayed the royal standard of Wessex with the confidence of victory. By the appearance of Alfred in the field, the host of the Northmen were startled from their dream of conquest. But Guthruu was an antagonist too wily to be surprised; and concentrating his forces, he rapidly advanced to encounter his enemy. At Edendune, near Westbury, the two armies engaged in a general and furious conflict, which terminated in the total overthrow of the Northmen. They were pursued by the Saxons with merciless slaughter to a strong camp which they had entrenched in the vicinity: but here Alfred, instead of rashly venturing to provoke their despair by an assault, surrounded them in their works, threw up lines to prevent their egress, and with patient vigilance awaited the sure effect of hunger and weakness. On the fourteenth day of the blockade, the remains of the Northmen host were reduced to extremity, and Guthruu made an offer of capitulation. We may believe that the last vicissitude of fortune had completely humbled his ambition, and disgusted him from further projects of rapine or conquest; for he readily subscribed, and faithfully observed the conditions of peace which Alfred dictated. He consented, for himself and his principal Chieftains, to embrace Christianity; and the new converts were accordingly baptized with much solemnity, Alfred himself becoming their sponsor. He agreed to evacuate Wessex, and left hostages for his fidelity, without receiving any in return; and he finally retired, after some amicable intercourse with his conqueror, to his own Kingdom of East Angia. Two subsequent treaties, which are still extant, were concluded between him and Alfred to define the limits of their respective States, and perpetuate the late pacification. The boundary between the Saxon and Danish possessions was traced by the course of the Thames, the Lea, the old Roman road of Wailing Street, and the Ouse. By this division Mercia was thus surrendered to Alfred: but East Angia, including Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, and parts of Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, was assigned to Guthruu and his followers; and all this portion of England, together with the old Kingdom of Northumbria, being henceforth possessed and gradually filled by a population of Northmen, was contra-distinguished from the Saxon Provinces, under the general term of the *DANELAGH*, or territory subject to the Danish law.†

It was on this settlement that Alfred, during a subsequent peace of fifteen years, founded those pacific glories of his reign, which, far more than his warlike achieve-

ments, have perpetuated the lustre of his name. He had recovered his patrimonial dominions of Wessex and Kent, and acquired the full sovereignty of Mercia, which he committed to the immediate government of his daughter Ethelfleda, and her husband the Ealdorman Ethelred. The Danes of East Angia and Northumbria, nominally at least, recognised his general supremacy; and even the British Princes of Wales, exhausted by their incessant feuds with each other, were glad to terminate their struggle for ascendancy, by placing themselves under his protection, and acknowledging their common allegiance to his Throne.* He had thus acquired a more signal preeminence over all the States of the Island than had been enjoyed by his grandsire Egbert; and he employed his power even more honourably, in promoting the security, happiness, and civilization of his People: in organizing the means of national defence and public order, in improving both the construction and the administration of the laws, and, above all, in the restoration and encouragement of learning and piety.

The experience of the Northman descents had woefully proved the inadequacy of the ordinary Saxon means of defence. Their fortresses were few in number and contemptible in strength; and the first care of Alfred's policy was to secure all the most assailable and inviting points of debarkation. After instituting a diligent survey of the coasts, he selected the best positions of defence, and in the course of his reign covered the entrance into the principal harbours and navigable rivers of his dominions by no less than fifty strong castles. He also followed up his early plan for the creation of a navy; caused vessels to be constructed of superior magnitude, both in their length and the height of their decks, to those of the Northmen; and to encourage the improvement of his mariners by his own presence, often led his squadrons in the cruises against the pirates in which he continually employed them for the security of the coast. Nor did he suffer his people to depend only for their defence upon his maritime fortresses and navy; for the whole male population of every Province were enrolled into a militia, of which, by rotation, one-half was always held in readiness, under their Ealdorman, to march to any part of the coast which might be threatened with attack, while the other moiety remained to cultivate the soil.†

The restoration of internal order in the State, out of the universal confusion and ruin into which the ravages of the Northmen had broken the whole frame of civil government, was even a more difficult task than to organize a system of defence against external enemies. Wherever the Northmen had penetrated, the tribunals had been overthrown; all legal restraints were dissolved; and the retreat of the invaders left the natives almost as fierce, barbarous, and lawless as themselves. Alfred hastened to reclaim them to habits of peace and subordination, by reestablishing the regular courts of judicature; and he laboured incessantly not only to secure the enforcement, but to purify the administration of justice. Many of the judges whom he found in office were ignorant, tyrannical, and corrupt: but the readiness with which the King received appeals from their courts, and the close attention with which he scrutinized their judgments, soon taught them that they could no longer

Anglo-Saxon Annals.

From A. D. 800, to A. D. 1066.

General recognition of his supremacy in England and Wales. Virtues of his civil government.

Care of the national defence.

His fortifications,

navy,

and militia.

Administration of justice.

* The oft-repeated tale that Alfred visited the camp of the Northmen disguised as a harper, and observing their careless security, afterwards fell upon them by surprise, rests only on the authority of Ingulfus, (who did not live until a Century later,) and is uncorroborated by Asser, who must have heard the story from his royal master if it had been true, and could not have failed to relate so remarkable an occurrence if he had heard it.

† Asser, p. 35. Chron. Sax. p. 86. Leges Sax. (quod Wilkins,) p. 47, 51.

* Asser, p. 49, 50.

† Asser, *ubi supra*. Chron. Sax. p. 92, 93.

History.

From
A. D.
800.
to
A. D.
1066.

And compilation
of Laws.

His encourage-
ment
of learning.

oppress the lowest of the People with impunity. For simple incompetence or negligence, they were removed from their offices; but their intentional delinquencies were visited with condign punishment; and the tradition which imputed to Alfred the execution of above forty magistrates for their iniquitous or illegal conduct in a single year,* even if unfounded, attests the popular belief of his stern and impartial justice against his own Officers. To guide them in the correct exercise of duties which he thus rigidly exacted, he methodized and amended the laws of his predecessors; and, with the consent of his Witeana, as he was careful to declare, published the collection for the national observance. This code does not indeed, as it has sometimes erroneously been assumed, entitle him to any peculiar merit as an original legislator: for its provisions, as well as the earlier laws from which it was chiefly compiled, are still extant, and differ little from each other. But with a true wisdom, adapted to his position and his times, Alfred was more solicitous to retain and renovate institutions which he might know to be defective, than to hazard new experiments which might prove unsuitable to the character and wants of his people.† Even many regulations which have been vulgarly ascribed to his policy, such as the division of England into Counties, Hundreds, and Tythings, the law of Frank-pledge, or mutual responsibility of the men of a Tything for each other's appearance to answer criminal charges, and the establishment of Trial by Jury, were all either of earlier or later origin than his Age; and the veneration which the real benefits of his government deservedly gained for his memory, is in nothing more emphatically marked than in this disposition of posterity to refer every useful institution of police and judicature to his reign.

The paternal benevolence and justice of his administration were naturally the qualities most affectionately appreciated by his People: but the respect in which the scholars of every subsequent Age have gratefully united to cherish his fame, is, perhaps, chiefly due to his efforts for the encouragement of learning. The destruction of the Monasteries by the Northmen had almost extinguished in England the few sparks of literature which, during the Dark Ages, were kept alive only in those retreats; the libraries which they contained were burnt; and the learned recluses, the sole instructors of the times, were either murdered or dispersed in beggary. Hence the very Clergy had become as illiterate as the Laity; and we have the declaration of Alfred himself, that at the period of his accession to the throne, scarcely a person could be found in his own Kingdom South of the Thames able to translate a Latin book into his vernacular tongue.§ To correct this lamentable state of ignorance, he invited learned men from other parts of England and from foreign Countries to his Court, and loaded them with favours; he established schools in various parts of his dominions, at which he compelled his unlettered Nobles and Officers to place their children, and even to receive instruction themselves under pain of losing their employments in the State; and he required every candidate for Civil or Ecclesiastical preferment to gain a knowledge of the Latin language. But it was

further his desire that the children of every freeman in his dominions, in a condition above penury, should be taught, in their native English, the elements of reading and writing; and so anxious was he to extend the scanty stores of Saxon literature for the national benefit, that he himself undertook and accomplished the translation of several Latin works of useful entertainment and piety avowedly for this purpose. An illustrious example, and perhaps the only one to be found in the History of the World, of a Prince, amidst the manifold cares of Empire, applying his mind to the literary, moral, and religious instruction of his People.‡

The long and prosperous interval of tranquillity, which Alfred had employed in these benevolent exertions, was suddenly terminated by a renewal of the same calamities of foreign invasion which, in the commencement of his Reign, had brought his Kingdom to the verge of destruction. After having, as we have seen, made France the prey of incessant devastation, the Northmen, led by Hastings, the most renowned and dreaded of their Sea-kings, now abandoned for a season their desultory assaults upon that exhausted Country, to attempt once more the permanent conquest of England. Throughout this new contest, in which Alfred had the affliction to witness the ravage of his Kingdom, and the dismal interruption of his plans of social improvement, the utility of his systematic preparations for the public defence was strikingly evinced; and his activity and conduct in the field were no less admirable than the foresight and wisdom of his previous arrangements. Yet it cost him three years of almost uninterrupted action to repel the furious and indefatigable assaults of the invaders; and the duration and danger of the struggle, so difficultly supported in the meridian of his power, prove that it must have been undertaken by the enemy with more formidable resources, and maintained with greater obstinacy and skill, than any of their former enterprises. But the stern details of barbarous and fruitless invasions are little worthy of remembrance; and we shall dismiss, as briefly as possible, the events of four bloody and destructive campaigns.

In the first, Hastings, having collected his fleet to the number of above three hundred sail in the port of Boulogne, landed his forces in two divisions on the Kentish shore; where, according to their usage, they immediately secured themselves by entrenchments. Alfred, as soon as he could assemble the militia of his Kingdom, advanced to the coast, and selected a strong position with so much judgment between the points of descent, that he for some time paralyzed the movements of both the invading armies. With the characteristic perfidy of his race, Hastings endeavoured to extricate himself from his difficulties by offers of peace; and while on his part he amused Alfred with negotiations, his confederates, secretly breaking up from their camp, penetrated by forced marches into Wessex, before the King could intercept them. But Alfred, being joined by his son Edward and the reserves of the Wessex Militia, pursued the route of the Northmen with so much celerity that he overtook them at Farnham in Surrey; and there by a complete and sanguinary victory inflicted a signal vengeance for their devastations. The remains of their host which escaped the slaughter, were compelled to capitulate on condition of quitting the Kingdom.†

* These instances are given at length in Horac's *Miroir des Justices*, (p. 296–300.) written in the XIVth Century.

† *Leges Sax.* p. 28–46. *Auser*, p. 69.

‡ This is proved by the best authorities; but see Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 390–402.

§ Alfred, *Prof. ad Greg. Post.* Wisc's *Auser*, p. 82.

* *Auser*, p. 43. 49. 60. 67. 71. &c. *Prof. ad Post.* p. 84, 85.

† *Chron. Sax.* p. 91. 93.

Anglo-Saxon
Annals.
From
A. D.
800.
to
A. D.
1066.

Renewal of
the Northmen
invasions under
Hastings.
A. D.
881.

Alfred's
conduct of
Alfred.

Obituary
of this war.

First
and last
campaigns
of Hastings.

Defeat
of the
Northmen.

While Alfred was thus engaged, he was summoned to repel a new danger from the restless and treacherous spirit of the Danish colonists of East Anglia and Northumbria. Guthrun, who since his conversion to Christianity and his settlement in the former Province, had religiously maintained his obligations to his conqueror, had now been some years dead; and no longer restrained by his influence, his former subjects eagerly availed themselves of this critical juncture to break off their fealty to Alfred, and began to cooperate with their countrymen. Doubling the Forelands of Kent, a fleet of East-Anglian Danes, consisting of one hundred sail, proceeded down the Channel and attacked the Southern coast of Devonshire; while a squadron of smaller force, equipped in Northumbria, and circumnavigating Scotland, appeared simultaneously on the Northern shores of the same County. Hastings also, now temporizing no longer, revealed the full extent of his faithless designs; for instead of evacuating England altogether, according to a treaty which he had concluded, he had only withdrawn from his obstructed position in Kent to land on the coast of Essex. Alfred met these redoubled attacks with wonderful promptitude. Leaving his infantry in the East to watch the motions of Hastings, he traversed Wessex with his horse to Exeter which the Anglian Danes were already besieging; and fell upon them with such furious slaughter, that he drove them in confusion to their ships. In his absence, and while Hastings had quitted his works on the coast to ravage Mercia, the Saxon troops surprised the Danish encroachments at Bemfist in Essex, and captured the shipping, treasures, and family of the Sea-king. In an age of cruelty, and in opposition to the counsel of his officers, Alfred had the magnanimity to restore the wife and children of Hastings unharmed and unransomed; and the Northman, humbled by these repeated discomfures, again sued for peace, and obtained it on the former condition of quitting England. It is uncertain whether he fulfilled this treaty better than the last. The hosts of Northmen, whose ravages still continued to afflict the Island, seem to have been the same which he had commanded: but it is remarkable that the name of Hastings himself is, from this epoch, no longer distinguished as their leader by the *Saxon Chronicle*; and a few years later he reappears in French History on the theatre of his former exploits.*

During the subsequent conduct of the war, the order and combination which Alfred had introduced into the employment of the national force, enabled him every where to present a superiority to the invaders; but all his efforts could not protect different parts of his Kingdom from exposure to the inroads of the Northmen, through the rapidity with which their movements were always executed. The remains of the invading bands of Hastings, joined by numerous bodies of their East-Anglian and Northumbrian countrymen, bursting out of Essex, twice crossed the Island to the banks of the Severn and the Dee; and though each time besieged and defeated in the West, they effected their return to their Eastern quarters. From thence, embarking and entering the Thames, they narrowly failed of success in an attempt to surprise London; and ascending the river Lea with their fleet, they fortified a position in which they passed the winter. But here Alfred once more

besieging them, so completely prevented the egress of their fleet by ingeniously diverting the course of the waters, that to avoid being starved in their camp, they abandoned their useless shipping, and again broke away into the interior of the Country. They had reached the banks of the Severn before the King could arrest their progress; nor could he prevent their wintering in a new fortified position at Bridgenorth on that river. But thus constantly pursued, harassed, and besieged, with a perseverance and courage equal to their own, and with resources which the activity of Alfred and the national union of his subjects had now rendered superior; the spirit of the Northmen was at length exhausted and broken. From Bridgenorth they dispersed in small bodies; those who evaded the Saxon sword effected their return to East Anglia and Northumbria, where some finally settled; and the residue embarking joined the marauding squadrons of their countrymen on the French shores. From thence they still continued at intervals to infest the Channel and the English coasts with their piracies; but the navy which Alfred had created frequently eluded their attempts, and captured so many of their vessels, that they were soon deterred from the prosecution of these barren enterprises.*

Alfred survived this second deliverance of his Kingdom only about three years; and the horrors of a pestilence, the consequence perhaps of the devastations of warfare, clouded the last triumphs of his reign. His days closed prematurely, for he expired before the completion of his fifty-second year: † so short was that life of brilliant and virtuous action, by which, in the midst of violence and barbarism, he deservedly won an immortality of renown. That his martial constancy and genius twice rescued his people from the scourge of destructive invasions, might alone have sufficed to enrol him in the catalogue of Royal Heroes; but the qualities on which the vulgar greatness of conquest is founded, constitute the least part of his merit. The fame of Alfred rests on the sure basis of intellectual, moral, and religious excellence. His generous thirst of universal knowledge, his zeal for the restoration of learning, and his anxiety for the instruction of his people, attest his immeasurable superiority to the times which produced him; his deep sense of responsibility in the just and beneficent discharge of his duties as a Monarch, has seldom been equalled, and never surpassed, at any epoch; and his sincere and rational piety as a Man, which was habitual in his mind, and conspicuous alike in his writings and conduct, would have adorned the purest Ages of Christian faith and practice.

To believe, as some writers in their just admiration of the character of Alfred have too fondly imagined, that his great qualities were without alloy, would be to falsify not only all experience of human nature, but the positive evidence of his contemporaries and friends. Though the fair promise of his youthful virtues had won the national love even before his accession to the Throne, yet it is certain that the first years of his Reign were disgraced by some neglects of duty, and some immoralities of personal conduct. For his friend and biographer Asser, writing under his eye, confesses of his expulsion from his Throne, that this adversity overtook him "not undeservedly;" because in the insolence of youth he had

Anglo-Saxon Annals.

From A. D. 800. to A. D. 1066.

Alfred blocks up their fleet.

Final dispersion of the Northmen,

and close of the war. A. D. 897.

Death of Alfred. A. D. 900.

His character.

His merits,

and defects.

* Chron. Sax. p. 93, 94. *Recueil des Hist. Français*, vol. vii. p. 221.

* Chron. Sax. p. 94. 99.

† Alfred's death is placed by some Chroniclers in 900, by others a year later. Ingulf. p. 28. Chron. Sax. p. 99. &c.

History. failed to render justice to his subjects, and haughtily turned a deaf ear to their complaints.* Asser further declares that St. Neot, the kinsman of Alfred, had deplored these errors, and forebode their punishment;† and an ancient life of that virtuous recluse expressly repeats,‡ though still in general terms, the good man's ineffectual remonstrance against those vices of conduct in his young Sovereign, which Asser, while regard to truth compelled him to record, was restrained by delicacy or partiality towards a Royal Patron from more plainly particularizing. But whatever had been these errors, they were nobly redeemed, and the spirit of Alfred was chastened in that adversity which he himself believed to have been inflicted as the penalty of his sins§. In his later life, indeed, some faults of temper are equally discernible: but these were of an opposite nature from the irregularities of youth; and may be said to have had their origin only in the very virtues of his character. His zeal for the good order and improvement of society sometimes betrayed him into harsh and arbitrary regulations for the promotion of his laudable objects: even his severe love of justice degenerated too often into a stern and cruel persecution of offenders. Yet these were but the excesses of good intentions and principles; and, if not defensible in themselves, are scarcely to be weighed in the balance against the immense concomitant benefits of intellectual knowledge and moral discipline to a rude and disorderly Age.

Estimate of
his literary
genius and
attain-
ments.

To estimate minutely the mental accomplishments of this great and good King, is the business rather of Literary than Political History. But when, on a general view of his qualities, it is considered that his early education had been defective even for his times, and that his acquisition of the Latin Language was not gained until he was near forty years of age, the knowledge of letters which he displays in his writings cannot fail to excite our surprise; and the enlargement of mind evinced in his reflections is still more admirable. His desire of information was particularly shown in geographical inquiries; and the mission on which he sent one of his Bishops, Swithelm, with alms to the Christians of Malabar,‡ from a mixed feeling of pious benevolence and curiosity, has been justly regarded as not only a strong proof of his well-informed and inquisitive spirit, but as the most memorable enterprise of its kind in that Age. The existence of no scholar, in a private station or a lettered epoch, was ever marked by more intense devotion to the acquisition of learning, than the busy and distracted life of this Sovereign of a semi-barbarous People; and while diligently attending to the occupations of State, Alfred contrived by the methodical division of his time to find leisure for the cultivation of his favourite studies. It wonderfully enhances the merit of these intellectual exertions that they were pursued

throughout a public life, not only of mental anxiety and active labour, but of almost incessant corporeal agony: for he was afflicted with a malady, which is conjectured, from the description of its symptoms, to have been an internal cancer, and which from his twentieth year to the hour of his death scarcely permitted him any respite from excruciating torture.*

The striking vicissitudes which distinguished the Reign of Alfred, and the pleasing interest with which his character is invested, have deserved some extended detail, even in the closest abridgement of our National Annals: the inferior merits and actions of his descendants may be dismissed with more brevity. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward, to the exclusion of the children of King Ethelred, whose claims to the Throne, though well founded according to our modern laws of inheritance, were rejected by the Witenagemot. This exclusion was no more than a repetition of that departure from the strict order of succession, which had procured the election of Alfred himself to the Crown, in preference to the same right in the family of his elder brother; but it now produced a Civil war. Ethelwold, the son of Ethelred, after an ineffectual attempt to maintain his pretensions against his cousin in Wessex, fled to the restless Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia; by whom his cause was readily espoused, and his title to the paramount Sovereignty of England admitted. At the head of these turbulent partisans, aided by their roving countrymen from the Baltic and France, the exile Ethelwold carried on a harassing contest against his own Nation for several years: until his death, in a battle which his Danish auxiliaries gained against the men of Kent, relieved Edward from a dangerous competitor. His fall was followed by a pacification between the King and the Northumbrian and East Anglian Danes.†

Edward, who has been distinguished from later Kings of his line and name as the Elder, was a Prince of warlike and politic genius; and in the sequel of his Reign he accomplished two important steps towards the consolidation of the Saxon Monarchy. These were the final incorporation of Mercia into Wessex; and the curbing of the Danish independence in the Eastern and Northern Provinces. The first of these objects he suspended during the life of his sister, Ethelfleda, a woman of masculine spirit and talent, who, as we have seen, jointly with her less energetic husband the Ealdorman Ethelred, had long governed Mercia, under a commission from her father Alfred. After the death of her consort, the "Lady of Mercia," as she was called, essentially aided her brother in his wars with the Danes, by her own martial exploits against the common enemy: yet, on her decease, the services which she had rendered to him did not prevent Edward from seizing the person and inheritance of her hapless daughter, on the plea of her treasonable intention to marry a Danish Prince; and thenceforth Mercia became an integral part of the West Saxon Kingdom. With a more justifiable policy, Edward had availed himself of the disunion of the numerous petty States into which the Danish Provinces were now divided, to restrain and break their power. He built or seized, in conjunction with Ethelfleda, a strong line of frontier fortresses to protect his own dominions and overawe the possessions of the enemy; he

* Asser, p. 31.

† *Ibid.*, p. 32.

‡ *Vita Sancti Neoti*, in Act. SS. Ben. vol. ii. p. 330. &c.

§ Attempts have been made, by straining some expressions in the text of Asser and others, to prove that the success of the Northmen in expelling Alfred from his Throne was favoured by the disgust which his misconduct had excited among his own subjects. But this hypothesis is unsupported by the account given in the *Saxon Chronicle*, as before cited; by which it appears clearly that both Alfred and his West Saxons were surprised by the winter expedition of Guthrun; nor is the previous disaffection of his people very reconcilable with the enthusiasm with which they hailed his reappearance only four months later.

|| *Chron. Sax.* p. 86. Hunt. p. 350.

* Asser, p. 40. 42.

† *Chron. Sax.* p. 99—101. Hunt. p. 352.

Anglo-Saxon Annals.

From A. D. 800. to A. D. 1066. Reign of Edward the Elder.

A. D. 903.

His successful projects.

He finally annexes Mercia to Wessex.

A. D. 910.

Anglo-Saxon Annals.
From A. D. 800, to A. D. 1066.

Great Battle of Brunanburgh.
A. D. 934.

Victory of Athelstan,

thenceforth the FIRST MONARCH OF ALL ENGLAND.

His protection of Foreign Princes.
Haco of Norway,

Saxon yoke. The operations of the confederacy display a degree of concert very remarkable for that Age. Anlaf, the son of the late King of Northumbria, who had retired to Ireland, and conquered a Principality for himself on its coast, was instigated by the King of the Scots to attempt the recovery of his paternal inheritance. He collected so enormous a force, as to fill above six hundred sail of shipping; and entering the Humber, he had no sooner landed on the Northumbrian shores with a mixed and formidable host, composed of Anglo-Danes, Irish, and levies of Northmen from the Baltic, than he was immediately joined, not only by the army of his Scottish ally, but bands of the Cumbrian and Welsh Britons under their respective Princes. Athelstan prepared to encounter this tremendous invasion with firmness and activity; by publishing offers of high reward to such foreign warriors as would enter his service, he allured several roving Sea-kings to his standard; and he succeeded in amusing the confederates with negotiations until his forces were assembled. At length, near some unascertained place in the North of England, named Brunanburgh, the hostile armies closed in a fierce and memorable encounter of Nations, the events of which have been equally renowned in Saxon and Scandinavian song. After a battle more obstinate, and a slaughter more terrific, as it is declared, than had ever been known since Briton and Saxon, Saxon and Northman, had striven for the mastery, the victory remained with Athelstan. Of the five confederate Nations, as they are enumerated, Danes, Norwegians, Britons, Scots, and Irish, immense multitudes fell: the son of the King of Scots, five Sea-kings, and many Jarls, were numbered with the slain; and Anlaf himself and his Scottish ally only escaped, the former to Ireland and the latter to his own Country, with a miserable remnant of their followers. This great victory secured the domestic dominion of Athelstan, and even extended his fame to foreign lands. The Princes of the old British race in Wales and Cumbria, hopeless of further resistance, thenceforth tamely submitted to his sway; those of Northman blood throughout the Danelagh had either perished, or were compelled to sink into the same dependent rank with his own Nobles; and blending the whole of the Saxon and Danish Provinces, of which the Octarchy had originally been composed, into one Kingdom, Athelstan became, in reality as in title, the FIRST MONARCH OF ALL ENGLAND.*

The remainder of his reign was undisturbed and glorious; and the high reputation which his personal virtues, even more than his successes and power, had obtained for him, not only in his own Kingdom but throughout Europe, is remarkably expressed in several transactions. Such was the respect in which he was held, that three foreign Princes were committed in infancy to his care; received their education at his Court; and were ultimately placed on their Thrones by his aid. These were Haco, King of Norway, whose virtues ob-

* *Chron. Sax.* p. 111—114. Ingulfus, p. 29—37. Malmshury, p. 49—52. *Egilli Saga*, (Johnston, *Celtic Scandinavia*;) p. 31.

† The amiable qualities as well as the talents of Athelstan are celebrated by all the Chroniclers of his Reign. The story which attributes to him the death of his eldest legitimate brother, Edwin, who perished at sea, has not seemed to deserve a place in the text, for it is at variance with every recorded trait of his benevolent character; Malmshury, in repeating it from a talled, seems to doubt its truth. (*p.* 48. *fcc.*) and the *Saxons Chronicle* merely states (*p.* 111.) the fact of the Prince's being lost at sea.

repeatedly defeated them in conflicts which he probably provoked; and, before his death, he had compelled all their Princes to acknowledge him for their lord, and to swear allegiance to his person.*

By these achievements, Edward prepared the foundation for the greatness of his more distinguished son and successor, Athelstan. This Prince, notwithstanding the probable disgrace of his birth,—for there is reason to conclude that his mother was only the concubine of Edward,—was preferred by his father's will to his legitimate brothers; and the choice of the Witenagemot confirmed the Royal testament. If the title of Athelstan to the Throne was really defective, his personal merit justified his elevation. Even in infancy he had given such indications of superior intelligence, as to have been the delight of his grandsire Alfred, who prematurely invested the child with the highest National insignia of princely and martial honour; a purple mantle, a jewelled belt, and a short sword—the *seax*, or proper weapon of the Saxon—in a golden scabbard. As Athelstan grew to man's estate, he enjoyed the good fortune to be placed under the care of his celebrated aunt, Ethelfleda, by whom he was probably instructed with characteristic ability in public affairs; and as he had reached the age of thirty years before he ascended the Throne, he commenced his reign with the advantage of a matured judgment and experience. These acquirements, founded upon an excellent understanding, enabled him to complete the successful designs of his father for the effectual reduction of all England under one sceptre. His first enterprise was to extinguish the remains of Danish independence in Northumbria. For this he found an opportunity, in the year after his accession, on the death of Sihtric, the Northman Sovereign, to whom he had shortly before given his sister in marriage; and invading that Province, he put the sons of the deceased Chieftain to flight, and annexed the whole territory to his immediate dominions. This success stimulated the ambition of Athelstan; and the dread of his power ensured its universal recognition. The Prince of Cumbria, and the King of the Scots, acknowledged themselves his subjects; and the latter, in a subsequent attempt to assert his independence, was reduced to witness the ravage of his territories, and to surrender his son as a hostage for his fidelity. Over the Britons of Cornwall and Wales, Athelstan equally extended his dominion. Hitherto the former had still continued to maintain some degree of independence of the Crown of Wessex. They possessed all the Cornish peninsula from the Land's End to the Exe, and held one half of Exeter. From that city Athelstan now expelled them; strongly fortified the place to command the surrounding territory; and obliging all its inhabitants of British race to retire beyond the Tamar, reduced them into complete subjection to the Government of Wessex. Leading his forces into Wales, he compelled all its Princes to do homage, and become tributary to him; and permanently annexing the whole of the border country, as far as the right bank of the Wye, to Mercia, he confined the future limits of Wales within that river.†

The apprehension excited by the ambitious encroachments of Athelstan among the Danish, British, and Scottish Chieftains, produced the uncommon spectacle of a general union of these rude powers to throw off the

* *Chron. Sax.* p. 101—110. Hunt. p. 353, 354.

† *Chron. Sax.* p. 111. Malmshury; p. 46—50.

History.

From
A. D.
900,
to
A. D.
1066.

Alan of
Brittany,

and Louis
IV. of
France.

Reigns of
Edmund I.
A. D.
941.

trained for him the surname of the Good; Alan of Brittany; and Louis IV. of France. The Norwegian Prince had been sent to Athelstan by his father, Harold Harfagre, renowned among the Scandinavian Sovereigns of the Age for his power and his suppression of the piracies of the Sea-kings. On the death of this Monarch, the tyranny of his eldest son induced the Norwegians to invite the younger, Haco, to the Throne; and Athelstan supplied his pupil with forces to undertake the expedition, which was crowned with success.* The ravage of Brittany by the Northmen under Rollo had occasioned the flight of many of the inhabitants to England; and among them was one of their Princes, with his infant son Alan. Athelstan undertook the education of the boy, and on his attaining the age of manhood sent him back to his Country attended by the Breton exiles and a body of Saxon warriors. By the aid of these retainers, and the native population of his race, young Alan by degrees recovered his patrimony, and became the founder of the Ducal House of Brittany.† This History of Louis IV. will be found in the Annals of France; and it may here suffice to record that the succour of Athelstan was mainly instrumental in restoring his exiled nephew and ward to his Throne.‡ Nor were the foreign relations of the English Monarch confined to these instances of protection: for the Emperor Henry the Fowler was induced by his fame to seek a family alliance with him; and obtained the sister of Athelstan for the bride of his son Otho.§

On the death of Athelstan without issue, the Crown of England devolved upon his brother Edmund. The commencement of this Prince's Reign was disturbed by a new invasion of Northumbria under Aulaf, who since his disastrous defeat at Brunanburgh, had been intimidated from any renewal of hostilities against Athelstan, but was now encouraged by the decease of that powerful Monarch to attempt the recovery of his Northumbrian patrimony. Landing from the Humber with a powerful army, he not only established himself in the North of England, but reduced Edmund, after a series of hostilities, to conclude a treaty by which the possession of the Kingdom was divided between them. The particulars of this enterprise of Aulaf are even more obscurely than briefly related in the Chronicles of the Age: but its success offers so strange a contradiction to the strength which was recently apparent in the Saxon Monarchy, that it can only be explained by the suspicion of some national disunion, or disaffection to the youthful government of Edmund. But whatever were the causes which had produced an accommodation so disgraceful to the English King, the death of his rival soon relieved him from its ignominy; and Edmund immediately seized the fortunate occasion to reestablish his dominion over the Northern Provinces. The complete restoration of his authority is proved by his subsequent conquest of the British Principality of Cumbria or Strathclyde, which, after deposing its Sovereign, he bestowed upon Malcolm, King of Scots, subject to the condition that he should hold it under the Crown of England, and render aid in opposing all future invasions of the Northmen. The short Reign of Edmund was closed by a tragical event,

of which the details are involved in much uncertainty. He was murdered during a banquet, probably in some drunken brawl; but, according to the tale usually received, by a notorious robber named Leof, who, having some years before been banished for his crimes, audaciously forced himself into the Royal presence. Enraged at the intrusion, the King is said to have started from his seat and seized him by the hair, when the outlaw plunged a dagger into his breast. The King expired on the spot; and the murderer was immediately put to death by his attendants. There are other versions of the story differing essentially in their details. But in all, the single, indisputable circumstance most worthy of observation is that which betrays the barbarous state of manners: the casual murder of the King in an hour of festivity.*

Although Edmund left two infant sons, the Crown was bestowed by a Saxon Witenagemot, at which some of the Welsh Princes appear to have assisted, upon his brother Edred. The only event worthy of record in the brief reign of this Prince was the final reduction of the Northumbrian Danes into immediate dependence on the English Crown, and the complete annexation of their State to the Saxon Kingdom. Availing himself of the provocation afforded by their repeated revolts, and the weakness engendered by the rivalry of their contending Chiefs, Edred led a large army into their Country; punished their rebellion by the cruel devastation of many of its finest districts; and carried off all the principal Nobles as captives or hostages. To consolidate his authority, he parcelled the whole of the North of England into Counties with subdivisions similar to those of the Saxon Provinces; committed the administration of each district to an officer of his own appointment; and for ever abolishing the regal title which the Danish Chieftains had arrogated, placed the whole of Northumbria under the superintendence of a single Nobleman with the title of Earl. These measures were effectual; and with the settlement imposed by Edred, terminated the long struggle of the Northmen for independence in those seats, which they had originally won from the Anglo-Saxons.†

After wearing the Crown no more than nine years, Edred, whose whole life had been a prey to disease, died without leaving any children, and was succeeded by Edwin, or Edwy, the eldest of his two nephews, who appears to have been, at the epoch of his accession, scarcely eighteen years of age. Inglorious in its political relations, and unfortunate in its domestic occurrences, the reign of Edwin might claim little notice, if its principal incident had not alternately afforded a subject for popular romance and controversial zeal. In our own times, at the distance of nine centuries, the insignificant quarrel of a Saxon Prince and a Romish Saint has been revived in a spirit which betrays at least as much polemical virulence as anxiety for Historical truth; and modern research into so unimportant a part of our annals has been busily occupied with the character and actions of the canonized Monk. This was the famous Dunstan, first Abbot of Glastonbury, and afterwards

* Malmesbury, p. 51. Snorre, p. 121—159.

† Chron. Nantecense, in *Recueil des Hist. Franç.* vol. viii. p. 276.

‡ Chron. Flodoardi, (in eodem opere,) vol. viii. p. 184. 193, &c.

§ Ingulf, p. 39. Hrosvida, de *Gestis Oddonis*, p. 165, &c.

* Chron. Sar. p. 114, 115. Ingulf, p. 29, 30. Malmesbury, p. 53.

† Chron. Sar. p. 115. Ingulf, p. 30—41.

‡ Among the extant lives of Dunstan most usually consulted, are those by Osborne, (published in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii.) by Eadmer, (of which extracts are printed in the same volume.)

Anglo-Saxon
Annals
From
A. D.
502,
to
A. D.
1066.

and Earl
J. B.
946.

Final ob-
servation
[unclear]
[unclear]
J. B.
946.

Annals
of 1270
J. B.
946.

Life of
Dunstan

Anglo-Saxon
Annals.

From
A. D.
800
to
A. D.
1066.

Rise of
Ecclesiasti-
cal and Po-
litical in-
fluence.

His quarrel
with Edwin,

History. Archbishop of Canterbury; whose genius constituted him the most remarkable man of his Country and Age; and whose ambitious ascendancy in Civil and Ecclesiastical affairs renders him the most prominent actor in the reigns of Edwin and his successor. The birth of Dunstan was noble; and the care of his education having been intrusted to the Clergy of Glastonbury, the most celebrated seat of learning in the Kingdom, he was early initiated into all the Sciences and accomplishments, such as they were, of which the times could boast. His youth was already distinguished by these acquirements, when his intense application to study produced a violent illness, which seems to have had a remarkable effect upon his subsequent character and conduct in life. His disorder terminated in delirium; and it is recorded that, during its paroxysm, he leapt from his couch, wandered to the roof of the Church of Glastonbury, and fell unhurt into the aisle. After this providential escape, which was magnified into a miracle, he was introduced by his uncle, Athelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the Court of Athelstan, where his general talents, and especially his proficiency in music, at first excited the interest and amused the leisure of the King. But the envious whispers of rivals poisoned the Royal ear; a suspicion, the honourable evidence of his superiority, that he was indebted for his accomplishments to magical practices, or some other charge less absurd, was employed to alienate the growing favour of Athelstan; and the young aspirant being driven from the Court, withdrew to the protection of his uncle. At this epoch he formed an attachment to a young maiden of his own rank, and would have wedded her: but the Archbishop opposed the union, and earnestly exhorted him to embrace the Monastic profession. His refusal was followed by a second violent illness, caused probably by mental anxiety and the twofold disappointment of youthful ambition and love; the suggestions of his Ecclesiastical friends taught him to consider the sufferings and the hallucinations of disease as special signs of the Divine Will; and when he arose from a sick bed, he was an altered man. Renouncing the world, he returned to the place of his education; took the Monastic vows; and for some years served the church of Glastonbury. But his ardent spirit, wounded by blighted passions and darkened by fanaticism, was incapable of the calmness of true devotion. Not contented with observing the usual obligations of cloistered discipline, he imposed on himself the most extravagant severities, and in a life of seclusion and penance, fed the malady of an afflicted heart and a disturbed imagination. It need not be doubted that these austerities increased the mental disorder to which he had already been subject. He fancied himself assailed by the powers of darkness; he related both his combats with the Evil One, and the celestial visions which comforted his victorious faith; and the particulars of these spiritual encounters were probably at first detailed by himself, and received by his superstitious auditory, with equal sincerity.*

and a MS. in the British Museum (Cleopatra, B 13.) quoted by Mr. Turner.

* Osborn, *Vita Dunstani*, (p. 88. 97.) It is this Writer who relates the well-known tale of St. Dunstan's conflict with the Devil. While the Saint was busily engaged during the night in his favourite exercise of working metals, the tempter thrust his head in at the window of the lonely cell; and his sturdy antagonist immediately seized him by the nose with a pair of red-hot pincers,

Up to this epoch, the conduct of Dunstan is readily explicable without any presumption of intentional fraud. It is evident from the repeated effects of illness that he had that unhappy constitutional predisposition to enthusiasm, which is not unfrequently found in conjunction with the most acute intellectual powers, and perfectly compatible with their vigorous exercise. It was the misfortune of his early years to be thwarted in the pursuit of honourable distinction and the indulgence of virtuous affection; and under the temporary pressure of the agonizing struggles and consequent derangement of his mind, he became a victim to a mistaken sense of duty and a prey to the fatal illusions of solitude. His imaginative genius misled his feelings; and his ardent piety degenerated into fanaticism. But, in the history of the human mind, from fanaticism, when allied to great and ambitious talents, there has ever been found a sure stage of progression to recovered judgment and final imposture. At that period in the life of Dunstan this change was wrought, it is not difficult to conjecture. The fame of his trials and his sanctity quickly spread from the vicinity of his cell to the remotest parts of the Kingdom; and Edmund, the successor of Athelstan, invited the holy recluse to that Court, from which the young and accomplished Thegn had been ignominiously driven. Dunstan eagerly obeyed the call; for his ambition had slumbered not died, its objects were partially changed not its impulses extinguished; and emerging from his narrow cell, the Monk, now aspiring to establish his own power on the aggrandizement of his Order, by degrees acquired the greatest influence over the Ecclesiastical and Civil administration of the Kingdom. By Edmund he was made Abbot of Glastonbury, and treated with much veneration; and Edred not only took him for the spiritual director of his conscience, but surrendered to him the charge of all his earthly treasures, and the virtual government of the State.*

From this elevation Dunstan sustained a temporary fall on the death of his Royal patron. Edwin, who had been taught to consider himself wrongfully excluded from the possession of his Crown by the usurpation of his uncle, no sooner ascended the throne than he rashly began to betray his distrust and hatred towards all the favourites of the late reign, and especially towards Dunstan. The ministers of Edred were expelled from their offices; and the Clergy, who had received many rich endowments through the influence of the Abbot of Glastonbury, were violently dispossessed. It is not safe to receive implicitly the odious portrait which the Monkish Chroniclers, with no unnatural zeal for their outraged Order, have drawn of the vices of Edwin; but amidst their probable exaggerations it may be discerned that in the young King, with a beauty of person which obtained for him the surname of the Fair, were united many mental deformities: he was vain and debauched, passionate and tyrannical. These qualities might excite the indignation of the austere Abbot of Glastonbury: it is certain that they were shortly rendered a pretext for the most audacious attack of a subject upon the personal dignity of a Sovereign, of which History has any example. On the day of his coronation, Edwin retired early from the banquet, while

which it chanced that he was using. The Devil roared lustily with the pain; and the fact was indisputable, for his bellows were heard by all the neighbourhood in the midnight stillness.

* Osborn, p. 97. 103.

History.

From

A. D.

800.

to

A. D.

1066.

and personal out-
rage on the
King.Story of
Elgiva.Banishment
of Dunstan
and the
Monks.Rivalry of
the Monas-
tic and Se-
cular
Clergy.

his Nobles were yet indulging that habit of deep carousal to which the Saxon, like all the Teutonic races, were too much addicted. The absence of the King displeased the company; and Dunstan and a Bishop undertook to bring him back to the hall. They are reported to have found him, in an inner chamber of the Palace, seated with two ladies, mother and daughter, to one of whom, Ethelgiva, or Elgiva, he was tenderly attached. The exact nature of their union has been a disputed point: by the Monkish Writers she is called his mistress; but being also his kinswoman, and, as some authorities make her, his wife, it is altogether most probable that the reproach of concubinage was directed only against a marriage within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the Canon Law. But however this may have been, Dunstan and his associate, bursting upon the privacy of the King, and loading both ladies with every coarse invective, dragged their Sovereign by force from their society into the revelling assembly of his Nobles. Thus ignominiously insulted and exposed to contempt before all the Peers of his Realm, we need not wonder that the Royal youth impetuously revenged the indignity which had been offered to him as a Man and a King. He sent an armed force to Glastonbury to seize on the property of Dunstan and expel him from his Monastery; banished him from England; and inflicted the same proscription on the Monks throughout the Kingdom, of whom the great Abbot had been the principal protector.*

In the prosecution of these violent measures, there was involved a far wider subject of hostility than the personal quarrel of Dunstan and the King. This was no less than the rivalry of the Secular and Monastic Clergy. The History of the establishment and growth of the famous Rule of St. Benedict belongs to the Ecclesiastical Division of these pages; but it is here necessary to observe that Dunstan, in concert with Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, had ardently advocated that system of Monastic government, and enjoined its observance on the Religious Houses in England. In introducing the many real reforms of the Benedictine discipline, there is no reason to doubt that he acted in sincere consistency with those stern principles of abstinence, which he imposed in his own case upon every passion but ambition. But his efforts to enforce

and extend the Monastic vow of celibacy drew him and his followers into collision with the Secular Clergy, who appear to have been generally married; and they naturally regarded the banishment of Dunstan and his Monks as the triumph of their party in the Church.

By this act, indeed, the King had proclaimed himself the patron of the Secular Clergy; but he soon found that their influence was inferior to that of their rivals. The sanctity of Dunstan, and the reformations of discipline which he had introduced, had rendered him and the Monks equally popular with the Nation; and they were scarcely banished before a general insurrection, instigated, or at least headed, by the Archbishop Odo, broke out in various parts of England. A sentence of divorce or separation, to which the young King was compelled to yield, was passed by Odo against Elgiva; and after being torn from her Royal husband, or lover, and cruelly branded in the face with hot iron, she was banished, or, as it is said, sold for a slave, into Ireland. The horrible sequel of her fate has given a still more touching interest to her romantic story: having contrived to rejoin the King, she was seized, barbarously hamstringed by the command of Odo, and expired under this miserable torture. The calamities which terminated the life and reign of Edwin himself are only obscurely intimated. The insurgents having set up his younger brother Edgar against him with the Royal title, he was first reduced, after a short and ineffectual struggle, to and of Ed consent to a partition of the Kingdom, and soon after perished prematurely and wretchedly, the victim either of assassination or grief.*

On the death of Edwin, the possession of the whole Kingdom devolved upon Edgar, whose fortunate reign of sixteen years offers a singular interval of undisturbed peace in the troubled series of the Anglo-Saxon Annals. For this career of prosperity, it is probable that the young Monarch was originally in a great measure indebted to the talents of Dunstan. Immediately after the success of the rebellion against Edwin, the Abbot of Glastonbury had been recalled from exile by his party; and Edgar resigned himself entirely to the counsels of his brother's enemy. Dunstan was shortly promoted, first to the See of Worcester, next to that of London, and finally to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The circumstances of his elevation to this last dignity are illustrative both of the boundless influence which he had acquired, and of the unscrupulous spirit in which he had learnt to indulge his ambition. At an earlier stage in his career, whether with sincere or affected humility, he had refused a Bishopric; he now not only held a plurality of Sees, but caused the Primate Brithelm, a man of acknowledged piety and meekness, to be displaced to make room for himself. The pretext was Brithelm's want of energy in the enforcement of Ecclesiastical discipline; and the authority of the Witenagemot was obtained for his removal: but it can scarcely be doubted that the instigator of his deprivation was the powerful minister who reaped the advantage of his fall. Thus invested with the highest functions both of Civil and Ecclesiastical government, Dunstan proceeded vigorously in the exaltation of his Order; and he certainly appears, while he augmented their wealth and power, to have reformed the disorders of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which had suffered equally in its tem-

* Osborne, p. 104, 105. Malmesbury, p. 55, &c. It would be foreign to the purpose of this Work to enter minutely into the merits of the modern controversy on the circumstances of Edwin's reign, which have been related in the text. In his zeal for the honour of a Romish Saint, Dr. Lingard has laboured to expose the views of Edwin and the criminality of his union with Elgiva; and it may be conceded to his arguments that our Historians, with an opposite bias, had too positively assumed the innocence of a dubious connection. But the settlement of a question, at once so obscure in itself and so utterly inconsequential in a Historical point of view, will scarcely be received by any decent reader as an excuse for introducing those gross obsecrations from the Monkish Chronicles with which he has defiled his pages; nor, whatever might be the demerits of the lady, could they justify the insolent intrusion of the Monk upon the privacy of his Sovereign, or the revolting cruelties which his party subsequently inflicted upon the unhappy Elgiva. The favourable portrait of Dunstan, which he found in the Monkish Writers, it was natural that the Roman Catholic Historian should copy; the miracles of the Saint, which are attested on precisely the same authority with his virtues, it was discreet to reject: but that the outrage of Dunstan upon the Royal person should seem an occasion for applause is strange; and it is not easy to refuse assent to the conclusion of Mr. Turner, that "as an Ecclesiastic he should not have compelled Edwin to a scene of inebriety; as a subject it was treasonable to offer violence to his Prince."

* Ingulf, p. 41. Malmesbury, p. 55. Vide also a note (No. 67. by Mr. Turner, *Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 409.

poralities and discipline amidst the long calamities of the Danish invasions. The plans of Dunstan were zealously supported by the authority and munificence of Edgar; and in the numerous Monasteries for which the Archbishop obtained large endowments from the King, the provisions of the Benedictine rule were introduced in all their strictness.*

These measures were not effected without some persecuting violence against the Secular Clergy: but the efforts of Dunstan were seconded by the ability of two dependents, Oswald and Athelwold, whom he raised to the Episcopal dignity, and also associated with himself in the Civil government of the State. His own sagacity was proved in the selection of these men, who served his views with equal talent and fidelity; and to the wisdom and activity of their joint administration may with great probability be ascribed the uninterrupted prosperity of Edgar's reign. Under a guidance, indeed, to which he appears to have implicitly submitted, that young Monarch acquired and enjoyed a degree of security and power unknown to the greatest of his predecessors. Not only was the tranquillity of his Kingdom undisturbed, but his Sovereignty was acknowledged by all the minor Princes of the Island. For the protection of the coasts of the Kingdom, large fleets were maintained in different stations, from which the King, annually embarking in succession, cruised round the Island; and by this display of maritime strength and preparation, deterred the Northman pirates from any attempt to renew their invasions.† By affecting a partiality for his own Danish subjects in East Anglia and Northumbria, he secured their attachment to his government and person, while he not the less effectually curbed their independence; and he especially gratified their national pride by permitting them to choose their own laws.‡ Other examples of the legislation of this reign, which have been preserved in the Saxon Codes, are favourable to the memory of Edgar and his ministers: such as the restoration of the debased coinage to a purer standard; and some provisions for the equal and secure administration of justice against robberies and outrages on the public peace.§ One act of useful policy has often been quoted in favour of Edgar: in lieu of the tribute exacted by his predecessors from the Welsh, he is said to have required an annual offering of the heads of three hundred wolves; and the extirpation of those ravenous animals is attributed to this salutary measure.]

Notwithstanding the recorded merits of his government, however, and although the Monkish Chroniclers have laboured to eulogize their patron as assiduously as they have exaggerated the vices of his brother, there are not wanting proofs that the successful life of Edgar was more licentious than the unfortunate career of Edwinn. It is acknowledged that he carried off a lady from a Nunnery by force, and made her the victim of his brutal violence; for which Dunstan indeed subjected him to a long and apparently severe penance, since it required him to fast twice a week for seven years and to abstain from wearing his Crown: but its chief obligation was artfully converted into an expedient for in-

creasing the power and wealth of the Monastic Order, by new religious foundations.* Other tales, also, resting on inferior evidence but still attesting the popular opinion of his immorality, have been preserved: but their details are unfit for these pages.† The well-known story of his second marriage with the beautiful Elfrieda should perhaps be received with some suspicion, because its circumstances are unnoticed by the Writers who lived nearest to the event, by whom it is merely said that the King married Elfrieda after the death of her husband: but the union, whether guiltless or otherwise, proved equally calamitous in its fruits. Edgar died at an early age, leaving two sons, Edward by a former Queen, and Ethelred by the second marriage, the first still a minor, and the other a child; and the ambition of Elfrieda was immediately excited to obtain the succession to the throne for her own offspring, that she might herself rule in his name.‡

Her machinations were at first unsuccessful. Although she placed herself, for the attainment of her ends, at the head of a party in opposition to Dunstan, she could neither overthrow the power of that Prelate in the State, nor prevent him from securing the suffrages of a Witenagemot in favour of the rightful claim of her step-son to the Crown. The accession of young Edward confirmed the authority of Dunstan: but the arts of Elfrieda had revived the contest between the Secular and Monastic Clergy for the temporalities of the Church; and the peace of the Kingdom was disturbed by a struggle between the two factions which maintained those conflicting interests. But the good fortune or dexterity of Dunstan finally triumphed; and his opponents were confounded by two events, which the superstition of the Age attributed to the miraculous interposition of Heaven. During a stormy Synod held in the Cathedral at Winchester, a crucifix in the wall is said, by the Biographers of the Saint, to have received the gift of speech, and to have pronounced the Divine Will in favour of the Monastic Order. If this venacious oracle did not silence the pretensions of the Secular Clergy, their supporters were shortly warned to renounce their cause by a more tragical occurrence. In a Witenagemot, summoned at Calne in Wiltshire, where the claims of the rival Orders were violently debated, Dunstan had just declared that he committed the protection of the Church to Christ, when the floor of the council-chamber suddenly gave way at the end on which the opponents of the Monastic Order were collected; and being precipitated to the earth below, they were all either killed or dangerously hurt: while the Archbishop and his friends remained on their side of the apartment unmoved and uninjured. Modern writers have not hesitated to ascribe this catastrophe to the deliberate preparation of Dunstan: but the obvious difficulties of such a contrivance may be received as a sufficient reason for at least refusing to affix the reproach of so diabolical a plot with positiveness on his memory.§ It is more probable that he dexterously

Anglo-Saxon Annals.

From A. D. 800, to A. D. 1066,

His death. A. D. 975.

Accession of Edward II. (the Martyr.)

* Osberne, *Vita Dunstani*, p. 111. Malmbury, p. 60.

† Malmbury, *ubi supra*.

‡ Chron. Sax. p. 122. Ingulf, p. 54. Osberne, p. 112.

§ Osberne, p. 113—114. Radmer, *Vita Dunstani*, p. 219—220. Chron. Sax. p. 123, 124. Ingulf, p. 54. Malmbury, p. 61. Dr. Lingard has made a bold effort to discard the tales of the miracles attributed to Dunstan, at Winchester and Calne, by the two Writers first quoted above. Yet these are the very authorities on which, in other respects, he rests his defence of the conduct of the Saint; and, in fact, as almost all we know of Dunstan is gathered from his Monkish eulogists, it is precisely from their panegyrics that the most suspicious circumstances of his conduct have been exposed, and that the most unfavourable conclusions against him are deducible.

* Osberne, *Vita Dunstani*, p. 108—111. Ingulf, p. 45—47. Chron. Sax. p. 117.

† Chron. Sax. p. 121. Malmbury, p. 59. Matt. West. p. 375.

‡ Chron. Sax. p. 116. *Leges Sax. (apud Wilkins)* p. 80. 82.

§ Chron. Sax. *ubi supra*. *Leges*, p. 77. 80.

|| Malmbury, p. 59.

History. improved an accident, as beneficial to his own party as it was calamitous for his opponents; and this supposition, which still leaves him chargeable with the secondary guilt of counterfeiting a miracle to impose upon the credulity of a superstitious People, is in perfect agreement with other events of his life.

From Foiled in her intrigues by the superior artifice of Dunstan, Elfrida had now recourse to assassination; and before he had completed the fourth year of his Reign, her step-son became the victim of her wicked ambition. It chanced, as the young King was hunting in the vicinity of Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire, her residence, that he unsuspectingly and unattended stopped at her gate to see her and his brother. She went out to receive him with a smiling countenance; but he declined to alight, and having requested a cup of mead, was in the act of raising the goblet to his lips, when he was treacherously stabbed in the back by one of her retainers. Feeling himself wounded, he had just strength to give the spur to his steed, before he fell from his saddle, and was dragged by the stirrup, until his attendants, tracking his course in his blood, overtook his lifeless body, and privately buried it.* The authoress of this foul tragedy was not only suffered to escape the punishment of her atrocious guilt, but in a great measure reaped its expected fruits. As her son, Ethelred, was now become, by the murder of his brother, the last scion of the House of Cerdic, Dunstan could not prevent his elevation to the vacant Throne; and during his minority, Elfrida, although covered with the public execration, succeeded in usurping a large share of the administration of government. As Ethelred, however, advanced towards manhood, her influence visibly declined; and probably that of Dunstan again acquired the ascendancy. For, a few years after the murder of Edward, we find the Archbishop ostentatiously taking up his remains to inter them with regal honours at Shaftesbury; while Elfrida, withdrawing from the Court of her son, sought a shelter from the abhorrence of the Nation in Monastic seclusion, and there, in mortified pride or penitence, terminated her flagitious existence. The close of Dunstan's ambitious and busy career offers a contrast of undiminished prosperity. That the last years of his life are little recorded, is the surest proof that they were undisturbed; and he ended his long and fortunate life just in time to escape the worst calamities of foreign war and domestic disunion, with which his devoted Country was on the eve of being overwhelmed.†

Accession of Ethelred 11.

Last years of Dunstan.

Disastrous reign of Ethelred, "the Unready."

We now enter upon the most disgraceful and calamitous epoch in the Anglo-Saxon Annals. The personal character of Ethelred perhaps produced, and certainly aggravated, the miseries of his Reign. It is said that his spirit had been broken in childhood by the tyranny of his mother; and the national Chroniclers have preserved an anecdote as creditable to his youthful feelings as it is expressive of her barbarous temper. When the boy King wept at the murder of a beloved brother which had produced his untimely and inauspicious accession to the Throne, Elfrida chastised his reproachful tears with so much severity that his life was endangered. The pusillanimity which marked his conduct in after life has apparently, not without reason, been ascribed to the

influence exercised over his dawning character by the perpetual terror, through which so unnatural a mother may have endeavoured to bend his temper into object submission to her will.‡ He indeed was delivered from her yoke before he attained the maturity of his age; but he early displayed an insensibility of spirit to ought save pleasure, which presented an ignoble contrast with the commanding dignity and gracefulness of person for which he was distinguished; and the appropriate surname of "The Unready" which his subjects, in the quaint language of the times, learned to bestow upon him, marks their appreciation of the prevailing indolence of his character. Although himself innocent of the murder of his brother, the circumstances of his accession had been originally associated in the minds of the People with his mother's guilt; their affection was withheld from his youth; and in his later years their indifference was changed into contempt and hatred by his slothful neglect of public duties, the voluptuous indulgence of his private life, and his utter disregard for the opinions and feelings, the wants and sufferings of the Nation.¶

England had now for almost a Century enjoyed an intermission from the ancient ravages of the Northmen; and it cannot be doubted that this long interval of security had produced its natural fruits of increasing prosperity and civilization. While the watchfulness with which, during this period, the coasts of the Island were guarded, had deterred or discouraged the Northern Pirates from continuing their assaults, the state of Scandinavia itself had become less favourable for such enterprises. There had appeared more than one race of Princes whose increasing and permanent dominion over the shores of the Baltic, rendered it their interest to suppress piracy; the cruel profession of the Sea-kings was gradually proscribed; and the benign influence of Christianity, the parent and harbinger of every social good, began slowly to penetrate into the original seats of the most ferocious idolatry. The spirit of piratical adventure, however, though in its last stage, was not yet finally extirpated; a few Sea-kings still roved the Ocean; and it was during the minority of Ethelred, in the third year after his accession, that one of these Chiefs, with a small squadron ventured the first attempt to renew the predatory descents of his forefathers on the English shores. Landing near Southampton, he plundered that place, and encouraged by impunity, repeated his assaults in the same and the following season, on the coasts of Thanet, Devon, and Cornwall. The success of these and other marauding assaults by which they were immediately followed, although conducted on a small scale, and for no other object than desultory pillage, were of fatal importance in revivifying the careless imbecility of Ethelred's government, and the defenceless condition to which it exposed his Kingdom. In a few years after the first descent of the pirates, the effects of this discovery were fully developed. A far more numerous fleet appeared on the East Anglian coast; and a formidable body of Northmen, disembarking from their ships, surprised Ipswich, penetrated through the country to Malden, and there, after an obstinate conflict, defeated and slew the Ealdorman, Britnoth. The King, started from his indolent repose, was terrified at this first approach of real danger; and instead of opposing the

* Chron. Sax. p. 124. Ingulf. p. 54. Malmesbury. p. 61.

† Chron. Sax. p. 125, 126. Malmesbury. p. 62. Ingulf. p. 56.

¶ Turner, *Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 468.

‡ Ingulf. p. 55, 56. Malmesbury. p. 63. Matt. West. p. 378.

History. invaders in the field, he had the pusillanimity, on the
From counsel of Archbishop Siric, the successor of Dunstan,
A. D. to purchase their retreat by a payment of ten thousand
500. pounds of silver.*

to This disgraceful expedient was not indeed the first
A. D. example of its kind; but it had never before been used
1066. under circumstances so little justifiable: since the Kingdom
was not, as in the time of Alfred, exhausted by a
long and devastating contest. The contribution now
levied to supply the demand of the invaders was long
remembered by the Nation as the precedent for that
odious impost, under the title of Danegelt, which was
continued for Ages after all pretext for its appropriation
had ceased; and the very origin of direct taxation in
this Country is referred, by our ancient Annalists, to this
ignominious source.† It need not be said that a pro-
cedure at once cowardly and impolitic, so far from obtain-
ing a cessation of the Northman assaults, only served to
entail their rapid and audacious repetition. The condi-
tion of the devoted Kingdom soon became really
desperate; and as often as the Witegenmot were roused
to more manly counsels, the public preparations were
rendered abortive by the sloth or timidity of the King,
the vices of his government, the treason of the Nobles,
and the general disaffection of the People. Among the
worst traitors to the national cause at this shameful and
misera- ble period, the name of Elfric, Ealdorman of
Mercia, has obtained an infamous distinction. In some
vicissitudes of faction, which are only obscurely intimated,
this man had been first driven into banishment,
but afterwards reinstated in his Government; and was
now imprudently intrusted with a principal command
against the enemy. In this situation, under some impulse
of revenge, or in the mere wantonness of treachery, he
seized the critical moment at which a Danish naval
armament might have been surprised in port, to give
timely intelligence of their danger and to join their
standard with his retainers. He shared their flight, and
escaped the pursuit of the Anglo-Saxon fleet: but his
son being captured, Ethelred took a barbarous and das-
tardly vengeance for the crimes of the father by causing
the youth to be deprived of his eyes. The North-
men shortly transferring the scene of invasion from the
Southern shores of the Kingdom to the banks of the
Humber, the three principal Chieftains who were charged
with the defence of the district imitated the example
of Elfric, and went over to the enemy.‡

But such desultory hostilities were but the prelude to
more systematic plans of invasion; and when a confeder-
ate armament, led in person by Sweyn and Olave,
the Kings of Denmark and Norway, entered the Thames,
the war assumed the aspect, as of old, of a national
contest between the Saxon and Northman races. An
attack made by the two Scandinavian Kings upon
London was repelled: but they ravaged the surrounding
Counties with impunity; and Ethelred a second time
had recourse to money instead of arms. For sixteen
thousand pounds of silver, he purchased a Peace from the
invaders, upon the further condition of providing them
winter quarters at Southampton. By the desertion of
Olave, who had already embraced Christianity, and now,
on receiving the rite of confirmation from two of the
English Bishops, swore never again to draw his sword

against their Nation, Sweyn was compelled also to retire
with his diminished forces: but for the next seven
years the coasts of the Island were not the less a prey
to perpetual ravages; and at length, when a new
Danish host had landed in Hampshire, and extended
its devastations throughout the West of England, its
retreat was again purchased by a third, and still more
enormous tribute, of twenty-four thousand pounds of
silver.*

It is a trite observation that the cowardly are ever
cruel; and if any act were now wanting to complete
the degradation of the English Nation, it was supplied
by the next measure to which the feeble Ethelred was
stimulated by his perfidious and pusillanimous coun-
sellors. The last ignominious pacification was followed
by the most atrocious transaction in the Anglo-Saxon
Annals. This was the memorable massacre of the
Danish residents in England. The precise nature of
the instigation to this revolting deed, the extent of the
slaughter, and the description and number of its victims,
are points involved in much uncertainty: the perpetra-
tion of the crime is historically indisputable, and
its enormity can neither be mitigated nor increased by
any computation of the slain. It is evident from the
recorded facts that numbers of Northmen, under what-
ever circumstances, were living indiscriminately among
the natives in every City, Burgh, and County; and it has
been plausibly conjectured, that these foreigners were
mercenaries in the pay of Ethelred, who were quartered
upon the inhabitants, and whose fidelity had become as
suspicious as their insolence was insupportable. It has
also been justly argued that the proscription could not
have embraced all families of Northman descent in the
Island: since they filled the North-Eastern Provinces,
and composed a third part of the whole population.†
But it is equally incontrovertible that, not merely the
foreign stipendiaries, but many distinguished personages
of Northman blood who were allied by the dearest ties
with Saxon families, were inhumanly included in the
bloody catastrophe. On St. Brice's Eve, every city
throughout the Kingdom received secret instructions
from Ethelred for a simultaneous massacre of the for-
eigners on the morrow of the Festival. These orders were
executed by a ferocious populace with every aggravation
of brutality and horror which national hate could inspire
or devise; men, women, and even infants at the breast,
were remorselessly butchered; neither the bonds of in-
termarriage nor friendship between individuals of the
two races were respected; nor did even a community of
Religion obtain mercy for those Christian Danes, who
having taken refuge in the Churches, were slain around
the Altars to which they clung. Among these victims
was a Princess, whose rank and character have preserved
a particular record of her sufferings, and drew down a
signal vengeance upon the whole Kingdom. Gunhilda,
the sister of Sweyn, a woman of remarkable beauty and
talents, had embraced Christianity, and wedded a Chief-
tain of Danish race, who had settled in England and
been intrusted with a high command. He is accused
of having acted treacherously in the last invasion of his
Countrymen; and Gunhilda, after being made the eye-
witness of his murder and that of her innocent children,
by order of Edric, the infamous favourite of Ethelred,

Anglo-
Saxon
Annals.
From.
A. D.
890.
to
A. D.
1066.
General
massacre of
the Danes in
England.
A. D.
1002.

in
the
ann.
i. ii.
992.

i. ii.
998.

note of
King
Edward
i. ii.
991.

in
the
ann.
i. ii.
992.

* Chron. Sax. p. 125, 126. Malmesbury, p. 62.

† Hunt, p. 357. Chron. Sax. and Malmesbury, *ubi supra*.

‡ Chron. Sax. p. 127. Malmesbury, p. 62.

* Chron. Sax. p. 128—132. Malmesbury, p. 63.

† Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 346. Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 473. note.

History.

From
A. D.
860.to
A. D.
1066.Rerenged
by a new
invasion
under
Sweyn of
Denmark.

A. D.

1003.

Frightful
desolation
of England.

A. D.

1007.

A. D.

1009.

Final invasion
and conquest
of England by
Sweyn.

A. D.

1013.

was herself beheaded. In the bitterness of death she is said to have foreboded the stern vengeance which her brother would one day exact from the whole English Nation; and the event soon abundantly realized her prediction.*

In the Summer after the massacre of St. Brice's Day, the Danish Monarch and his host, burning to revenge the fate of their Countrymen, landed near Exeter, and commenced a career of retributive and frightful devastation, which continued with little cessation for above four years. The invaders successively penetrated into every part of the Kingdom; each city which they captured was reduced to ashes; each district which they overran was uniformly desolated with fire and the sword; and all the wretched inhabitants who fell into their hands suffered death in dreadful varieties of torture. As often as despair nerved the People to resistance, treason and imbecility nerved the efforts of their native courage; and one instance of infatuation, in the employment of the convicted traitor Elfric, who had recovered the favour of Ethelred only to repeat his treason, may sufficiently exemplify the whole conduct of the war. It was at length terminated, when the vengeance of Sweyn was satiated in blood and conflagration, by his acceptance of thirty-six thousand pounds of silver as the price of Peace: an immense sum to be levied on the Kingdom in that Age, and after the previous exactions and desolation. To complete the wretchedness of the People, the ravages of the merciless invaders produced several seasons of grievous famine; a contagious distemper raged among the cattle; and to sum up the catalogue of horrors, this murrain was followed by a pestilence equally destructive to human life.†

These afflictions produced little respite from the calamities of warfare. The retirement of the Danish Sovereign himself was followed by a new and equally formidable invasion of another Northman host under the Sea-king Thurkill; and the same scenes of ruin were renewed. A vigorous national exertion was now made to repel the enemy: but a great armament thus collected was, as usual, rendered useless and disorganized by the deadly feuds of the Nobles, and the misconduct of Edric, whom we have before mentioned, a man of low birth and infamous character, but of eminent ability, whom the favour of Ethelred had elevated to the highest authority in the State. He was now created Ealdorman of Mercia; and the same perfidious ambition and traitorous machinations, by which had been caused many of the past, were now employed to deepen the subsequent, calamities of his Country. But the patience of the reader would only be wearied, and his attention disgusted, by an attempt to pursue the details of the incessant ravages and treasons, of which the History of this disgraceful Reign is compounded. A third invasion of Sweyn, with an army more numerous and better appointed than in either of his preceding expeditions, was followed by the conquest of great part of the Kingdom; and so completely was the spirit of the Nation now broken, that, according to the confession of the *Saxon Chronicle*, one Dane was accounted equal in battle to ten Englishmen. Ethelred fled in despair to the Court of Richard Duke of Normandy, whose sister, Emma, he had

married; and the victorious Sweyn became the first Northman King of England.*

From this epoch, therefore, may be dated the establishment of their Dynasty in our Island. This strange and sudden revolution was not wholly the effect of conquest: for there are many proofs that the misgovernment of Ethelred had produced a general disaffection and alienation among his People; and that finding themselves left by their own unworthy Monarch a prey to the invaders, they at length sought safety and repose by a voluntary transference of their allegiance to a foreign sceptre. But the unexpected death of Sweyn, only a few weeks after the flight of Ethelred, revived the hope of national independence; and the Saxon Nobles obtaining an oath from the fugitive King that he would govern more justly than heretofore, his return upon this condition was welcomed with acclamations. Sweyn, by his last testament, had appointed his son Canute to succeed him: but that Prince was at first unable to maintain his power, and compelled to desert his adherents and retire to Denmark. He soon, however, reappeared in greater force, and acquired new strength by the continued misconduct and tyranny of Ethelred. The death of that Monarch at this juncture relieved the Kingdom from the burthen of his useless and mischievous existence; and the sinking cause of the House of Cerdic was, for a few months, nobly though ineffectually sustained by the gallantry of his eldest son and successor, Edmund:—whose martial prowess obtained for him the surname of "Ironside," and the memory of whose deeds, exaggerated by popular romance, was long cherished in affectionate admiration by the English. After an obstinate and indecisive struggle, throughout which the efforts of Edmund were rendered abortive by the perfidy of Edric, the Saxon Prince was compelled to conclude a pacification with the Northman, whereby they divided England between them. To Canute, whose partisans probably were most numerous in the old Danish Provinces, Edmund resigned all the Kingdom Northward of the Thames: but he survived this afflictive Treaty no more than a month; and on his premature death, of which the mode and the cause are left by contemporary writers in suspicious obscurity, his rival was elected King of all England by the universal consent or fears of the Nation.†

The character of Canute, not undeservedly surnamed the Great, was compounded of Barbarian violence and grandeur; and the events of his reign exhibit him to us at different epochs as the ferocious tyrant, and the beneficent protector of his subjects. This apparently strange opposition of qualities is explained by the different circumstances of his position, and by the influence of Religion in taming the original fierceness of a magnanimous though intemperate spirit. During the first years after his undisputed enjoyment of the throne of England, as well as throughout his previous struggle to maintain his father's conquests, he displayed all the savage and perfidious cruelty of the more ancient Sea-kings. His earliest efforts, after his seizure of the undivided sovereignty of England, were directed to secure his Crown against the pretensions of the brothers and infant children of Edmund Ironside. He obtained the assassination of

* *Chron. Sax.* p. 133. Malmesbury, p. 64. Hunt p. 360. Matt. West. p. 391.

† *Chron. Sax.* p. 133—136. Malmesbury, p. 59.

* *Chron. Sax.* p. 137—144. Malmesbury, p. 70.

† *Chron. Sax.* p. 144—150. *Encomium Emmae*, p. 171. Ingulf. p. 57. Malmesbury, p. 72.

Edwin, the eldest surviving son of the imbecile Ethelred; he bribed the Duke of Normandy to abandon the support of his two young nephews, Edward and Alfred, by a proposal of marriage to their mother Emma; and the youthful vanity of that Princess induced her to renege the English Throne by this unnatural union with the deadly enemy of her first husband, the reputed murderer of one or both of her step-sons, and the usurper of the rights of her own children. With a policy, of which the murderous design is open to the heaviest suspicion, Canute had also sent the two infant sons of Ironside, Edmund and Edward, out of the Kingdom, to the charge of his relative or dependent, the King of Sweden. Whatever were his intentions respecting these orphans, the Scandiavian Prince was probably impelled by a humane regard for their safety, when he transferred them into the hands of Stephen^{*} King of Hungary, who educated them as if they had been his own offspring. At the Court of that good Prince, the elder died in his youth: but Edward married a daughter of the Imperial House of Saxony, who bore him three children, Edgar Etheling, Christina, and Margaret: the first, destined in a life of vicissitude to survive ingloriously the fortunes of his race; and the last, through her marriage with the King of Scots, to commingle the blood of the line of Cerdic with that of the posterity of our Norman Conqueror. While Canute was thus removing the progeny of their native Princes from the eyes of the English, he rivetted his yoke on their necks by measures equally oppressive and sanguinary. To gratify the rapacity of his Danish followers, the most grievous exactions were levied on the People, who found themselves treated in every respect as a conquered Nation; many Nobles were summarily put to death on real or pretended suspicions of treason; and their lands were bestowed on Chieftains of Northman blood. Among these victims to the fury or policy of Canute, was the infamous Edric, whose murder, unlike that of the rest, was hailed by the People as a just retribution for a life of perfidious and manifold treasons against his original Sovereigns and benefactors.†

Having founded a despotic dominion upon the terror of these examples, the first evidence of the better resolve of Canute to gain the hearts of his subjugated People by a more benignant rule, is shown in the dismissal of his Northman followers, who treated the English with intolerable oppression. With the exception of a body of three thousand warriors, whom under the name of Huscarles, or Thingmanni, he retained as the Household Guards of his throne; his farewell donatives of gold encouraged the departure of the host of adventurers by whose aid he had conquered the Kingdom; and his Saxon subjects gratefully hailed their deliverance from the presence of those hateful foreigners. The frequent visits which Canute himself subsequently paid to his Scandinavian dominions are still stronger indications of his well-founded security in the loyalty of the Nation during his absence; and in more than one victorious expedition to the North, he was indebted for success to the courage and fidelity of the English forces by which he was attended. The equity of his Government, in fact, soon

rendered him deservedly popular, while its vigour commanded respect and severely punished disorder. In cultivating the attachment and establishing the happiness of his subjects, he, perhaps unconsciously, learned to subdue and humanize the violence of his own passions; he at last publicly and spontaneously expressed his repentance for the cruelties of his early reign; and he proved the sincerity of his self-reproaches by his efforts to atone to his People for the miseries which his ambition had inflicted. The laws which he published breathe a noble spirit of equity and mercy; and his administration of justice was impartially balanced between his Danish and English subjects.*

Canute left three sons, Sweyn, Harold, (surnamed Harefoot, from his fleetness,) and Hardicanute, (or Canute the Hardy;) the two eldest the offspring of an illegitimate union, the last of his marriage with Emma. On Sweyn, during his own life, he had already bestowed the Crown of Norway; and, according to the condition of his marriage-treaty with Emma, Hardicanute, as her issue, should have inherited the throne of England. But at the moment of his father's death, that Prince was employed in the Government of Denmark; and his absence encouraged his brother Harold to attempt the seizure of the English Crown. His pretensions were supported by the Danish Guards, and in general by the population of both races North of the Thames. On the other hand, the people of Wessex, who were much attached to Queen Emma, faithfully maintained the cause of her absent son: and the whole Kingdom was threatened anew with the horrors of Civil war.†

These impending calamities were averted by an accommodation between the parties of the two Princes. In a general Witenagemot convened at Oxford, it was agreed that the Kingdom should be partitioned between the brothers, with the Thames for the boundary: the Northern division, including London, being assigned to Harold, and the Southern to Hardicanute, until whose return its administration was intrusted to the Queen Mother, assisted by the Ealdorman Godwin. The rise of Earl Godwin had been rapid; and before the death of Canute, he had become the most influential among the Nobles of Wessex. His administration of that Kingdom as co-Regent with Emma for Hardicanute, was shortly disturbed by an invasion which Edward, the eldest of her sons by Ethelred, undertook from Normandy as soon as he learnt the death of Canute. But the Queen Mother preferred the interest of her offspring by the Northman to those of the children of her first marriage; and the attempt of Edward being promptly repelled, he was driven back to his asylum at the Court of Normandy. His flight was followed by the appearance in England of his younger brother, Alfred, who, being lured into the power of his enemies, was murdered, with his followers, under circumstances of horrible barbarity. By the Chroniclers of the Age, this crime is most generally attributed to a perfidious scheme of Harold, of which Earl Godwin was the suspected accomplice.‡ Harold,

Anglo-Saxon Annals.

From A. D. 800. to A. D. 1066.

His death. A. D. 1035.

Reigns of Harold (Harefoot), and Canute II. (Hardicanute).

Rise of Earl Godwin.

A. D. 1036.

* Chron. Sax. p. 151. Ingulf. p. 58. Flor. Wig. p. 390, 391. Dr. Lingard (History of England, vol. i. p. 372.) has shown that it seems have been Stephen, and not Solomon of Hungary, by whom the children of Ironside were educated.

† Chron. Sax. et Ingulf ubi supra. Flor. p. 391. Nalmsbury, p. 73.

* Chron. Sax. p. 151—154. Ingulf. p. 58. Leges Sax. (apud Wilkins,) p. 135—135. 143—146. In 1030, the party of Canute induced him to make a pilgrimage to Rome; and it was, probably, after his return that the well-known tale of his rebuke to his flatterers occurred. Encomium Emmae, p. 173. Ingulf. p. 59—61. Nalmsbury, p. 74, 75. Flor. Wig. p. 394—397. Matt. West. p. 407—409. Hunt. p. 364.

† Chron. Sax. p. 155. Ingulf. p. 61.

‡ Encomium Emmae, p. 175. Flor. Wig. p. 399. Hoveden, p. 438. Matt. West. p. 410.

History.

From
A. D.
800.
to
A. D.
1066.

A. D.
1040.

A. D.
1042.

Reign of
Edward III.
(the Confessor.)

Feebleness
of his char-
acter.

Power of
Earl God-
win and his
family.

availing himself of the continued and unexplained absence of Hardicanute in Denmark, had now extended his authority into Wessex; and the flight of Emma into Flanders, on learning the tragical fate of her neglected son, removed every obstacle to his blood-stained triumph. Prevailing upon the Nobles of Wessex to desert the cause of Hardicanute, he was elected King of all England; and, after a show of some reluctance on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury, finally received the Crown. But his reign lasted only five years, and on his death, Hardicanute, who had just joined his mother in Flanders, was unanimously called by the Nation to the Throne. His first act was to indulge a brutal and impotent feeling of revenge against his deceased brother for his injurious treatment of himself and the Queen Mother, as well as his murder of Alfred. The remains of Harold were disinterred and decapitated. If Earl Godwin had been really guilty, that powerful Nobleman contrived not the less to propitiate the new King by splendid presents; and he was not only allowed to clear himself from the charge of having participated in the murder of Alfred by his own oath and that of his peers, according to the singular forms of Saxon jurisprudence, but was admitted to a large share in the administration of the Kingdom. The reign of Hardicanute was even shorter than that of Harold; his constitution was weakly; and his death was caused by a fit of intoxication during the nuptial revels of one of his Nobles. He left no issue; and by his decease, the union of the two Crowns of England and Denmark was dissolved. The King of Norway immediately seated himself on the Danish throne; and the English joyfully restored the line of their native Sovereigns.*

The character of Hardicanute has been variously represented: but his memory deserves the honour of at least one generous and magnanimous act. Notwithstanding the dangerous pretensions of Edward, the surviving Son of Ethelred by Emma, to the English Crown, he had invited him to his Court; and not only treated him with warm fraternal affection, but seems to have regarded him as his heir. Immediately on his death, therefore, Edward, supported as well by the powerful influence of Godwin, as by the ancient affection of the English for the House of Cerdic, which had been rekindled by their hatred of the Danish ascendancy, was placed on the throne without opposition. Edward, whose canonization in the subsequent Century has caused him to be distinguished by the surname of "the Confessor," was a Prince of excellent intentions, but totally deficient in capacity or energy for the vigorous administration of affairs. All his personal virtues were of an inactive cast; the piety for which his private life became famed was allied to superstitious weakness; and his gentle or indolent disposition fitted him rather for a Cloister than a Throne. It was, doubtless, from an insight into these traits of his character, that the ambitious Godwin was induced to take an active share in promoting his election to the Crown; and, in effect, he was no sooner enthroned, than the Earl and his family began to reign in his name. Although a vow, by which the King had bound himself, rendered the marriage only nominal, he was persuaded to make Editha, the fair daughter of Godwin, the partner of his throne; and while that Nobleman himself held the extensive Govern-

ment of Wessex, Kent, and Sussex, two other Earldoms, one comprising the Western Provinces between the Severn and the Thames, and the other all the Eastern Counties, were bestowed upon Sweyn and Harold, his eldest sons. The whole of the South of England was thus immediately subject to the House of Godwin; and its power was imperfectly counterbalanced by that of two other great Chieftains, Siward and Leofric, who in the previous reigns had acquired the administration of Northumbria and Mercia, with the same title of Earls; a designation borrowed from the Northern term Jars, which, under the Danish Dynasty, had silently superseded the old Saxon dignity of Ealdorman.*

Notwithstanding the ascendancy acquired by Godwin and his family over the feeble will of Edward, the King had some strong feelings which rendered him not wholly passive in their hands. His resentment against the Danish party was shown in his conduct towards his mother, whose unnatural hostility to himself and his murdered brother in support of her son by Canute, had certainly not increased her maternal title to his affection. He seized her treasures, and treated her otherwise with a severity, as unbecoming towards a parent, as it was foreign to his usual disposition.† In these measures he was willingly supported by Godwin and his sons; but they were less disposed to gratify his opposite prepossession for the Countrymen of Emma. His education in Normandy, and the protection which, throughout the exile of his youth, he had received in that Duchy, had singularly endeared its natives to him; and his Court was soon filled with Norman adventurers, upon whom he bestowed many of the richest Bishoprics and offices of State. The growing influence and power of the Norman courtiers were for some years regarded by the family of Godwin with brooding jealousy; while partly from opposition to their House, the foreign party was supported by Earls Siward and Leofric. The arrogant demeanour of the Earl of Wessex and his five sons had already alienated the favour of Edward, when a brutal outrage of Sweyn, the eldest of the brothers, on the person of the Abbess of Leominster, provoked the just indignation of the religious Monarch to banish him from the Realm. But although the outlay afterwards aggravated his guilt by the murder of his own cousin, Edward had, some time afterwards, the inconceivable weakness to pardon and reinstate him in his possessions; and not long after his return his family repaid this clemency by an open rebellion. A murderous affray between the townsmen of Dover and the retinue of Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, who had married the King's sister, and had arrived in England on a visit to the Court, afforded them the pretext which they desired for rousing popular indignation against the insolence of the foreign favourites of Edward. On the complaint of Eustace, the King ordered Godwin, to whom the town of Dover belonged, to punish his burghers; and the haughty Earl not only refused, but, joined by his sons, took up arms to support his disobedience. Edward, who seems to have acted with hasty partiality towards the foreigners, gave a solitary instance of determination in their cause. Summoning Earls Siward and Leofric to his aid, he was soon enabled to assemble an army sufficiently powerful to overawe the insurgents; and Godwin was compelled to accept a temperate or politic

Anglo-Saxon
Annals.
From
A. D.
800.
to
A. D.
1066.

Parity
of Eustace
for the
Normans.

Rebellion
of Godwin
and his
sons.
A. D.
1051.

* Chron. Sax. p. 155, 156. *Encomium Emmae*, p. 176, &c. Ingulf. p. 61, 62. Flor. Wig. p. 400—403.

* Chron. Sax. p. 157. Ingulf. p. 62. Malmabury, p. 79, 80.
† Chron. Sax. *ubi supra*. Flor. Wig. p. 404.

History. offer of the royal party to submit the cause of dispute to the judgment of a Witenagemot. Some delay in the assembling of that Body in London was fatal to the cause of the insurgents; their forces dwindled away; and fearing to commit themselves into the hands of their enemies, the father and his five sons took flight, and were all solemnly outlawed by a sentence of their peers. Godwin and three of them escaped to Flanders; Harold and the fifth obtained refuge in Ireland; and even Queen Editha as their sister, whose beauty, virtue, and mental accomplishments are equally extolled by her contemporaries, shared their disgrace, and was placed under confinement in a Monastery.*

Vail of William, Duke of Normandy, to Edward. At this critical juncture, the King received a visit, which subsequent events rendered memorable for his cousin, William Duke of Normandy, whose illegitimate birth had not prevented his succession to his father's States, and whose vigorous government had already marked him for one of the most able Princes of the time. The fears of the foreign courtiers of Edward had urged him to entreat the assistance of the Duke in the late emergency; and although his succour was no longer needed, the future Conqueror of England landed with an imposing train, and was received with great distinction by the King. The Norman party, however, did not long enjoy their triumph. In the following year, Earl Godwin, by the negligent disbandment of the Royal squadron appointed to watch his motions, was encouraged to return in force from Flanders; and being joined by his son Harold from Ireland, he entered the Thames, and boldly ascended the river to London. The return of the outlawed Earls was enthusiastically welcomed by their party, now swelled in numbers by the increasing popular aversion to the strangers; and the King, although at the head of an army in the Capital, was compelled by his Nobles to accept the submission of Godwin. The great Earl and his sons were restored to their dignities and possessions; and the foreign Chieftains and Prelates, in their turn outlawed by the fickle judgment of a Witenagemot, fled in all quarters, and with difficulty effected their escape from the Kingdom.†

Retraction of the Godwins. The family of Godwin now became again all powerful; the Queen was restored from her Monastic seclusion to the Throne; and Edward resigned himself helplessly to the dominion of her relatives. The death of Godwin, which soon followed, served rather to exalt than diminish the fortunes of his House. Sweyn, the eldest son, died during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which he had undertaken through remorse for his crimes; and Harold, whose reputation was untainted with the suspected or notorious guilt of his father or brother, and who possessed many generous qualities which rendered him the popular idol, now united in his person the chief power and honours of the family. His superior influence, and his jealousy of the great rival House of Leofric Earl of Mercia, were shown by a sentence of banishment which he obtained from the Witenagemot against Algar, the son of Leofric, on some unreasonable charge. The outlaw, indeed, with the aid of the Welsh, excited a rebellion which was terminated in a compromise; and Algar, on the decease of his father, by alternate negotiation and force, made good

his succession to the Mercian Earldom. But on the death of Algar, Harold took a signal vengeance on his Welsh allies, and leading the Royal forces into their Country, penetrated its remotest fastnesses, and obliged the natives to seek the mercy of Edward by delivering up the head of Griffith their Prince, and renewing their ancient oaths of allegiance and tribute.*

By the glory of this expedition, Harold much enhanced his reputation and popularity; and from his compelling the Welsh Princes to swear fealty to himself as well as to the King, it may be suspected that he already aspired to the Throne. But this triumph was followed by two events, each in a different degree unfavourable to his hopes. The King invited his nephew the Etheling Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, from Hungary to reside in England; and the arrival of the Princely exile with his wife and family, was hailed with popular acclamation. As the design of the childless Monarch in recalling this sole remaining branch of the House of Cerdic was evidently to nominate the Etheling his successor, the landing of that Prince on his native shores was an ominous event for the fortunes of Harold; and the sudden death of so dangerous a rival, even before he could obtain admission into the presence of his Royal uncle, cast some dark suspicions on the powerful and ambitious Noble, whose elevation to the Throne would have been obstructed by his existence. Whether guilty or innocent, Harold was a gainer by the event; and the youth of Edgar, the eldest son of the Etheling, equally with the feebleness of spirit which his dawning manhood betrayed, rendered him the most harmless of rivals. But Harold was soon afterwards thrown into the power of a competitor of far other character. While at sea in the British Channel, on some excursion of business or pleasure, of which the uncertain object is variously related, Harold had the misfortune to be wrecked on the French coast; and being made captive, according to the barbarous local custom, was delivered up by the Count of Ponthieu to William Duke of Normandy. That Prince, ungenerously using his power over the person of his prisoner, compelled him to purchase his release by doing homage and swearing allegiance to him, in presence of the assembled Barons of Normandy, as the appointed successor to the English Crown; and Harold returned home oppressed with the burthen of these solemn oaths of fealty, which notwithstanding they had been extorted, rendered him, according to the superstitious ideas of the times, not the less the liegeman of the Duke.†

The truth of the assertions by which William of Normandy claimed the succession to the Crown of England, was doubtful to his contemporaries; and modern controversy has vainly presumed to resolve the uncertainty. According to the statement of the Duke himself, or of the Norman Chroniclers, his pretensions rested on no more than verbal declarations of Edward, that he designed to make him his heir; and these announcements, if made before the Royal invitation to the Etheling Edward, must have been revoked by the arrival of that Prince in England, and renewed after his death. Of hereditary right, the Norman of course had not a shadow; but, by universal, although tacit, consent, the personal incapacity of the young Etheling Edgar, the true legal

Anglo-Saxon Annals.

From A. D. 800, to A. D. 1066. His conquest of Wales. A. D. 1063.

Harold in Normandy. A. D. 1065.

Claim of William of Normandy to the English Throne.

* Chron. Sax. p. 157—164. Ingulf. p. 62. Flor. Wig. p. 405—412. Malmesbury, p. 80.

† Ingulf. p. 65. Chron. Sax. p. 165, 168. Flor. Wig. p. 412, 414.

* Ingulf. p. 66—68. Chron. Sax. p. 168, 169. Malmesbury, p. 81. Flor. Wig. p. 414—424.

† Guillelmus Pictaviensis, p. 77—85. Matt. Paris p. 2. Matt. West. p. 426. Ingulf. p. 68.

History.
From
A. D.
800,
to
A. D.
1066.

Death of
Edward.
A. D.
1066.

Features of
his reign.

Remission
of Danegelt.

heir to the Crown, excluded all idea of his succession; and the dubious bequest of the aged King was to form the contested title of two Pretenders, who, although both connected with him by marriage, were equally aliens from his blood. Harold from his presence at the Court was enabled to obtain the last testament of his Sovereign. On his return from his ill-omened detention in Normandy, he found the Northumbrians driven to insurrection by the sanguinary tyranny of his brother Tostig, who had been invested with the great Northern Earldom on the death of Siward. He hastened to the scene of revolt: but the strength of the insurgents was already too formidable to be subdued by force; and Harold, either convinced of the justice of their cause, or induced by a politic regard for his own interests, abandoned the support of his brother, and acquiesced in the choice of the Northumbrians, who had raised Morcar, the son of Algar of Mercia, to their Earldom in his place. Tostig, thus converted into the inveterate enemy both of his brother and his Country, retired to Flanders; and Harold returned to London, to await the death of the King, who had been long declining in health, and who breathed his last a few weeks afterwards.*

The memory of this Prince, the last Sovereign of the ancient Saxon line, was long afterwards affectionately cherished by the English, who too partially contrasted the mildness or rather imbecility of his government with the iron oppression of their Norman conquerors. But the only real benefit which he conferred upon his subjects was the remission of the oppressive tax of the Danegelt; and as this appears to have been the spontaneous and immediate boon of his own humane temper, it is the most praiseworthy action of his reign.† His judicial government has been praised: but it is difficult to reconcile any belief in his authority to enforce the due administration of the laws, with our knowledge of the irregular power which he suffered his Nobles to wrest from his hands; and the traditionary veneration which the English entertained for the laws and customs of "the good King Edward," may with more reason be referred to that attachment to the forms of the Saxon polity, which led them to associate the fondest recollec-

tions with his reign, merely because it was the last under which their ancient institutions existed. Some portion also of the popular affection in which the memory of Edward was held, may be attributed to the freedom of the Kingdom, during his life, from those miseries of foreign domination which had preceded his accession, and which followed his death. Although at the outset of his reign the Country was threatened with invasion by Magnus King of Denmark, who claimed the English Crown as the successor of Hardicanute, the project of the Scandinavian Prince was arrested by death; and the only foreign hostilities in which the pacific Edward was ever involved, were directed against Macbeth, the guilty usurper of the Scottish Throne,—whose name and story the mighty Master of the English Drama has rendered as imperishable as its Language. But even this was scarcely either a Royal or a National war. Duncan King of Scots, whom Macbeth had murdered, was the brother-in-law of Siward Earl of Northumberland; and Malcolm, his eldest son, took refuge with his uncle. For fifteen years the usurper held possession of the Scottish Throne, until Siward, taking advantage of a revolt raised by Macduff, Thegn of Fife, obtained permission of Edward to support the cause of his nephew with an English army, and defeating Macbeth, who was slain in the conflict, restored Malcolm to his father's Throne.*

Whatever intentions Edward had expressed in favour of the Duke of Normandy, Harold prevailed upon the King, when on his death-bed, to nominate him as his successor; and immediately after the Royal demise, he procured his own proclamation as King, by a mixed assembly of Nobles and London citizens. The claims of the Etheling Edgar to the succession were wholly disregarded; and the Coronation of the new Sovereign was hastily celebrated on the following day, on which the obsequies of Edward were also performed. But the transient festivities of this ill-omened ceremony were destined to be immediately interrupted by foreign ambition and fraternal hatred; and we may appropriately pause at an event which, ushering in the shifting vicissitudes of a brief and bloody struggle, produced the NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND.†

* Chron. Sax. p. 169—171. Flor. Wig. p. 424—427. Malmesbury. p. 91. Ingulf. p. 69.

† Flor. Wig. p. 410. Ingulf. p. 65. Hoveden, p. 441.

* Flor. Wig. 409—416. Saxon. Dunelm. p. 184—187.

† Chron. Sax. p. 172. Malmesbury, p. 93. Ingulf. p. 68.

Anglo-Saxon
Annals.
From
A. D.
800,
to
A. D.
1066.

We
omit
Macbeth,
except in
Scotland.

Harold
(1), was
the Crown
of England.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXIX.

ANNALS OF FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY, AND SPAIN, DURING THE Xth CENTURY.

FROM A. D. 987 TO A. D. 1108.

I. THE Revolution which placed a new and third Dynasty on the throne of FRANCE, was the natural result of the increased power of the Feudal Lords, who, during the imbecile sway of the Carolingians, had wrung from their Kings almost every prerogative of Royalty. New privileges extorted by the Nobles demanded a new measure of power in their Sovereign; and the Crown was no longer to be transmitted as the natural inheritance of the nearest descendants of its Founder, but to be bestowed, by the free gift* of Feudatories, on one of their own Body; by the voluntary homage of Counts, Barons, and Knights on a common Lord: before whom they deemed it expedient, for the sake of general security, to pledge their Vassalage and allegiance. The superior opulence, the large possessions, and yet more the extensive influence acquired for his Family by the dexterous policy of Hugh the Great, pointed to his successor in the County of Paris and Dukedom of France as the fittest Chief of the Feudal Confederation. The Duke of Burgundy was his Brother; the Duke of Normandy his Nephew; and there were personal qualities also in the individual himself which, doubtless, availed not a little in promoting his titular aggrandizement. It is but rarely that the Founder of a line of Kings can be indebted for his elevation to negative merits: nevertheless, in the instance now before us, it is most probable that mediocrity of talent and freedom from ambition disarmed the Nobles of jealousy, and thus powerfully contributed to induce them to unite in permitting the vacant throne to be occupied by Hugh Capet.

Charles of Lorraine, Uncle to the late King, was the sole competitor whom Hugh, thus supported by the main Body of the Aristocracy of France,† was likely to encounter; and the pretensions of that Prince seemed but little formidable, notwithstanding they were equally

well founded with those of any of his predecessors. The pride of his Countrymen had been offended, and doubts had arisen among some of them whether his claim of hereditary right had not been altogether forfeited, by his acceptance of a Fief from the Emperor Otho, to whom he had consequently performed homage. His character was no less feeble than his resources; he was remote from the scene of action at the critical moment of his Nephew's decease; and his scanty revenues, and the small population of his narrow dominion were inadequate to the provision of a force sufficient to ensure success in a distant expedition. Ten months accordingly elapsed from the death of Louis V. before Charles entered France; and meanwhile Hugh Capet had strengthened himself by solemnizing his Coronation at Rheims, with the sanction of his chief Ecclesiastics; and not long afterwards by associating his son Robert in his Royal dignity, by similar rites and under similar auspices. This ceremony, in the reign of Hugh Capet, and in those of his immediate posterity, is to be considered more as a nominal investiture, than as a bestowal of real power; as the formal admission of a successor rather than of a partner in the throne.

Charles, however, had not ventured upon invasion without assurance of recognition by several French Nobles and Prelates; and, among the most influential of the latter class, was the successor of that Archbishop of Rheims from whose hands his Rival had so lately received the Crown. It is probable that Hugh Capet was permitted little freedom of choice in his appointment to that important See; since we find it conferred on one whom ties of birth, independently of other considerations, must have rendered friendly to his opponent; and it must have been with no slight misgiving of his fidelity that he demanded from Arnulf (a bastard of the late King Lothaire, and consequently a nephew of Charles of Lorraine) a written pledge of inviolable adherence, under all circumstances, to himself and his son, as a preliminary to consecration. The forfeiture of his Archbishopric was the penalty annexed to disobedience; and how lightly both that hazard and his own promised faith were estimated by Arnulf was soon to be evinced. Charles, assisted by the Counts of Flanders and of Vermandois, (the latter his father-in-law,) surprised Laon, the abode of many of his Royal Ancestors, and was proclaimed King within its walls. No sooner also did he advance to Rheims, than its gates were opened to him by the intrigues of his Nephew, who for a short time concealed his abandonment of Hugh Capet by

France.
From
A. D.
987.
to
A. D.
1108.

Coronation
of Hugh
Capet.
Association
of Robert.

Treachery
of Arch-
bishop
Arnulf,

and first
successor
of Charles,
A. D.
988.

* The accession of Hugh Capet is usually called a usurpation, and it does not appear that his title was acknowledged by any General Assembly, nevertheless, since it is plain the Feudal Lords, if they had so chosen, might have prevented it, it may be termed their free gift by tacit consent.

† The six paramount Feudatories at the accession of Hugh Capet, who afterwards became exclusively Peers of France, were the Count of Flanders, whose Fief stretched from the Scheldt to the Somme; the Count of Champagne; the Duke of Normandy, who received homage from Brittany also; the Duke of Burgundy, with his Vassal the Count of Nivernois; the Duke of Aquitaine; and the Count of Toulouse. To these may be added, as possessing large domains and influence, the Duke of Gascony; the Counts of Anjou, Poitou, and Vermandois; the Viscount of Bourges, and the Lords of Bourbon and Coucy.—Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 21.

History.

From
A. D.
987,
to -A. D.
1108.
Facts be-
tween
Hugh and
his Vassals

excommunicating the pillagers of his Episcopal City, and by affecting to be conveyed to Laon under compulsion, and as a prisoner. In proportion, however, as his Uncle gained strength, so did the Archbishop drop the mask, till at length he openly ordered the troops of his Diocese to enrol themselves among those of Lorraine.

Little other proof need be required of the shadowy nature of that authority which Hugh Capet was permitted to enjoy, than that an enemy so insignificant as Charles was able to maintain for two years undisturbed possession of the important Cities of Rheims and Laon. During that period, indeed, Hugh was engaged in combating some of his refractory Vassals; he was driven from the walls of Poitiers by William Fier-a-bras, Duke of Aquitaine; and in a subsequent bloody action, on the banks of the Loire, the sole advantage which he won was an unmolested continuance of retreat. Even when a feud with a brother Noble, Adalbert, Count of Perigucux, induced Fier-a-bras to seek accommodation with his Sovereign, Hugh dared not assist that Vassal to whom he was reconciled, lest he might thereby provoke hostility from another equally powerful. If he had doubted respecting the prudence of neutrality, his hesitation might have been terminated by the treatment of a Herald whom he despatched to Adalbert on his assumption of the title of Count of Poitiers and Tours. "Who has made you Count?" was the question; and "Who has made you King?" was the no less laconic reply.*

Story of
Fier-a-bras
and his
Courtiers.

The domestic History of Fier-a-bras affords a singular picture of the ferocity of his times. He had married Emmeline, a daughter of Thibault, Count of Blois, a Lady whose chief cares were directed to the superintendence of a Convent at Maillelais; and who is described by one of its Monks to have been not less distinguished by her magnanimity than by her Religious zeal. How far she merited such a eulogium may be decided by the following incident. Stung with jealous, and perhaps not unfounded suspicions of the fidelity of her husband, she determined to revenge her nuptial wrongs on the Vicomtesse de Thouars, from whom they originated. One day, having encountered the offending Lady, she dispersed her retinue, and seized her person; and during the whole of the following night exposed her to brutal and repeated violence from each of her own followers in succession. Then, in order to secure herself from the anger of her husband, which she was conscious must follow this atrocity, she retired to a neighbouring castle, from which during two years she carried on a petty war against Fier-a-bras. The intercession of the Ecclesiastics at length prevailed upon the Count to seek peace by concession; he tendered a restitution of conjugal rights, and confessed that he had sinned grievously against his consort. The happy pair were affectionately reunited, and the Monk who relates the tale, concludes by stating that this "Lady of rare discretion, having reassumed all her authority," consecrated her wealth and power to the completion of the Church of Maillelais.†

Siege of
Laon.A. D.
990.

Freed from all apprehension of Fier-a-bras, Hugh Capet commenced the siege of Laon, and, in the second month of its investment, he was repulsed with the destruction of his camp by a sortie. Nor was it by force of arms that he eventually triumphed. Adalberton, Bishop of the City, the reputed minion of Emma, Queen

of the deceased Lothaire,* had been severely visited by the invading Prince, in consequence of that scandalous imputation; and smarting under his ill treatment, and allured by the brilliant promises of Hugh Capet, he surprised and secured the persons of Charles, of his consort, and of Arnulf. The unhappy Prince was imprisoned at Orleans, where he died after little more than a year's confinement; and the Metropolitane was degraded from his Archbishopric, which was bestowed upon Gerbert, the most remarkable personage of his time, and one whose history therefore demands some more extended notice.

From
A. D.
987,
to
A. D.
1108.
Captivity
and death
of Charles
of Blois
A. D.
991.

Born of obscure parentage in Aquitaine, Gerbert early life had obtained charitable admission to a Monastery, in which he ardently devoted himself to the cultivation of Letters, and more especially of Science. By permission of his Superior,‡ his education was completed in the University of Cordova, the chief, if not the only School of Knowledge in those days of ignorance. So rapid was his progress during his residence in Spain, and so profoundly enlightened were his Countrymen to whom he returned, that his acquaintance with the mysteries of Chemistry, and his employment of the Arabic numerals were regarded not without a misgiving that he had studied occult and unhallowed lore while abiding with the Infidels; and that he was leagued with and protected by the Powers of Darkness. By prudent abstinence from an idle parade of those acquirements in which he so far exceeded his generation, and which, consequently, if exhibited too freely, might have increased the dangerous suspicions, not indeed to be wholly avoided even by this exercise of discretion, he escaped persecution. Not long subsequently to his return home, the Emperor of Germany intrusted him with the distinguished charge of the tuition of his son, afterwards Otho III.; and on completing that task, he was employed as Secretary by the Archbishop of Rheims, who preceded Arnulf, and afterwards by Arnulf himself. Gerbert originally engaged with the latter in the cause of Lorraine; but an offer from Hugh Capet to commit to him the superintendence of the final education of his son Robert, (who although associated with his father, had not yet attained his sixteenth year,) produced an opportune change in the Monk's allegiance, and materially forwarded him on the path to brilliant fortune, already opened by his connection with the Imperial Court.

The succession to the Archbishopric of Rheims, how-

* Ch. lxxii. p. 483.

† The Dominican Beovius, the indefatigable continuator of the *Annals of Baronius*, and the writer of an express Life of Gerbert, has discovered for him a most illustrious genealogy. He pretends that the Family is derived from Temenus, King of Argos, one of the Heracleidae engaged in the expedition by which they recovered Peloponnesus. (*Vita Gerberti*, ed. ant.) Perhaps Gerbert, on his final elevation, would not have been solicitous to verify his descent in right line from one of the most portentous adulteries committed by the Heathen Thunderer.

‡ William of Malmesbury, who represents Gerbert most unfavourably, and deals largely in the marvels related of him, denies that permission was given for this visit to Spain. *Suo tardo Monachatus, seu gloria cupidine captus, nocte prefligit Hispaniam; cum principis intendens ut Astrologium et octorem id genus Artes a Seneca ediceret.* (*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, lib. ii. p. 36. 4. Seneca.) Of his progress, the same Author writes, *He used scientific Preliminary in Astrology, Alexander in Astrorum interitibus, Juliano Firmicum in Astro; qui quid cantus et volatus Avium portendit dulced; the exerce trances ex inferno figuras; qui quosvis vel noxium vel salubre curiosis humana deprehendit.* (*Ibid.*)

* *Chronicon Ademari Cabanensis* ap. Bouquet, t. 146.

† *Petrus Mallesensis*, i. 2. ap. Bouquet, t. 179.

History. ever, was neither obtained without opposition, nor long preserved. The Carlovingian party was by no means extinguished in France by the fall of Charles; and yet more, it had powerful supporters at Rome; where John XV. was won by the prayers and the presents of the Count of Vermandois to resist the degradation of Arnulf. The Cause, after lingering through the tedious processes of the Vatican, was formally adjudged by a Legate; who, in spite of an eloquent Apology for the liberties of the Gallican Church delivered by Gerbert, and still remaining to us, pronounced in favour of Arnulf, and declared him to be legitimate Archbishop. This decision failed in procuring the captive's liberty; but it rendered the further abode of Gerbert in France unseemable and perhaps unsafe; for the Nobles, unused to withstand a solemn judgment of the Holy See, refused submission to the Spiritual authority of a Prelate whose appointment rested on no better support than the nomination of their King, a layman. Gerbert, therefore, after a short and unavailing struggle, retired to the Court of Germany, where he was received with distinguished favour. So well did he improve the golden opportunities there placed in his way, that he was soon consecrated Archbishop of Ravenna, and shortly after ascended the chair of St. Peter, under the title of Sylvester II.; being the first Frenchman who had attained the Triple Crown.

Gerbert did not long enjoy the Pontificate, and his acts during its possession were few and unimportant. He died in 1103, not however before he had generously confirmed the restoration of his former opponent Arnulf; and had also published abroad an *Epistle*, which was considered as the earliest harbinger of the Crusades. It was written in consequence of outrages perpetrated against the Christians in the Holy Land by the Fatimite Khalif Hakem; and it exhorted all Europe to form that confederacy for the deliverance of Palestine, which was not organized till nearly a Century after this awakening summons. The genius of this extraordinary man embraced every branch of then existing knowledge. In his *Epistles* he cites the names of several Classical authors whose Works he possessed, and by whose style it is evident that his own composition had greatly profited. His skill in Mechanics, like that of Roger Bacon, anticipated many discoveries which were not promulgated as such till a far later period; he constructed spheres; observed the stars through tubes; invented a clock regulated by a balance, which continued in use till superseded by the pendulum of Huygens, towards the middle of the XVIIIth century; and brought a Hydraulic Organ to perfection by the employment of steam.* After his manner he was a Poet also. The *Ars Musica*, which is generally believed to have proceeded from his pen, is no

contemptible specimen of the Latin rhyme, known afterwards under the name of Leonine; and the *Rhythymomachia*, a Battle of Numbers and Figures, a Prose Tract in the same volume, describing a kind of Game, for which the author delivers the Rules, appears to justify the tradition that it is to Gerbert that we are indebted for the introduction of Arabic Numerals.†

It cannot be a matter of surprise that the envy or the ignorance of contemporaries persisted even during his Pontificate to stigmatize this great Philosopher as a Magician; and a Historian of the Papacy, writing three Centuries after Gerbert's decease, has contributed to preserve the calumny. Sylvester, says Platina,‡ attained the Triple Crown by evil arts. Quitting his Monastery in early life he made himself over to the Devil, by whose aid he became Vicar of Christ, on condition of a surrender of his Soul. When he inquired of the Fiend how long he should continue in power? the juggling Demon replied that he should live long provided he forebore from visiting Jerusalem. It was after four years, one month, and ten days' enjoyment of the Throne that, having said Mass in a particular Church, he asked to what Saint it was dedicated? and upon learning that it was named the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, he knew his end to be approaching. Straightway he confessed his manifold sins, acknowledged the Diabolical compact, and became absorbed in penitence. In conformity with his last request, so soon as he had expired, his trunk, mutilated of the limbs, was placed on a car drawn by two horses; and the spot at which they should voluntarily stop was to be that of his entombment. The gate of the Lateran was their resting place; and there, accordingly, the remains of Sylvester were interred; and the rattling of his bones beneath ground, and the supernatural sweating of his gravestone still notify, agreeably to the warning of his Epitaph, that the death of the Pope for the time being is near at hand.‡ This tissue of Fables has been sagaciously exposed by Naude;§ and without entering upon the particulars which that learned

* *Abacum cerei primus a Saracenis rapimus, regulus dedit quo a sudanibus abacta via intelligitur.* (Will. Malmshury, *ut sup.*) A copy of the *Ars Musica* and of the *Rhythymomachia* exists among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, and is described by Dr. Burney, (ii. 129.) It is on vellum, and the former occupies about twenty duodecimo pages. The latter Tract, which is undoubtedly written by Gerbert, has been translated into German, and may be found in the *Opera de Iussu Svecchorum*, 1616, really edited by Augustus Duke of Brunswick, under the name of Gustavus Selenus. A single line from the pen of Gerbert may be found in Oleric Vitellius, (i. *rep.* Duchesne, *Normannicus*, p. 371.) It alludes to his translation from Rheims to Ravenna, and afterwards from Ravenna to Rome, and however roughly it may sound to modern ears, it was considered smooth and musical by those of contemporaries:

Transit ab R. Gerbertus in R. post Papa vigens R.

The line, had as it is, has undergone various readings. Baronius (*ed. rom.* 999.) gives *auduit* and *vixit*—and elsewhere we have *men regit* instead of *vixit*, which, by increasing the alliteration, at the same time increases the only species of merit to which the verse can lay claim.

† *In Vit.* The hostility which the Romish Writers for the most part cherish against Gerbert, may arise from his *horrenda blasphemia*, (as Baronius terms it,) that the Pope was the Anti-Christ and man of Sin. A remarkable opinion, as Mr. Sharon Turner justly styles it, for the Xth Century, and still more remarkable, he might have added, for one who himself was to become a Pope. See more concerning Gerbert in Mr. Turner's *England, Middle Ages*, iv. 434.

‡ This assertion, made on the authority of Martinus Polonus, is the sole point concerning which Platina appears to hesitate; *re-rumque sit an verus ipse Pontifex videtur ad quos pertinet.*

§ *Apologie pour les grands hommes soupçonnés de Magie*, ch. xiv.

Appointed
Pope at
Sylvester II.
A. D.
999.
Pontificate
and change
of Syl-
vester II.

France.
From
A. D.
987.
to
A. D.
1108.
His Le-
gendary
History.
Platina.

* *Organo hydraulica ubi mirum in modum per aque ostentum videtur, ventus emergens impet convulsione barbit, et per multiformes transitus arena fatidat modulatos clamores emittit.* (Will. Malmshury, *ut supra*, b.) It is impossible to interpret these words otherwise than of steam; yet Dr. Burney, (ii. 130.) appears only to express surprise at the use of "warm" water; and Mr. Berington, in an account of Gerbert, in the *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, noticing this Hydraulic Organ, and wholly omitting the important word *calida*, thinks perhaps that he has fully explained the process employed, when he states that the sounds were produced "by means of wind pressed forward by a strong current of water." (204.) The professed Historians of Steam-engines, probably, never heard of Gerbert, and their silence therefore cannot be a matter of surprise. But the passage in William of Malmshury is very remarkable, and deserves more attention than it has as yet received.

History.

From
A. D.
997.
to
A. D.
1109.

and most pleasing writer furnishes in defence of the injured Pope, it may be sufficient to notice two facts which few, probably, will deny; that no one ever observed the prodigy asserted to belong to his tomb; and that his Epitaph, instead of making the declaration attributed to it, is a glowing testimony to the piety, the integrity, and the holiness of life of the deceased, written almost at the moment of his death, by one of his successors, Sergius IV.* who had ample opportunities of intimate acquaintance with his character, and who himself possessed undisputed claims to similar excellent qualities.

The Legends concerning Sylvester have received various additions from many very competent hands.

William of
Malm-
sbury.

Among others are some recorded by William of Malm-sbury, under whose treatment they were not likely to lose any of their supernatural tone. That Writer accordingly informs us that Gerbert in his youth, when at Seville, lodged with a Saracen under whom he studied Magic; and that not being able to obtain from his Preceptor a certain necromantic volume, containing the sum of his whole Art, he made him drunk, and by the assistance of his daughter, with whom he entertained some love passages, stole it from under his pillow, and fled away with the treasure. His Host awakening, and discovering his loss, tracked the fugitive by his skill in Astrology; and Gerbert, aware of his pursuit by like science, took refuge under a wooden bridge, hanging from its beams without fear of discovery so long as he should touch neither Earth nor Water. Escaping afterwards to the sea-shore, he made his bargain with the Devil for conveyance home;† and the Fiend from that hour took especial charge of his fortunes, and among other advantageous Arts, taught his votary how to discover hidden treasures. The Monk then recites a Legend, which has been often repeated, concerning a Statue in the *Campus Martius* at Rome, with the fore-finger of the right hand extended, and bearing an inscription, "Strike here!" Sylvester, prompted by his wily counsellor, perceived the mistake into which numbers had been betrayed, who, falsely interpreting these words, had belaboured the unhappy Image unmercifully but unprofitably; and marking the precise spot on which the shadow of the finger was thrown at the moment at which the Sun passed the meridian, he excavated the ground beneath, at nightfall, in company with a single attendant, and opened a souterrain which might be considered the Palace of Midas. It was built, furnished, and (if we may so express ourselves) peopled by gold. The structure, its Royal army, and its inhabitants were alike framed of that costly metal. But an ill-advised attempt made by the Pope's servant to appropriate some of its precious contents to his own use, was frustrated by a general alarm among the golden and ghostly crew; and by the total darkness which ensued when an archer, standing with his arrow ready on the string, shivered to pieces a caruncule whose intrinsic light illuminated the wonderous cavern. Strange to say, on this occasion, it was by other advice than that of 'the Devil—*Dei monitu*—that the daring Pope,‡ sum-moning up his presence of mind, escaped without pay-

ing the price of his follower's rashness. The Evil Spirit indeed might not be within call at the moment of danger, for his responses were generally obtained from a metallic head cast with due regard to the position of the Stars;* and it was from that Oracle that Sylvester received information of the period of his death, concerning which William of Malm-sbury writes much in the same manner as Platina. After the above fearful narratives, the reader may derive some consolation respecting the Pope's final destiny, from a Chapter in Wier's singular Work, *De Præstigiis Demonum*,† in which we are assured that Sylvester's repentance was availing, so that he defrauded the Devil of his due. In another place;‡ the same Writer informs us that the Pope shut up a Dragon in the Capitol; and we learn from Naudé also;§ that the monster so incarcerated was said to devour the huge allowance of 6000 human victims daily.

Idle as these stories are in themselves, they are not without their value in the eye of the Historian; for they belong to the creed of the times in which they were promulgated, and a knowledge of them is consequently essential to all who seek just acquaintance with the character of those times. But we must not delay longer on this Episode. Little interest attaches to the remainder of the obscure reign of Hugh Capet; or, as may be more properly said, little more can be related on account of that obscurity. Some rebellious acts of his son Robert are darkly implied; and we are more openly told of incessant petty struggles among his Nobles, and of much bloodshed without glory. After the example of Clovis, neglected by the *Fainéants* of the 1st, and by all the Kings of the 11th Race, Hugh Capet established his Court at Paris; he is represented to have been eminently devout, and two proofs of his pious temper are greatly extolled; one that he converted his Palace into a Church still existing, and dedicated to St. Bartholomew; another, that after his unition at Rheims, he never again, during the remainder of his life, placed the Crown upon his brows. This abstinence was attributed by his enemies to a consciousness of his usurpation; by his friends to humility; or to belief in a revelation made to him by St. Valerius, that the Kingdom should abide in his Family during seven Generations. The discreet King imagined therefore that, by surrendering the Regalia in his own person, he might steal a march upon Fortune and Prophecy; and by escaping count among the descents, might add one to their number. Mezeray, with that fervid loyalty which is a necessary qualification for a Historiographer Royal,¶ remarks that Hugh Capet either did not know, or else had forgotten, that "seven generations," in Scriptural language, is equivalent to "all Ages," and consequently that the Dynasty which he founded will never be extinct. Hugh died in his fifty-fifth year, leaving one son and three daughters, and was buried in St. Denis.¶

France.

From
A. D.
997.
to
A. D.
1109.

Obscurity
of the reign
of Hugh
Capet.

His death.
A. D.
996.

* *Certe inspectione egerunt, cum videlicet omnes Platinæ exordia curis suis includerentur.* Will. of Malm-sbury, p. 37.

† vi. 5.

‡ v. 37.

§ *ut supra.*

¶ It is but just, however, to Mezeray to remark, that he lost his pension of 4000 livres in consequence of some bold expressions in his History. It was a wretched act in Colbert to deprive him, and yet more so in Louis XIV. to permit the deprivation.

¶ The laborious and very useful authors of the *Universal History*, are sometimes amusing from their blunt and literal homeliness. Thus, determining the surname Capet to be originally a *soubriquet*, they interpret it *Jolthead*; and they add that Hugh's Consort,

* Pope A. D. 1109.

† William of Malm-sbury is here a little doubtful whether he shall obtain credit; and *hec vulgariter facta credentur whimsi, et quod voluit Populus literatorum fuisse laedere, dicere illum laevi cum Demone, but he expresses his own entire conviction from the circumstances attendant upon the Pope's death-bed.*

‡ This tale is related in the *Gesta Romanorum*, cvii. not of Sylvester by name, but of *quidam Clericus subditis*.

History. The Reigns of Hugh Capet and of his son and successor Robert, belong to one of the darkest periods not only of French, but of general European History; and the causes of this obscurity may be found partly in the want of communication between men of different Countries, and even of different Provinces in the same Country, and the consequent absence of mutual curiosity as to their respective transactions: partly in the nature of those transactions themselves, in which countless petty interests, and scarcely one that is paramount and predominant, are the objects to be contemplated.* National History, in truth, did not exist during this dark period. Each Feudal Lord maintained a stern, separate dominion, seldom in amicable contact, often in ferocious collision with surrounding Chieftains: and the King, no more than one, and not always the most powerful of their Body, is to be considered as their titular Head, not as the Monarch of a great People. From this confusion, not bright but turbid, we must be content to glean such few personal anecdotes of the Prince as have been recorded by Monkish diligence; and they must be accepted as illustrations not so much of the History as of the manners of the times.

libert II. The first years after the accession of Robert II. were occupied in differences with the Church, which proved that the little authority he was permitted to retain by his imperious Vassals could be still more closely and painfully curtailed by a foreign Spiritual domination. The Holy See continued peremptorily to demand the release and restoration of Arnulf, the deposed Archbishop, still detained in prison as the bitterest enemy of the House of Capet. At the same time, a marriage which Robert had contracted exposed him in his domestic relations also to the wrath of the Papacy. The real motive which induced the violent opposition of Gregory V. to Robert's connection with Bertha, widow of Eudes, Count of Blois, may probably be found in the King's omission to seek dispensation from the Holy See, after he had received it from the Gallican Bishops. The pretext urged was the grievous sin of transgressing the forbidden Canonical degrees; for the King had held as Sponsor, at the Baptismal Font, one of Bertha's children by her former husband; thus contracting a tie, at that time absurdly esteemed no less an impediment to wedlock than positive consanguinity. This marriage, probably, was one of affection, for it was solemnized at the earliest moment after the widow's hand became free; and no sooner did the Bridegroom hear that his engagement had been pronounced incestuous by the Pope, than he hastened to propitiate him by partial abandonment of the first point in dispute; restoring Arnulf to freedom (although not to his See) as the price of the hoped for retention of Bertha. But the Pontiff was not thus easily to be conciliated. Assembling a Council at Rome, in the presence of his relation, the IIIrd Otho, from whose sanction, no doubt, he derived increased boldness, Gregory pronounced that Robert must separate himself from Bertha; that both

must perform penance during seven years under pain of excommunication; and that the Archbishop of Tours who gave the nuptial blessing, and the Bishops who assisted, should be suspended till they had tendered personal satisfaction to the Apostolic See. Notwithstanding the general timidity and the overweening devotion which signally marked the character of Robert, he continued firm in resistance to this most oppressive mandate; and three years at least, if not twice that number, are generally believed to have elapsed, before he was so far worn down by the sufferings consequent upon the excommunication of himself and the Interdict of his Kingdom, as to consent to the surrender of the object of his affections. In spite of the discredit sometimes thrown upon the nearly contemporary authorities which relate the fearful effects of the Papal Bulls, we think they receive confirmation from similar passages in History; and although we may hesitate to believe that Bertha, horror-stricken at the Pontifical anathemas, was delivered of a Babe whose head and neck in all points resembled that of a Goose,† we are still far from rejecting that part of the statement by Cardinal Damiano, which affirms that Robert was shunned as one accused by his subjects; that he was abandoned by all but two attendants, who provided his food; and that even these menials, whom fear, bribes, or unconquerable attachment detained near his person, purified every vessel from which the King and Queen had eaten or drunk by passing it through the fire.‡

The King at length submitted; the wife of his bosom was wrung from him; and the beautiful Constance, (it is doubted whether of Toulouse or Provence,) whom he next espoused, was not of a disposition likely to retain his love. Nevertheless, although by no means increasing the personal happiness of the Monarch, this connection with the South largely contributed to refine the manners of his hitherto rude Court. Languedoc and

France.
From
A. D.
987.
to
A. D.
1108.

Consequences of the Interdict of France.

Robert separates from Bertha and marries Constance.

* Vaissette, who is followed in *L'Art de Versifier les Dates*, contrary to the great mass of authorities, restricts the opposition of Robert within one year.

† *Et quod suscepit filium, anserinum per annis collum et caput habentem*; (Damiani Epist. ii. 15.) a story wholly unnoticed by contemporaries. *Il n'y eut rien de monstrueux dans toute cette affaire*, is the well known and witty remark of Voltaire, *que l'auteur du Pape, et la follesse du Roi*. (Sur les Mœurs, ch. 39.)

‡ Damiano, ut supra. M. de Simondi rejects this narrative of Damiano, who wrote within fifty years of the occurrences which he relates; and he thinks the privations of Robert were crassly heightened by the Cardinal in order to strike terror into the Emperor Henry IV., whom in a future page of this Chapter we shall perceive engaged in a struggle with Rome. Strange to say, the most improbable part of the story, the monstrous birth imputed to the Queen, is not equally doubted by M. de Simondi; who supposes that fear might really produce some such effect upon a sensitive mother. But if the Babe be once admitted, we think the argument in favour of the utter destitution of the Royal Pair is strengthened a thousand fold; for surely it must have been punished so powerfully as Bertha's imagination. The most learned and acute Historian of the Italian Republics has not to be told, that 300 years after the Interdict of France during the reign of King Robert, a similar Bull issued by Clement V. annihilated for the time the entire Commerce of Venice, utterly proscribed her from communion with the rest of Europe, exposed her mariners and foreign residents to assassination, and reduced her Citizens to despair; till the iron collar and the unparalleled self-denial of Francesco Dandolo, (*Il Cene*), procured remission of the Pontifical Censures. It was easy for the Senate of that great Republic to defy the similar thunders of the Vatican, launched afterwards in the more enlightened days of the XVIIIth Century; but those bolts were sufficiently terrible to quell their courage and drive them to submission in the XIVth; and therefore, a *fortiori*, to overpower a superstitious King of France in the XIIIth.

Adelaide, was daughter of Guillaume Teste d'Estoupe, or Aupate? What third form would be the result of such a conjunction? Velly assigns a more honourable source to this Family name, *qui signifie au propre une grosse tête, et au figuré un bon esprit*; others, he adds, derive it from a particular cap worn by Hugh. In the *Chronicon Francorum* (ap. Bouquet, p. 302.) it is said, *ac detrusa est quia dum juvenis caputale audire per tadam*.

* These causes are very ably followed out by M. de Simondi, *Hist. des Français*, part xxx. ch. lii.

History.

From
A. D.
987.
to
A. D.
1108.

His domestic pastimes.

His strategy to prevent perjury.

Weakness of his benevolence.

Provence were the chief schools of that chivalrous devotion to the Fair, which sheds grace over the otherwise stern and repulsive features of these iron Ages; and Music and Poetry, and whatever else was then known of the Arts and the elegances of life, were cherished in those districts, by frequent intercourse, through the Mediterranean ports, with the polished Saracens of Spain. Even amid the hoarse murmurs of the ascetic Monks, we may discover that Northern France reaped unnumbered benefits from intermixture with those more cultivated regions; and the bitter reproofs and reprimands of Glabrus afford a lively picture of the Barbarism endeared to him by long habit, the invasion of which he therefore witnessed with anger and reluctance.*

The rude proofs to which the patience of the gentle Robert was exposed by the capricious violence of his new Consort left it unimpaired; and some of the Anecdotes recorded of his meekness place him, so far as that quality is regarded, quite on a level with even the enduring and philosophic husband of the Athenian Xantippe. Some of the little trickeries to which the effervescence of the Queen's temper reduced him are amusingly related. He was lavish, as it seems, in almsgiving, and whenever he bestowed a disproportionate bounty on a beggar, it was accompanied with a discreet caution, "Take care that Constance does not see you!"† On one occasion, when she had studded his lance with silver nails, he employed a mendicant to pull them out again, giving them to him for his trouble, and advising him to make the best of his way out of the Queen's clutches; and when Constance afterwards observed that the lance had been stripped of its ornaments, the King did not hesitate to call God to witness that he knew nothing whatever of the matter. A ready subterfuge on all occasions, indeed, relieved the conscience of this simple and confiding Prince from the burden of perjury, whether committed by himself or by others; although it is but just to add, that the singular precaution by which he guarded against the evil consequences of that crime, had far more reference to the welfare of other men's souls than of his own. Whenever any of his Vassals approached to pay homage and tender the oath of allegiance, with a reasonable distrust of the fidelity which experience had taught him was too likely to be violated, he presented to him a rich crystal reliquary, as it seemed, enchased with gold, upon which he was to be sworn. Especial care, however, had previously been taken not to inclose any holy remains within that costly receptacle; and the sagacious Casuist believed that all who perjured themselves upon his empty casket, did so without sin, and consequently without hazard.

The easiness of this Prince's temper too often degenerated into weakness. The Poor were admitted to his banqueting chamber as partakers of the broken meats, and they did not always requite this charity with gratitude. One beggar who had crept under the table,

and who, crouching like a dog at Robert's feet, was fed from his plate, succeeded in detaching from the Royal mantle an ornament of gold weighing six ounces. The King perceived the theft, dissembled his knowledge, permitted the escape of the pilferer, and replied to the angry remarks of Constance when she discovered the robbery, that the poor offender doubtless had more need of the gold than himself. In a similarly mistaken temper, he concealed the theft of a consecrated silver candelabrum, which a priest, in his very presence, carried off from the Altar; and when Constance swore by the soul of her Father that she would pluck out the robber's eyes if he were detected, the King privately furnished him with money from his own purse, to remove himself beyond all hazard of her vengeance.

Qualities thus soft in their nature were ill adapted to the maintenance of a throne founded upon recent usurpation, or for the restraint of fierce and turbulent Vassals; and it is without surprise, therefore, that we hear of a lingering war in which Robert was engaged for establishment in a possession, his legitimate right to which could not be denied. His uncle, Henry Duke of Burgundy, dying childless, bequeathed to him that territory, which, even without such bequest, according to Feudal usage, would have reverted to the Crown. The Fief, however, was perseveringly contested by two other claimants; and notwithstanding an important aid which the King obtained from Richard II. of Normandy, the most faithful and powerful of his kinsmen and allies, who at one time joined him with more than 20,000 men, thirteen years elapsed before he was fully acknowledged Lord of the disputed Province.* Two incidents during this protracted struggle are characteristic of the spirit of the Age. The Convent of St. Germain might be considered the key and citadel of Auxerre, which the Royal army was on one occasion besieging; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of all the Ecclesiastics in his Camp, Robert, as if inspired with sudden and most unusual martial ardour, gave orders for its assault. At the moment of the advance of the storming party, a thick haze arose from the river, and enveloped the holy walls in its folds, so as altogether to interrupt the operations of the besiegers, while the garrison, as was affirmed, retained the full benefit of clear day. The soldiers, struck with a belief that the darkness proceeded from miraculous intervention, betook themselves to hasty flight, and abandoned their camp.† In another instance, a more fortunate event was attributed to a supernatural agency, which the Monks probably borrowed from the downfall of Jericho before the rams' horns of Joshua. The King was an accomplished Musician, and no small portion of his time was devoted to the composition of Hymns, which were regularly performed in the Church Service under his own immediate superintendence. Having invested the Castle of Avalon without success for more than three months, on the morning of the Feast of St. Hippolytus, for whom

* *Caperunt confuere gratia ejusdem Regum in Franciam aliquo Burgundum ab Arvernâ et Aquitanâ* (Provence was sometimes called Aquitaine, Mezeray, ii. 477.) *homines omni trepide cunctis, moribus et veste distorti, armis et equorum phaleris incompositi, a multis capitulis conis nodati, Austrorum more barbâ rasi, caligis et cervicis tergentibus.* (Glabrus Rodolphus, iii. ed. An. op. Bouquet, x.) The reader cannot fail to observe that the crying enormities of dress are here the chief objects of complaint; and he may find abundant parallels in the denunciations of our own Puritan Stubbs.

† This anecdote and those which follow relating to King Robert's facility of temper, are borrowed from Helgaudus Furiacensis, *Vita Roberti Regis*, c. 8. &c. op. Bouquet, x.

* The Fief of Burgundy was bestowed on Robert's second son, Henry; and subsequently, on the accession of that Prince to the Throne, it was given by him to his younger brother, Robert, the founder of the first Royal line in the Duchy, which endured no less than 360 years. King John committed the Duchy to the Crown in 1361, and afterwards granted it to his fourth son, Philip the Hardy, founder of the second Royal House of Burgundy, which terminated in 1477.

† Glabrus Rodolphus, (ii. 8.) the authority for this incident, probably was unacquainted with the *Real*, and knew nothing of Ajix and *De in paxi et duxerit*.

he professed distinguished esteem, he withdrew to St. Denis, in order, as was his wont, to direct the Choir during the celebration of Mass. The Monks raised the Hymn *Agnus Dei, da nobis pacem*! and while the King was devoutly leading the solemn chant, the walls of the Castle, which doubtless had been sufficiently undermined beforehand, fell to the ground, as was said, spontaneously; and the besiegers entered without further resistance.* The Queen, however, was not altogether pleased that her husband's metrical powers should be restricted to the service of the Saints, and she one day playfully begged him to make herself his theme. Not long afterwards he presented her with a slave commencing *O Constantia Martyrum*! and her eye resting upon her own name, she asked no further, and felt satisfied that she was the object whom he had celebrated.†

Happy would it have been if her jealousy had not extended beyond the canonized dead! But in order to free herself from the growing influence which a Favourite was establishing with the King, she recklessly perpetrated a foul and most atrocious murder. Hugh de Beauvais, of whom little more is known beyond his name, by a studious compliance with the fancies of his weak master, which were seldom used to meet deference elsewhere, had won his entire confidence; and secretly encouraged him in an intention which he cherished of shaking off the domestic tyranny of Constance, and recalling the gentle Bertha, in spite of the remembered wrath of the Vatican. It is by no means certain that during a short absence of the Queen, Bertha was not actually readmitted to the Palace and her former rights. Be this as it may, Constance, stung either by the knowledge that she had been thus really injured, or by the apprehension that such injury was impending, armed twelve trusty retainers of her uncle, the Count of Anjou, surprised the King while hunting in company with his Favourite, and laid the unhappy Hugh de Beauvais dead at his feet. Robert, says the Chronicler Glabrus, was rendered melancholy for a short time by this occurrence; but he soon reconciled himself to the Queen, as was his duty.‡

The mutual outrages of the Feudal Lords were by no means circumscribed by the limits of France, and a seizure of the City of Valenciennes from the Count of Hainault, by Baldwin, Count of Flanders, might have involved Robert in hostility with the Crown of Germany, to which the former of those Nobles was Vassal, if the disposition of the reigning Emperor, Henry II., had not been governed by moderation equal to his own. An interview to terminate the dispute was arranged between the two Princes, and a spot near Yboi, in Luxembourg, on the bank of the Meuse, was appointed for rendezvous. But the narrow-minded jealousy of Court etiquette, on this, as on many other similar occasions, endeavoured to prevent cordial intercourse; by whispering suspicions of probable bad faith; and by implying that the Sovereign who should first cross the river would thus make a virtual acknowledgment of inferiority. A boat moored in the mid current was proposed therefore as the scene of conference. All mistrust,

however, was speedily removed by the frank and generous confidence displayed by Henry. Passing the river one morning, with too few attendants to excite alarm, or even notice, he appeared unexpectedly in the French Camp, cordially embraced the King, assisted with him at Mass, and partook of his repast. This confidential visit was returned on the morrow; the Sovereigns interchanged presents,* testified great marks of sincere mutual esteem, and agreed to unite their arms in order to do justice between their Vassals; an enterprise the completion of which demanded no less than two campaigns. It was perhaps by a remembrance of the chivalrous conduct of Henry on this occasion, which was not the only one in which he met Robert in personal conference, that Francis I. was guided, when, in later times, he displayed a similarly noble and confiding spirit on the Field of Cloth of Gold.

But we must turn to less grateful incidents. During the concluding years of the Xth and the early part of the XIth century, the Church was making rapid strides to that unlimited dominion of which ere long she became so fully possessed. One of the reigning follies of the first-mentioned period was a belief in the approaching end of the world at the completion of the first Millennium of the Christian Era. During the second portion, men's minds were fantastically imbued with overweening and superstitious reverence for every relic, the genuineness of which was asserted by the crafty, and admitted by the credulous. It seemed, we are told by Glabrus,† as if there were a general resurrection of those holy pledges which after long concealment were simultaneously revealed to the Faithful. Every shrine which announced its possession of a dry bone, a withered limb, a tattered rag, or a splintered chip, to which the blindness of zeal could attach imaginary sanctity, was visited, worshipped, and enriched by the powerful of the Earth; and Robert and his Queen were among the most active who traversed Europe in pilgrimages. During one of his devout journeys to Rome, the King placed a sealed packet upon the Altar of St. Peter and St. Paul in the Vatican, on the Eve of the Festival of those Apostles. The mysterious offering excited great expectation among the Monks, whose eager curiosity scarcely restrained itself till the morrow; and their disappointment was proportionate when the donation was found to consist of nothing more than a Hymn, "*Cornelius Centurio*," in both words and music a composition from the Royal pen, assisted by Guido d'Arezzo, who about that time had invented his gamut.‡

The weakness of this otherwise good and gentle Prince was gradually diverted from harmless follies to purposes of blood, by the intolerance of his Ecclesiastics; and that spirit which had at first devoted itself to indiscriminate almsgiving and ambiguous benevolence, was ultimately stimulated to the detestable excesses of a fierce Religious Persecution. Were it not for the many similar anomalies in human character which daily experience presents, it would scarcely be credited that the same Prince could condemn those who differed from him in

France.
From
A. D.
987.
to
A. D.
1108.

Superstition
of the times.

Robert's
offering in
the Vatican.

Contradictions in the
character of
Robert.

* *Chronicon Salernitanum*, c. 32. apud Bouquet, x.

† *Id.* *lib. Mathereusement il n'y avoit rien de bon à dire de cette Princesse*, says Velly, with greater truth than gallantry.

‡ *Ipsa vero Rex, hec aliquando tempore tali facto tratu effectus, postea tamen, ut decebat, concors Regina fuit.* iii. 2.

* Out of the numerous and very costly gifts mutually tendered, Henry contented himself by accepting a Copy of the Gospels enriched with gold and precious stones, and a similarly ornamented Reliquary containing a tooth of the Martyr Vincentius. His Consort took a pair of golden censers, *pares curi lanternas novae*. Glabrus Rodolphus, iii. 3.

† *Lib. iii. c. 6.* ap. Bouquet, x. p. 32.

‡ *Chronique de St. Denis*, ad *inst.* ap. Bouquet, x.

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merely speculative opinions, to the most execrating of all deaths, in his own presence, who, at an earlier period of his reign, had defrauded, if we may so say, the scaffold of criminals justly due to its vengeance. It is related that twelve traitors had been convicted on the plainest evidence of plotting his assassination. While awaiting the order for execution, they were admitted to the Eucharist, and pardoned immediately after its administration; the King at the same time informing their Judges, that he could not consent to put any one to death, whom his and their common master had thought worthy to be admitted to his table.*

General
Persecution
of the Jews.
A. D.
1009.

The first cruelties which Bigotry perpetrated were, perhaps, beyond the control of a Government so feeble as that of Robert, and indeed received countenance from similar outrages throughout the whole of Europe. In consequence of a false rumour that a profanation of the Holy Sepulchre by the Khalif Hakem had been occasioned by the Jews, that unhappy race of outcasts was subjected to every variety of death by torture which ingenious cruelty could suggest; and which in many instances was escaped but by suicide.† All Christians were interdicted from trafficking with Hebrew merchants; and Rainard, Count of Sens, the single Noble in France who afforded them protection, was himself denounced as an apostate, scoffingly and irreverently taunted as King of the Jews, and proscribed as one accused, whose assassination would be meritorious. Even after the fury which hunted this rejected race to the death had partially subsided, they were still held up as objects of public scorn, contumely, and abomination; and among the established customs which marked their degraded lot was one long retained at Toulouse. Every Easter, some Jew was placed under the chief porch of the Cathedral, and there, in the presence of the whole assembled and exulting populace, he was compelled to stand defenceless and unresisting, while he received a blow on the cheek; for the perpetration of which cowardly outrage it was usual to select one of the most vigorous among the townsmen. It is recorded that on one of these occasions, during a visit from the Viscomte de Rochechouart, the Civic authorities, in order to do honour to their noble guest, appointed his Chaplain, a brawny and muscular Priest, to perform the unmanly office of striker; and so furious was the blow directed, that the eyes and brains of the victim were dashed out, and he fell dead on the pavement of the Cathedral.‡

Brutal cus-
tom at
Toulouse.

A. D.
1020.

Not many years after this Persecution of the Jews, a Heresy was detected at Orleans, in which the notions inculcated appear to have differed from the received doctrines of the Church, mainly on some obscure points relative to the precise nature of our Lord during his Incarnation; and other similar, dark questions equally transcending the powers of Reason. They were represented, however, to the ignorant and open-eared populace in far more odious colours; and the new Manicheans or Gnostics, as the Heretics were termed, were accused of practising secret enormities like those

Heresy at
Orleans.
A. D.
1022.

from the evil report of which even the Agapæ of the Primitive Christians did not escape; of casting into the flames the infant produce of their incestuous orgies; and of feeding their neophytes upon the ashes of those unhallowed sacrifices; which were believed by some hidden virtue and mysterious potency to bind all who partook of them, indissolubly and for ever, to their damnable profession.

Maddened by the dissemination of calumnies thus atrocious, the Citizens of Orleans were preparing to burst the gates of the prison to which some of these Sectaries had been committed, when the opportune arrival of Robert and his Queen interrupted their violence. The death by popular fury which the miserable victims did but narrowly escape, was now exchanged for the legalized and regulated torture of the stake; and thirteen human beings were burned alive in the presence of the Court assembled as to a Festival. Among the sufferers was a venerable Monk who had once filled the high office of Confessor to the Queen; and Constance, forgetful alike of the gentleness of her sex, of the majesty of her exalted station, of the close Spiritual ties which had formerly linked her to the dying Ecclesiastic, and of the promptings of ordinary pity, stood up when the devoted band moved forward to execution, and aiming at the aged Stephen, as he passed her, with the ornamented knob of a cane which it was the fashion of the time for ladies to carry, struck out one of his eyes, and vaunted the ferocious act as a triumph of Religion over natural affection.*

It was not likely that a spirit so stirring and ambitious as that of Constance would allow her husband to omit in her own Family an important ceremonial for which prescription might now almost be pleaded; and, accordingly, at her instance, Robert associated his eldest son Hugh in government with himself. The youth at the time of his Coronation had scarcely completed his tenth year; yet before he had passed five more, the avarice of his mother, and the general neglect which he encountered at Court, drove him into open outrages. His Kingship, he said, produced nothing to him but meat and clothing;† he demanded a partition of power as well as of titles; and putting himself at the head of a turbulent band of followers he pillaged the estates of his Royal Parents. Robert in the first instance turned to his Ecclesiastics for advice and consolation; and he received with his wonted meekness a bitter reproof which brought to remembrance his own past breaches of filial duty, and warned him that the similar acts under which he was now suffering were no more than retributive.‡

* *Gesta Synodi Aurelianensis*, ap. Bouquet, x. 539, where occurs the following *quæ* note; *culpanda sunt in hoc Constantia Regina. Velly also passes by the savage deed of Constance without reprobation, and contents herself with explaining, as Bouquet does also in a note, the fashion of her case: Telle étoit alors la mode parmi les Dames de qualité; toutes portaient de petites cuisses légères, dont la jeunesse pour l'ordinaire étoit ornée de la figure de quelque serpent. (i. 450.) If the instrument were no more than a small cane or stick, the blow must have been inflicted with no small fury, and it is not possible that its fatal effect could exceed the brutal intention of the striker.*

† *Cærenæ ac nil domini rei pecularia præter victum et vestitum ex regno unde coronatus fuit posse mundare, caput corde trahere, alique apud Patrem ut ei quippiam domini largiretur conquiri. Quod quæ Mater compersa, ut erat avarissima, maritumque magistrum, furi vocatus, inasper conatus atque maledictus juvenem lacessere.* Glabrus Rodolphus, iii. 9.

‡ See p. 520. It was an Abbot of Dijon who thus awakened Robert's conscience, *Mémorial* te, O Rex, conceit injuriam approbaturusque Patri ac Matræ te testatorem in tali juvenete; quoniam talis tibi.

* Helgaldus, *Vita Roberti Regis*, ap. Bouquet, x. p. 64.

† *Communio omnium Christianorum consensus decretum est ut omnes Judæi ab ultionem terris vel civitatibus funditus pellerentur. Sicque universi odio habiti, expulsi de civitatibus, aliis gladiis trucidati, aliis flammis necati, diversisque mortuum generibus interempti, nonnulli etiam ex diversis caedibus intererunt. Ita scilicet ut digni de eis ultione præcedat via præci coram in orbem reperiretur Romano.* (Glabrus Rodolphus, iii. 7.)

‡ *Chronicon Ademari Cabanensis*, ad ann. ap. Bouquet, x. 154.

History. It was, perhaps, on account of this unworthy conduct that on the demise of the Emperor Henry II. Robert declined not only for himself, but for his son also, the Crown of Italy tendered to his acceptance by the restless Lombards. However greatly tempted by a prospect of the recovery of Lorraine, if he embarrassed Conrad II. whom the Germanic Body had already chosen as their King, by a struggle in Italy, he had sufficient discretion to refuse the glittering offer; and the activity soon exhibited by the new Monarch proved the wisdom of the determination. Hugh died in the following year;* of the three remaining sons of the King of France, Eudes was too imbecile for public functions; and the wishes of Constance opposed the legitimate claims of Henry, in order to secure the advancement of her favourite and younger son Robert. Henry, as she declared with little regard to the feelings of her husband, and as most of the Bishops uncourteously repeated after her, was perfidious, indolent, and effeminate, and in his neglect of the Laws strongly resembled his Father.† For the first time in his life, Robert persevered in opposition to the wishes of his Queen, and Henry received the Regal title; the possession of which he soon abused not less disgracefully than his predecessor. So grievous were the outrages committed by himself and his brother, (who, in spite of their recent opposition, were now leagued together for purposes of violence, and to curb, as they affirmed, the insolence of their Mother,) that Robert was compelled to take the field and repress them by a more than Civil War.‡ The afflicted Monarch did not long survive this unnatural struggle; he died at Melun, while on a Pilgrimage, leaving behind him a far juster claim to the title of the *Gentle* than to that of the *Wise*, by which he is sometimes not very appropriately distinguished.§

The unnatural enmity of Constance against her son Henry displayed itself with fresh vehemence after his accession; and so formidable was the opposition which she at first succeeded in exciting, that the young King was compelled to take refuge with a handful of attendants in the Court of Robert, Duke of Normandy, at Fescamp. That faithful ally was prompt in affording succour; Henry reentered his Kingdom triumphantly, chased his opponent at every point of attack, and obliged Constance to negotiate. The proud spirit of the Queen sank under disappointment and humiliation,

and her death,* within a month after the signature of this compulsory Treaty, confirmed Henry on his throne, at the price of no inconsiderable portion of territory in return for the Norman assistance.† During this struggle, and for some time after its termination, France was afflicted with a hideous and most overwhelming calamity, the horrors of which are minutely and painfully detailed by a contemporary writer. For a year before the death of Robert, the Kingdom had been alarmed by continually repeated menaces of approaching Scarcity, and the total failure of the harvest in 1032 at length brought Famine to extremity. Precautionary measures, even if they had been understood, or could have been practised during the infancy of French commerce, would now have been unavailing, for all Europe was, in various degrees, similarly visited. The facts which Glabrus records are probably exaggerated; for the theme of misery was too well suited to the false eloquence of a Monastic Chronicler to escape without Rhetorical engravings; still he would not have ventured upon the extraordinary narrative which he presents, without much authority to support him; and we are justified in believing, that the main texture of his story is woven from truth.

All classes indifferently, we are told, were exposed to similar and equal privations, and the price of food, if any scanty portion of it could be found, depended upon the caprice of the vendor. Herbs, weeds, and roots gave but little relief to the pangs of hunger, they were quickly exhausted, and Nature, raging for sustenance, preyed on diet the most unnatural. The strong seized the weak, tore them piecemeal, and devoured their limbs. The sacredness of hospitality was violated, and the entertainer stole the life of the guest beneath his roof, in the hope of supporting his own. Children were enticed by toys and caresses to remote spots in which no eye could witness their massacre; the graves themselves were ransacked for their foul and mouldering contents; and, as if the revolting traffic had been publicly authorized, human flesh was exposed for sale in the market of Tonnerre. Those who would have purchased and partaken secretly, dared not forgive the open commission of this execrable crime; the perpetrator was condemned to the flames, and the stock on his shambles was buried; but a famishing wretch disinterred the treasure by night, was seized during his horrible banquet, and perished at the same stake. Near a Church in the Forest of Maçon, stood a small and solitary cottage, by the road side, presenting itself opportunely for travellers. It could admit but very few at once, yet seldom did a night pass that its lodging was unoccupied. Two visitors, one evening, a man and his wife, were preparing for repose, when the attention of the latter was attracted by that which seemed a human head, partially concealed in a dark corner of their chamber. Further examination revealed yet greater horrors; till apprehensive of some danger, although they scarcely understood its precise nature, the terrified pair attempted escape from the slaughter-house; and were nearly overpowered by its

France.
From
A. D.
987.
to
A. D.
1108.
Great Fa-
mine.
A. D.
1032.

Narrative
by Glabrus
Rodolphus.

justo iudicio Deo permittente a flamma ingeruntur quoniam ita ipse generibus ingratiss. Id. ibid.

* In some epicedial lines on the death of Hugh, preserved by Glabrus Rodolphus, (*ut sup.*) the wishes of the Italians are strongly expressed: if by themselves, altogether without knowledge; if by a Frenchman, certainly with adulation.

*Omnis quem prona poscebat Italia
Censur ut jura promeret regala.*

Velly also is very dolorous on the loss of Hugh; who no doubt obtained from the Monks, but with small appearance of desert, the title of *le Grand*? We know little more of him than that he died at eighteen years of age, having spent between three and four in robbing his Father and Mother; and that latterly he became devoted.

† *Simulatore, regem, mollem, in negligendo jure patriarum.* Odo Ricus Episc. Aurelianensis, ap. Bouquet, t. 504.

‡ *Bellum plagaum Civile.* Glabrus Rodolphus, iii. 9. Had the Monk read Lucan?

§ Before his death, Robert visited many holy places, and as Glabrus affirms, performed numerous cures, especially on lepers. This is the first record of the virtue of the Royal touch, absurdly claimed for the Kings of France no less than for those of England. Philip I. is said to have lost that gift on account of his incontinence, but happily it was restored to his successor. Velly, i. 544.

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* *Elle fut interrée à St. Denis auprès du Roi son mari dont elle avoit continuellement trouble le repos,* says Velly; not as it seems quite without a misgiving that she would not even then be altogether quiet.

† Henry ceded the Vexin as a Fief to Robert; it embraced the country between the Oise and the Epte, thus bringing the Normans within six leagues of Paris.

3 v

History.

From
A. D.
987.
to
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master, who already deemed them his prey. When the Officers of Justice searched the premises, various mutilated remains of no less than eight and forty bodies were discovered. Men, women, and children had been murdered, and partially devoured by this Cannibal, who was instantly hurried to execution.* Such is a small portion of the extraordinary recital of Glabrus, who adds, that the crop of the year 1033, as if to atone for recent failures, produced a return fivefold greater than that of ordinary harvests; and thus terminated the long sufferings of the starving population. If we have expressed any suspicion as to the veracity of the above particulars, our doubts have arisen solely from their astounding nature; for the general good faith of the Chronicler by whom they are avouched is unimpeached. It may be remembered, also, that our own times and our own Country have produced a trade in wholesale slaughter, probably exceeding in its fearful and unknown extent that of the Forest of Maçon; that the commission of some of these murders has been substantiated in a Court of Justice; and that the men of blood by whom they were enacted, were prompted, not by the intolerable gnawings of exhausted Nature, but by a sordid and miserable thirst for gold.

Establishment of

It was about this time that the most salutary institution of the Middle Ages was established by the activity of the Clergy. So early as the year 994, after the ravages of a Pestilence in Limousin and Aquitaine, the chief Feudal Lords had engaged to abstain from private warfare; and this *Peace of God*, as it was called, although hourly violated after the first terror of the calamity from which it arose had subsided, continued to be sedulously and earnestly preached by the Ecclesiastics. The late Famine awakened its remembrance among the Laity; and Provincial Councils were held in which the Prelates solemnly anathematized all its transgressors, and declared that their everlasting portion should be with Cain, Judas, Dathan, and Abiram. But the terrors of Excommunication passed away from memory even sooner than those of Famine; and in a few years the effect of the Councils was seen far more in an increase of perjury among those who had sworn to observe the Peace, than in a diminution of violence or wrong. By a dexterous modification of the too powerful curb which they had at first attempted to impose upon human passions, the Clergy ultimately attained their object; and the *Peace of God*, which had become a dead letter, assumed vigour, extent, and somewhat of permanency when exchanged for the *Truce of God*. By this compact it was not pretended that War should be abolished, but it was regulated and humanized. The chief provisions forbade every military operation and every deed of blood, either public or private, between sunset on Wednesday and sunrise on Monday; thus allotting no more than three days and two nights in each week to the passion of destructiveness. Certain Festivals and Holy Seasons, according to the several usages of particular Provinces, increased the sum of tranquillity; Churches and Cemeteries with a precinct of thirty paces around them, provided they were neither fortified, nor prostituted to any *abuses* of sanctuary, were held inviolable; so also were the persons of Religious of both sexes and of labourers in husbandry; and fire and pillage were averted from flocks, herds, standing crops, stacks, granaries, and implements of Agriculture. These

* Glabrus Rodolphus, iv. 4.

enactments were enforced not only by a denunciation of Spiritual censures, but, in some instances, by the establishment of an armed Police—*Papata*, or *Parade*—supported by contribution; and a belief was diligently inculcated that infraction of the Truce would be visited by a most terrific disease, *le mal des Ardents*, or *le feu sacré*; which is said to have racked the joints and entrails as by fire, or to have dismembered the limbs, according to the part of the body upon which it seized. The independent Provinces of France readily acceded to this Pacific Code. But Henry deemed it an infraction of his prerogative, and declared that his Vassals needed no other protection than that afforded by the authority of their Sovereign. Seldom has any Sovereign reigned in whom authority was less respected!

The characters, indeed, of Henry I. and of the ally by whom he had regained his Crown were most strongly contrasted. While the former slumbered gloriously on the throne of France, Robert of Normandy exhibited an undaunted valour, an unbounded liberality, and a romantic spirit of enterprise well denoted by either of the titles which History has annexed to his name, *le Diable* or *le Magnifique*.† He had already restored to their dominions a Count of Flanders and a King of France; and his protection was afterwards extended to his kinsmen, the Anglo-Saxon Princes, expelled from their throne by Canute the Dane. The armament, however, destined for the invasion of Britain was dispersed by a storm, and in the year after that failure, his restless spirit, exchanging the enthusiasm of arms for that of devotion, prompted him to join the herd of Pilgrims thronging to Jerusalem. It is not impossible that secret stings of conscience furnished an additional stimulus to that exercise of piety; and that the sudden death of Richard III., his Brother and predecessor, may be ascribed with truth to the poisoned cup which it was whispered that Robert had administered. His Barons viewed the proposed departure with alarm, and complained that he would leave them without a head. "By my faith," replied the Duke, "I will not leave you without a head. I have a little Bastard who, by God's blessing, will grow up in due season; and if you will now make choice of him, I will associate him in the Duchy as my successor." Harlette, daughter of a Tanner at Falaise, had borne to Robert a child, at that time seven years of age; and the Normans, because, as they said, it suited them so to do, took the oath of fealty to this boy, William, the future Conqueror of England. His Father, having accomplished his vow, died, while on his return, at Nice in Bithynia, leaving his possessions to the doubly uncertain rule of a Bastard and a Minor.

The claims of the Tanner's grandson‡ to the Norman

* For the *Truce of God*, see pp. 276. 463. of this volume; Du Cange, *Gloss. ad v. Trece*; and M. de Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vol. iv. part iii. ch. v. p. 246.

† Velly thinks the first of these names was given on account of the severity with which he refused quarter during his expedition in favour of Henry II.

‡ Robert struck with the beauty of the daughter of his Châtelain at Falaise, with whom he had dined at an entertainment in her Father's Castle, signified to his host a wish that the partnership of the evening should not terminate with the Ball; a request which, according to the gross fashion of the times, a Vassal esteemed a compliment from his Lord. The Father, however, willing to preserve his Daughter's honour, substituted in her place the fair Harlette, nothing loth at the exchange; and who so far mastered the Duke's affections, as not to feel alarm at the revelation which morning brought with it, and to banish all rivalry for the future.

France.

From
A. D.
987.
to
A. D.
1109.

Affairs of
Normandy.

Interests
of William
the
Bastard.

A. D.
1033.

July 1.

the Truce
of God.
A. D.
1041.

History.
From
1. D.
957.
to
A. D.
1108.
Talbot
marriage
of William.

Denise
Baron of
Val de
Dunes.
A. D.
1053.

William's
marriage
with Ma-
tilda of
Flanders.

Revolutions
between
France and
Normandy.
A. D.
1034.

were resisted, as might be expected; and many of the Chieftains threw off their recently vowed allegiance. From his eightieth to his twentieth year William maintained an incessant struggle for his rights, deriving advantage far more from the mutual jealousy of his Barons, which prevented union and co-operation, than from the attachment of any of them to his own person. But his great talents and activity developed themselves with increasing years. The King of France, at first uncertain what course to pursue, and temporizing in order to profit by the distractions of Normandy, at length assisted the son of his former tried and faithful friend, and led his succours in person to the field. Some early successes and a few severe examples struck terror among the insurgents, and this was increased by a decisive victory at Val de Dunes, in which Henry is said by some authorities to have been unhorsed. The Burgesses of Alençon, who had refused the young Duke's summons, and suspended raw hides from their ramparts in mockery of his birth, paid in blood for that insult after their capture; and few other towns opposed his progress. Gleams bright with future hope now dawned upon William from England, where the marked attachment of the childless Confessor seemed to assure his own adoption; and in looking round for a Consort, his chief design was to render his present established power in his hereditary dominions more available for the great foreign enterprise which he could not fail to see was near at hand. The daughter of the opulent Count of Flanders had openly avowed that she never would dishonour herself by a union with a Bastard; but when William awaited her at the Church-door of Bruges on her return from Mass, and wooed her in true Muscovite fashion, with fists, heels, and spur-rowels, so as to occasion confinement to her bed, the tender-hearted or terror-stricken Matilda no longer refused consent, and the Duke of Normandy by marriage with her became nephew of the King of France.*

But a fresh dispute with one of his Vassals, to whom Henry granted protection, involved William in hostilities with his ancient ally and new kinsman. The Duke, a staunch Feudalist at heart, led no means untired to avoid personal encounter with his Sovereign; and in the first campaign he so manoeuvred as to defeat single

(*Chronicon Alberici Trum Fontium ad ann. 1035, ap. Bouquet, xi. 350.*) William of Malmshbury says, that it was the dancing of Harlette herself which enchanted the Duke; and adds, that the Bastard of Normandy early manifested his warlike propensities. At the very moment of his birth, he caught up one of the rushes with which the apartment was strewed, and grasped and brandished it like a sword. The Gosspies hailed the omen, and the Midwife prophesied that the Child would hereafter be a King. (*De Gestis Reg. Ang. iii. 1.*) It has been left to Etymology to revenge the Conjugal wrongs of the sister of Canute, the lawful wife of Duke Robert; and it has been sometimes thought, although incorrectly, that Harlette, by a slight change, has been corrupted into the English generic term Harlot.

* Adèle, the Mother of Matilda, was a sister of Henry I. William's courtship is thus related in the *Chronicon Thomeasque* (ap. Bouquet, xi. 348.) *Tunc Guillelmus, Dux Normannie, Matildam, filiam Baldvini Comitis Flandrie duxit in uxorem in hunc modum. Cum ipse a Patre suo de sponso recipiendo apertus rogaretur, eique Guillelmus Normannicus a Patre, qui cum longo tempore nutritus, præ aliis laudaretur, respondit, nunquam Notum recipere ac maritum. Quo audito, Guillelmus Dux clam apud Bruggis, ubi pacis morabatur, cum paucis accedens, eamque regredientem ad Ecclesiam pergit, ostendit, atque coloribus verberet atque cingit, atque sacras eam in pellicum trahit. Quo facto, perla dolens ad lectum decubuit; ad quem Patre suum filiam de sponso recipiendo interrogat et requirit; quæ respondens dixit se nunquam habere maritum nisi Guillelmum Ducem Normannie; quod et factum est.*

divisions of the Royal army, and to compel Henry to retire without a general engagement. Four years afterwards the King of France renewed his irruption with similar ill success; and when in the following Spring, on proceeding to associate his eldest son with himself in the Crown, he felt anxious for a reconciliation with his closest, his most powerful, and therefore his most dangerous neighbour, he was cheerfully met half-way in his amicable propositions.

The son for whom Henry thus anxiously prepared succession was his issue by Anne, daughter of Jerroslaus, Czar of Russia, a Prince of eminent distinction among Barbarians, whose existence had become known to the Court of France through the rejection of the proffered hand of this very Princess by the Emperor Henry III. The King of France had already lost one Bride to whom he was affianced, and another with whom his nuptials had been completed; and beginning to decline in years he was still childless. Attributing his former domestic sorrows to the wrath of Heaven on account of engagements contracted within the prohibited degrees, he resolved to espouse a Princess so remote that all hazard of consanguinity must be escaped. Three sons were the produce of this union; and Philip, now crowned, had attained only his seventh year. But the ceremony was by no means premature, for Henry died in the following Summer. His Physician had given him medicine for slight indisposition, with strict injunctions not to drink while under its influence; he disobeyed, and lie was the forfeit of his rashness.*

The reign of Philip I., longer than that of any King of France who preceded him except Clotaire, than that of any of his successors except Louis XIV., however prolific in great men, was eminently inglorious so far as regarded himself. But it is of himself chiefly that it is our business to treat in this place; for both the commencement of the long struggle between the Emperors and the Holy See, and the establishment of the Normans in England, demand a separate notice. Of the two Brothers of the late King, Eudes, if still living, was forgotten in imbecility, Robert passed an obscure and inactive existence in his Duchy of Burgundy. The widowed Queen, born in a far distant Country, and without connections in France, was consequently without influence also; and still in the flower of her youth, she seemed likely to contract (as she soon did contract) new relations, which might diminish her paramount interest for the welfare of her son. Among his nearest kindred, therefore, no fit guardian could be provided for the infant King, and the long minority of a Boy, scarcely in his eighth year at the time of his accession, required a prudent and powerful tutelage. Henry accordingly, before his death, had named to that office a Prince of unblemished faith, valour, and discretion, Baldwin Count of Flanders, his Brother in law; with the manifest intention, in case of the demise of his own

France.
From
A. D.
987.
to
A. D.
1108.
Reconciliation.
A. D.
1059.
Association
of Philip.

Death of
Henry I.
A. D.
1060.

Accession
of Philip. I.

Regency of
Count
Baldwin.

* The writer of the *Chronicon Andegavense*, from which an extract is given by Bouquet, (x. 176.) tells the truth of Robert II. and Henry I., which is much disguised by other contemporaries, and even by some later Historians. *Rex (Hugo) nuptum cum Roberto, filio suo, quem viduam ipsi inermis regnumque, a cuius gravibus neque preterea Henricus Regulus, filius eius decesserat, Labbe, who first edited this Chronicle from the MS., calls the above statement a calumny.*

† She married in 1062 Raoul Count of Crepy and Valois, who, in order to clear the way for her alliance, repudiated his first wife. He survived no more than four years, after which Anne returned to her native Country.

History. children, that the Crown should pass to those of his sister Adele by the Regent.

From A. D. 987. to A. D. 1108. The minority of Philip I. is one entire blank, unbroken by a single event of Historical importance in which France was partaker. In its course, William of Normandy completed his Conquest of England; but the advantages which the Crown of France was ultimately to derive from that brilliant exploit of its great Vassal were not developed till many years after the achievement. When the Royal Infant attained his fourteenth year he was emancipated from the guardianship of Count Baldwin by death; and no successor being appointed, the young King unhappily abandoned himself to uncontrolled licentiousness; so that the first Historical notoriety which he attained was by a denunciation from the furious Hildebrand, at the very commencement of his Pontificate. "Your King," wrote the proud and impetuous Gregory VII. to the Bishop of Chalons, "takes the lead among all Princes of our time in selling the Church of God, scattering her possessions, and enslaving and trampling under foot a Mother whom he is bound to honour and respect."^{*} A reasonable humiliation averted the anathema which the Pope menaced; but since Philip, save for the moment, made no change in his practical disobedience, the complaints were renewed a few months afterwards in louder and less measured terms. The Letter of Gregory to the French Bishops is an average specimen of the tone employed by him towards offending Princes. "Your King," he repeats, "or rather your Tyrant, following the suggestions of the Devil, is the source of all the calamities which I have enumerated. He has defiled his youth by crime and infamy. Not less weak than he is miserable, he uselessly holds the reins of the Kingdom intrusted to his charge; not only licensing his subjects to the perpetration of all atrocity by relaxing the bonds of discipline, but exciting them also by his own avowed tastes and actions to the commission of every foulness which is forbidden either to do or even to name. Not content with having incurred the wrath of God by pillaging Churches, by adulteries, by detestable plunderings, by perjuries, by frauds of every kind with which we have oftentimes reproached him, he now, like a Brigand, extorts huge sums of money from certain Merchants who from every quarter of the Globe attend the Fairs in France."[†] The climax here is not a little remarkable. Who can doubt that those universal Merchants, the robbery of whom is more grievous in the Holy Father's sight than perjury, sacrifice, adultery, and other crimes ineffable, were subjects of the Apostolic See? And so indeed they are afterwards declared to be in another Letter, similarly vituperative of Philip, addressed to the Duke of Aquitaine. Excommunication, Interdict, and Deposition were the mildest penalties, with menaces of which these truly Christian and Pastoral Epistles concluded.

Complaints
of Gregory
VII. against
Philip.

A. D.
1073.

Dissensions
in Flanders.

These manifestations of Papal wrath remain to us because the Holy See had not any interest in their suppression; but of their effects, nothing can be affirmed; for the Chroniclers, reluctant to preserve a memorial of the vices of their King or of the penalties which they induced, are, for the most part, profoundly silent relative to his dissensions with Rome. Philip's first enterprise in arms, although rash and ill-weighted, was

prompted by generous feeling. His guardian, the late Baldwin V., had been succeeded in his Flemish dominions by a son bearing the same name. A younger brother, at the close of an adventurous and enterprising youth, partly by dint of valour, partly by a fortunate marriage with the widow of a Count of Friesland and Holland, had established himself in virtual Sovereignty of those Countries, from the possession of which he became known as Robert le Frison.^{*} The brothers quarrelled; Baldwin invaded Holland, and fell in battle, and his widow Richilde, with her son Arnulf, upon whom the succession devolved, took refuge in France, and implored protection and assistance from Philip. The youthful Monarch, fired with the ardour of eighteen, readily promised aid; and believing that the mere presence of a King of France would suffice to strike terror into a Count of Holland, rode to Flanders, as to a Banquet or a Triumph, with few other followers besides the young Nobles of his Court. A similar error was committed by William Fitz-Osborne, who governed Normandy in the absence of the Conqueror; and he joined the gay pavilions of Philip, with a retinue of no more than ten Knights, harnessed as if for a Tournament. The Frison, pretending alarm, retired, till he had inextricably entangled the thoughtless and confident invaders in an unknown Country, intersected at every step by dikes and canals; then surprising and utterly routing them near Cassel, he slew Fitz-Osborne and the young Count Arnulf in the field, and chased Philip back disgracefully to France. A second attempt two years afterwards was equally unsuccessful; negotiations and a partition of territory terminated the quarrel among the Flemings; and Philip, in order to cement the Peace, demanded and received the hand of Bertha, daughter of Gertrude, Consort of Robert le Frison, by her first husband.[†]

After this brief episode of exertion, Philip relapsed into his former indolence and love of pleasure; interrupted only by occasional bursts of petty jealousy against his great and most dissimilar Norman Vassal, now ranking, like himself, as a King. Too weak for open war, Philip was content to harbour all the fugitives and exiles who crossed to him from the newly conquered realm of England; and at first, William either consented to be blind, or perhaps, deeply occupied with remote and more important cares, failed to observe the protection and encouragement afforded to a numerous band of his discontented subjects. Even when Philip manifestly fomented the hostile intentions of William's rebellious son Robert Courthouses, the injured Prince could not forget the allegiance which his Feudal Oath had bound him to maintain towards his Lord: nor was it till Philip denied reparation for long-continued outrages committed by the borderers of France upon the Norman frontiers, and added a bitter sarcasm to those injuries, that the King of England sought revenge by arms. The two Kings rivalled each other in unwieldy corpulence; and Philip hearing that William kept his bed, on account of some indisposition,[‡] inquired whether his Brother was

^{*} Robert at the head of a band of adventurers waged war upon the widowed Countess Gertrude, who ultimately accepted his hand, invested him with her former husband's titles, and consigned to him the guardianship of her children.

[†] There is some confusion of dates in these transactions. Philip's marriage is sometimes assigned to the year 1072.

[‡] William, according to Mezeray, appears to have put himself in training; *semit ditte à Rouen pour se decharger de trop de graisse.*

^{*} *Epist. Greg. VII. lib. i. Ep. 35.*

[†] *Ibid.*, ii. Ep. 5.

History. yet delivered? "When I come to my Churching, I will offer him 100,000 tapers,"* was the indignant reply with which William answered this taunt; and he made good his threat by pillaging and burning Mantes. But he purchased his revenge at no less a price than that of life. A severe bruise received while on horseback, joined to the heat which he encountered by approaching too near the flames of the burning town, fatally affected his gross and inflammatory system; and he was conveyed to the Monastery of St. Gervais, near Rouen, conscious of his approaching end. The six weeks during which he languished were given to remorse; a comrade which did not smooth his dying pillow, and which appeared to gain strength in proportion as life was ebbing away. His last order was for the release of his Brother, Eudes, Bishop of Bayeux, from imprisonment; an act of ambiguous clemency, since he acknowledged, while delivering the command, that the treachery, the licentiousness, and the love of blood which marked that most dissolute Priest, were hopeless of reform, and must be destructive to all with whom he might become connected. His parting breath was spent in an aspiration to the Virgin; and no sooner was it drawn, than the death-chamber of the most powerful Prince of his time was deserted as if it had been his tomb. The Nobles, hitherto surrounding his couch, if not with attachment, certainly with respect and anxiety, took horse and fled to their Castles, uncertain of the future. The menials also looked for safety in the abandonment of the corpse of their late master, but not until they had glutted their cupidity by general pillage. Even the bed of the deceased Sovereign was coveted by these sordid plunderers, and his remains, stripped naked for the sake of their clothes and coverlets, were tossed rudely on the floor, unguarded, unhonoured, and uncomposed. A single boat, furnished at the expense of a poor Provincial Knight, conveyed the body to Caen, where the funeral pomp, arranged with some greater regard to decency, was interrupted in its progress by an alarm of fire which dispersed the mourners. Nor when the grave was dug, and the coffin was about to be lowered, did it appear that their tenant was likely to find a resting place: for the six feet of ground, all that now remained to him of his great Duchy, and his still greater Kingdom, were claimed by a bystander. William, when he built his Cathedral, had forcibly wrested the plot of ground selected for his burial place from the father of the interpellant; who now protested, in the name of God, against covering the plunderer with earth which was not his own. The Prelates and the Barons around the grave contributed at the moment a small sum for the redemption of the disputed property; and sixty souls were gathered among them as alms, to purchase repose for the bier of the Conqueror of England!†

The bloody rivalry of the three sons of William desolated Normandy, after his decease; and during the progress of that unnatural struggle, Robert Courthouse allied himself to a party with whom Philip also was destined to be intimately, but less amicably, connected. The aid of Foulques le Rechin, (the crabbed or morose,) Count of Anjou, was important to Robert's success;

and it was won by pandering to the veteran debauchée. Cruel, treacherous, and ambitious, the usurper of his Brother's dominions, the gowler of his person, stricken in years, and already the husband of two living wives, Foulques nevertheless dared to encourage a passion for the most beautiful woman in France, Bertrade, daughter of Count Simon de Montfort; and Robert promised and obtained her hand for his new friend. It was not likely that a marriage, compulsory on the part of the Bride, with one so revolting in character and disproportionate in years, should be attended with happiness; and Bertrade, after a short period of gloomy wedlock, anticipating from the fickleness of her husband the lot of her predecessors, and tempted by the ambition of a Royal conquest, threw out lures for Philip during a visit which he paid to the Castle of Foulques, at Tours. That weak and unprincipled Sovereign, long since wearied of his Consort Bertha, had once before wished to repudiate her, notwithstanding she had borne him four children; and Bertrade, without awaiting any dissolution of his existing compact, abandoned her own husband, and threw herself into Philip's arms, on the mere promise of marriage. Not a Bishop was found in France who would dishonour himself by solemnizing the mock ceremonial; and it is thought that the fitting benediction of the venal and profligate Eudes of Bayeux was obtained to seal the adulterous union.† Loud and vehement were the reclamations of the Clergy; more so than those of either the injured husband or of Robert le Frison, the step-father of Bertha, who herself died broken-hearted within two years after her endurance of this great wrong.‡ Nevertheless the recent marriage, notwithstanding the King's hand was now free, continued to be regarded as illegitimate; so that Urban II. despatched a Legate into France for its formal annulment; and Ahab and Jezebel were largely admitted into the Ecclesiastical correspondence which ensued, as types of Philip and his unrecognoised Consort.

The Legate assembled a National Council at Autun which excommunicated the King and Bertrade, and further punishments were meditated by the Pope in a General Council convened at Piacenza in the year following. But the enthusiasm kindled by Peter the Hermit diverted that Assembly from its original purpose, and the same influence prevailed yet more forcibly in that greater Council at Clermont, which decreed the Ist

* In the year 1086, Philip, reckoning upon the facility with which the Canonical prohibitions might be pleaded in favour of divorce, (for they extended to the seventh degree of kindred, and the frequency of Royal intermarriages had mutually allied almost every great House in Europe,) demanded the hand of Emma, daughter of Roger of Sicily. The offer was eagerly accepted, and the Princess was sent to the care of her Brother-in-law, Raymond, Count of St. Gilles, in Languedoc, in order to be betrothed. That Noble, however, learning that Philip had not hitherto succeeded in dissolving his ties with Bertha, saved the honour of his Wife's Family by marrying Emma to the Count Clermont d'Auvergne. Gaufridus Malaterra, *Hist. Sicil.* iv. 8. ap. Muratori, *Script. Ital.* v. 592.

† *Il se trouva un Evêque, ce fut Eudes de Bayeux, qui son les mariers ensemble, moyennant le revenu de quelques Eglises que le Roy lui donna.* Mezeray. William of Malmshury ascribes the disgraceful compliances to the Archbishop of Rouen. (v. p. 96.) It is to be lamented that there were two Prelates existing who could be even suspected of so foul a prostitution of their holy office.

‡ Velly, from total absence of all feeling in his account of the death of Bertha, is, unconsciously, most pathetic. *Berthe n'étoit plus ni jeune, ni belle, son sort n'exalta qu'une atroce pitié. On la vit tranquillement reléguer à Montreuil sur mer, où elle mourut quelque temps après de chagrin et de misère.* (i. 511.)

France.
From
A. D.
957.
to
A. D.
1108.
Bertrade,
wife of
Foulques le
Rechin.
A. D.
1059.

Elopes with
Philip I.
A. D.
1092.

Their mar-
riage.

Excommu-
nication of
Philip I.
A. D.
1094.

* Cum ad Mianum post partum iervo centum nullis candelas ei habebat. Will. Malmshury, iii. p. 63.

† These particulars of the last moments and Burial of William the Conqueror are taken from the end of the VIIth Book of Odricus Vitalis, ap. Duchesne *Normannie*, p. 662.

History.

From
A. D.
987.
to
A. D.
1108.
A. D.
1095.

Crusade. Urban, indeed, on that occasion, renewed the anathema already pronounced; and the King, tendering obedience on points indifferent to him, and disobeying on those which opposed his inclinations, while he continued to retain Bertrade, forbore from wearing the Crown, and divested himself of the purple. This empty compliance with the letter of Urban's Bull was graciously accepted as submission to its spirit; the Pope did not remit the Excommunication, but he addressed the King as his dear Son; he forbade the performance of Divine Service, and the use of Bells in any City which might be profaned by the Royal presence, but he allowed the celebration of Low Mass in the Chapel of the Palace. So dead, however, to shame, although keenly alive to fear, was the now drivelling Philip, that when the Bells of a town which he was quitting, as if to atone for their long silence, began to peal at the moment of his departure, he burst into an idiot laugh, and remarked to Bertrade, "Hark'ye, my dear, how they are driving us away!"*

Philip contributed neither in purse nor in person to the gathering of the Ist Crusade; and he regarded with indifference, if not with contempt, the active devotion with which his brother Hugh enrolled himself in the pious armament. When he had passed the meridian of life, his mind, weakened by excesses, readily yielded to superstitious terror; and still reluctant to surrender his vices, he endeavoured to compound for them. Alarmed by a few slight bodily infirmities, from which he had as yet been exempted by vigour of constitution, he attributed a rash and a tooth-ache to the anger of Heaven, or of the Pope; and in order therefore yet more fully to comply with the provisions of the Bull depriving him of the Crown, he resolved to associate his Son Louis in Government; to devolve on him the outward state of Royalty which he had been enjoined to abandon, and yet more its heavier cares, from which he was constitutionally disinclined. The precise year of the association is uncertain; but it was about the commencement of the XIIIth Century that Louis l'Eveillé, for the Son was thus honourably distinguished from his supine and slumbering Father, was intrusted with the administration of France.

Association
of Louis
l'Eveillé
circa

A. D.
1100.

Activity of
Louis.

Louis, now in his eighteenth year, was the first of the Capetian Race who had received an education fitting for a Prince. He was skilled in all chivalrous exercises, in the management of a horse, the lance, and the sword; his temper was brave, courteous, affable, just, frank, and generous; in one word, he was trained to be an accomplished Knight. During some short hostilities with William Rufus in the Vexin, unable to prevail upon the inert Philip to levy a force adequate to regular operations, the young Prince had nevertheless greatly distinguished himself by his activity as a partisan; and at the head of three hundred horse he had grievously harassed an enemy much superior in numbers. He now addressed himself to the restraint of such Vassals as had encroached upon his Father's weakness; and among these he boldly and successfully asserted the Royal authority. Some were terrified into obedience by arms, all were diminished in strength by a wise policy which prevented their union; for although each singly might be mastered by the Crown, a confederacy would have been irresistible.

* Cum discedente eo tantius ingruum undique conciperet, incensam fititatem cæcibus expressit, "Audis iniquus? Belle, quàm nua effugit!" Will. Malmesbury, v. p. 90.

While thus occupied, his chief danger arose from the hatred and the artifices of Bertrade, the fire of whose more youthful passions had now become concentrated in ambition. Although herself unquenched by the decision of the Church, her sons, but for Louis, might hereafter sway the sceptre of France; and when this brilliant hope was once awakened, there were few means from which a woman so unprincipled was likely to recoil in order to secure its accomplishment. Accordingly when Louis visited England to attend the Coronation of Henry I., and to receive Knighthood from his hand, Bertrade, either by fraud or by caresses, obtained the Royal signet from Philip; and fortified by that authority she wrote Letters to the King of England, enjoining him to secure the person of the young Prince, and to commit him to perpetual imprisonment. Regardless of cruelty or treachery whenever his own interests could derive profit from their commission, Henry nevertheless demurred at perpetrating a gratuitous crime; he showed the despatches to his guest, and counselled his immediate return.* The Court of France then arranged itself in opposite factions under the Prince and the Queen; Louis is said to have attempted to poniard his step-mother, and Bertrade in return summoned to her aid the more covert arts of secret poisoning. Clerks,† were styled, skilled in Magic and in Medicine,† were instructed to devise a potion which should make slow inroads upon life; and although Louis was saved from the uttermost effect of that insidious cup, by the timely aid of a Physician who had studied under the Arabians,‡ he carried to his grave a pale and bloodless complexion, avouching the great peril which he had encountered.

Rome at length consented to relieve Philip from her censures. Her pride was satisfied, because, notwithstanding the offender persisted to the end in disobedience, his opposition had never been accompanied with seeming respect.§ The Ecclesiastics themselves now recommended indulgence, and the King was permitted to appear before a Council assembled at Paris to conduct his reconciliation. There, barefooted, and in a Penitential garb, he swore in presence of the Legate that he would no longer regard Bertrade as his wife, and that for the future he would never even converse with her, unless in the presence of witnesses. On these conditions, absolution was pronounced; and as for the perjury which ensued, the Vatican no doubt expected, and therefore did not too closely investigate it. A yet more remarkable instance of Philip's infatuation for his mistress than any he had hitherto shown, remained to be exhibited; and on this occasion he was not without a partner in his delusion. Bertrade was desirous that one of her sons by Foulques le Rechin should succeed to the domain of Anjou, at the expense of the just rights of an elder half-brother. In order to

* Henry I., the craftiest Prince of his time, most probably felt a bitter contempt for Philip. *Philipus, Rex Francorum, Regis moxto nec utilis nec infestus fuit, propterea quod casti vultus magis quam negotii dedidit*, is the short and pithy character given by William of Malmesbury, (v. p. 90.) Ordericus Vitalis, the Norman Chronicler, every where abounds with similar marks of scorn; *corpulentus Rex Francorum* (xi. p. 818.) *Philipus vero Rex, piger et corpulentus, belique incongrua erat.* (x. p. 766.)

† *Tribus de numero Clericorum maleficus.* Ordericus Vitalis, xi. p. 843.

‡ *Quidam hircutus de Barbaris*, as the enlightened Moors are termed by the ignorant Norman. (Id. Ibid.)

§ *Tant il se fermait cet efface même dans le mal*, is Momey's just remark on the transaction.

compass this intrigue, reconciliation with her former husband was an indispensable preliminary; and she not only obtained Philip's consent to the attempt, but she was moreover successful in her apparently hopeless enterprise. Fouques readmitted her to his confidence; she effected a breach between the Father and Son; and in order to accelerate her purpose, she procured the assassination of the latter. In the course of this nefarious transaction, all Europe was astonished at the scandal of a visit paid by the Royal Pair to Fouques, at Angers. They were received with distinguished honours; and the favour of the ambiguous wife was cultivated with equal obsequiousness by each of her husbands, who sat with her at the same table, and even shared the same chamber. This singular and most disgraceful accordance of the rivals has been sometimes considered as a proof of the commanding ascendancy of Bertrade's intellect. To our eyes, however, it exhibits nothing more than a striking example of that dotage which is the sure temporal punishment of protracted voluptuousness. Destitute of all self-respect and of every manly emotion, the two jaded sensualists struck a bargain for community in the strumpet's smiles, all which they now either coveted or could enjoy; and while the adulterer, in right of Sovereignty, as may be imagined, shared her seat, the tame and contented wittol reclined on her footstool.*

These disgusting spectacles were at length to be terminated. Debauchery had weakened the mental faculties no less than the bodily frame of the King; and in his fifty-seventh year he was overtaken by premature old age. Assuming on his death-bed the habit of a Benedictine, he confessed and bewailed his many sins, and acknowledged that, like his predecessor Charles Martel, his portion on their account ought to be with the Devil.† Then professing his unworthiness to be interred, like other French Kings, near the tomb of so great a Martyr as St. Denis, he urged as his last request that his body might be conveyed to a Church on the Loire dedicated to St. Benet, a Saint who had ever been his Patron, and to whose intercession he now looked especially for forgiveness.‡ It remains only to dismiss the other chief personage of this most unhonoured reign. Bertrade, says William of Malmesbury, more fortunate than her paramour, because in the full enjoy-

ment of health and vigour, and with a forehead unfurrowed by a single wrinkle, received the veil at Fontevreux, and died not long afterwards: "God's Providence most likely foreseeing that a Lady of habits so delicate could not long endure the labours of Religion."[§] According to the good Monk's reflection, it would appear as if Piety were altogether constitutional; and that those persons who have probably greatest need of Repentance, are of all others the most disqualified by Nature to obtain its benefits.

II. The immature death of Otho III. without issue, transferred the GERMAN Crown to a collateral branch of the House of Saxony, and Henry Duke of Bavaria, grandson of a Brother of Otho the Great, triumphed over two other competitors by that which Dittmar terms hereditary right.† One of his rivals, Herman Duke of Suabia, for a while continued in arms, and to the profane sack and burning of Strasburgh by his troops on Easter day, the Monks attribute his final defeat and submission. It was not, however, in his German dominions that Henry II. was to be most vigorously opposed; the Lombards asserted independence, and in a Diet assembled at Pavia, called Arduin Marquis of Ivrea to their throne. Two years elapsed before Henry felt sufficiently established in the North to venture upon a passage of the Alps; and then, without opposition from the phantom King, who fled at his approach, he received the Crown in Pavia, notwithstanding its recent hostility. Of the support of the Milanese he was well assured, if it were but on account of their jealousy of the rival metropolis;‡ and the secret grudge long subsisting between the two Capitals first openly manifested itself on this occasion. On the very day of Henry's Coronation, the collision of some drunken German and Milanese soldiers with the irritated partisans of Arduin, excited a popular tumult. The Palace was attacked; and when the troops encamped without the walls advanced to support the slender body-guard by which it was defended, they fired several houses in order to clear the barricaded streets, and unhappily reduced the greater part of the superb city to ashes. It was not easily that Henry himself escaped from this scene of flame and carnage; and to an injury which he is said to have received in leaping from a window of the Palace, is sometimes ascribed the lameness under which he suffered for the remainder of life, and which attached a sobriquet to his name.§

* *Ordens Vitalis*, xi. p. 818.
† Charles Martel used the treasures of the Church in order to defend France against the Saracens; and the Monks, smarting under the loss which they actually suffered, and forgetful of the infinitely greater miseries which they had thereby escaped, very ungratefully damned the Hero by whom Christendom had been saved. In a Letter addressed by certain Prelates to Louis le Germanique, in the year 538, it was said that the condition of Charles had been revealed soon after his death to Kucher Bishop of Orleans, by whose order some brother Bishops had opened the warrior's Tomb. They found in it a monstrous Dragon, who disappeared in clouds of sulphurous smoke; thus giving plain evidence of the nature of the abode of the deceased. (*Capitula Caroli Calvi*, ii. 23.) The chief difficulty attending upon the tale is that Kucher died some years before Charles Martel.

† *Ordens Vitalis*, xi. p. 835. It can scarcely be credited that Velly, after narrating the reign of Philip I., with very little difference as to main facts from those which we have given above, should sum up the Prince's character in the following words, after praising him for not joining the Crusades: *Il est d'un monde constant qu'il avait de grandes qualités. C'était le Prince de son siècle le mieux fait, de la taille la plus majestueuse, de l'extérieur le plus adhérent. Ses personnelles qualités* might be such as they are here represented, but the language below belongs to Titus or Alfred. *Brave dans les combats, sage dans le conseil, maître dans l'art de parler, l'Histoire lui donne toutes les grâces d'esprit et de caractère.* i. 544.

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§ *Pulvis et Fortuna* illa, quid ante et anate integre, nec specie rugata, apud Fontem Ercaldi Sancti monachum appetit celum. Nec multis post præsenti viae fecit. Deo fortiter providente non posse delicate matris corpus Religione laboribus interire. (v. p. 90.)

† v. *ad init.*
‡ Pavia, from its commanding site was the frequent residence of the Lombard Kings. Milan, the Capital of the *Lombardi* and of all Christian Gaul, had been honoured by the abode of some of the last Western Emperors.
§ *Claudius, Haffebolz*. (*Haffebolz*, wooden legged.) Other authorities attribute Henry's infirmity to a wound received from a wild boar in Hunting. But the Monks would not admit less than a supernatural origin to the bodily defect of a Prince so greatly their favorite. Henry, they say, while praying by night in a Church dedicated to the Virgin, saw our Saviour himself, clad in Pontifical robes, proceed to the celebration of Mass; he was followed first by St. Lawrence, then by St. Vincent as Subdeacon; after these came the Virgin Mary with a throng of Maidens and Angels; St. Peter and St. John heading the Apostles and Evangelists; St. Stephen with the Martyrs, and St. Martin with the Confessors. The Angels commenced the Introit, "Suscipimus, Deus, misericordiam

France.
From
A. D.
987,
to
A. D.
1109,
King of Bertrade.

GERMANY.
From
A. D.
1002,
to
A. D.
1106,
Accession of Henry II.
A. D.
1002.

The Lombards choose Arduin of Ivrea King.

Henry II. is crowned at Pavia.
A. D.
1004.

Burning of Pavia.

History.

From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

Few transactions of this reign demand any special notice, although its course was by no means inactive. The struggle with Arduin continued during thirteen years; it was conducted far more as a feud between Milan and Pavia, than as a war between Germany and the Lombards, and it terminated by the voluntary retirement of the Pretender to a Monastery. Long and not inglorious wars with Boleslaus of Poland, the subjugation of Bohemia, the vigilant control of his own Vassals, and a partly successful contest with the Greeks in Puglia and Calabria, furnished ample occupation for the two and twenty years of Henry's rule; and notwithstanding his exaggerated superstition, he could not have been devoid either of energy or ability. He received the Crown of the Empire from Benedict VIII. at Rome, and the wily Pope is said to have entrapped him by an artful inquiry, before entering St. Peter's, whether he would always preserve his fidelity to himself and his successors? a question to which the simplicity of the Emperor replied in the affirmative. More than once, jaded with the cares of State and deeply tinged with the bigotry of his Age, he projected an exchange of the Crown for the Tonsure. On the first occasion, he was dissuaded by the urgency of his Nobles, and in lieu of taking the cowl himself he founded a rich Prebend in the Church of Strasburgh, for a Canon whom he named King of the Choir. At a later date, during a progress through Lorraine, not long before his decease, he absolutely tendered his vows to the Abbot of St. Vannes, in Verdun.

"Do you promise," asked the discreet Priest, "obedience throughout life to your Superior, according to our rule?" "I do so," replied the Emperor. "Fulfil then your vow, receive my injunctions without opposition, as becomes one professed in my Cloister, and return to the administration of your Government."^a

But the chief weakness which Henry II. exhibited regards his Empress Cunegunda, daughter of Sigefrid Count of Luxemburg. Prompted by a false estimate of moral duty, and not improbably also by coldness of temperament and constitutional imbecility,† he had made, even before marriage, a vow of total abstinence from the bed of his Consort. That such an arrangement was unsatisfactory to the youthful Bride, and that she endeavoured to remedy her nominal husband's neglect can scarcely be a matter of surprise. But the Ecclesiastics carefully protected her reputation. They declared the handsome Knight who on three successive mornings was seen to quit her chamber, to be none other than the Devil, who, envious of her inviolable chastity, had assumed that form in order that she might labour under a false imputation of adultery. Thus powerfully supported, Cunegunda could have little dread of encountering the ordeal of the red-hot Ploughshares which the Priests superintended; and she demanded, and trod

them," and while they were chanting "*Dextera tua est plena justitie*," the whole Choir, following the example of our Sovereign, pointed with their fingers at Henry. After the Gospel had been read, an Angel presented the holy volume to receive a kiss from each person in the assembly, and when it had gone round, the Virgin made a sign that it should be offered to Henry. Enraptured by the honour, he was lost in ecstasy, till the Angel touched him on a sinew of the leg, saying, "This shall be a token to you of the love of God on account of your chastity and justice;" and from that moment the Emperor fell lame. *Annales Fuldensis*, iii. 15. *ad fin.*

^a Albericus Trut Fontium, p. 286.
[†] *Moribus erat, colto, calidoque epilepsia plurimum laborans*, Struvius, *Corpus Germanic.* i. 271. and the authorities there cited. *C'était se déclarer impuissant on fanaïque*, is the just remark of Voltaire. *Annales de l'Empire*, *ad ann.* 1024.

over them unscathed, as two still preserved in a Church at Bamberg attest with evidence once considered incontrovertible.* Her husband's conviction of her innocence, the point most important to Cunegunda, was effectually established by this boldness; and when on his death-bed he restored her to her relations, it was with a solemn attestation of her maiden purity.† That which her Spouse avouched it did not become a Pope to question; and when Innocent III. canonized *Saint Cunegunda*, his Bull was rested, perhaps with equally firm foundation in each point, upon the Devil, the Ploughshares, and the Empress's Virginity.‡ Henry died at Grone, near Bamberg, in his fifty-second year, having recommended Conrad Duke of Franconia as his successor. About twenty-five years after his decease, Eugenius II. advanced him to the Calendar of Saints; and it must be admitted that many a Prince with inferior pretensions has received similar distinction.§

The Diet of the Empire chose as their Sovereign, Conrad, the Prince whom the late Emperor had bequeathed to their approbation, who was descended maternally from Otho the Great, and who is known most generally as *Le Salic*, from his birth-place on the river Sâle. The Lombards again refused assent to the German nomination, and tendered their Crown successively to Robert of France, to his son Hugh, and to William Duke of Aquitaine. Each of those Princes had ultimately sufficient discretion to decline the hazardous offer, and Conrad, having entered Italy in arms, quieted all opposition, received the Imperial Crown at Rome, and invested his son Henry with the right of succession at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Kings of Poland, of Hungary, and of Bohemia, and the Count of Champagne by turns called him to the field, and against all those enemies he was triumphant. His success over the last, Eudes of Champagne, secured an important accession to the Crown of Germany, and no doubt prevented a Revolution in the Dynasty of France. The Kingdom of the two Burgundys|| had passed to Rodolph III., deservedly named *Le Fainéant*, who dying without issue after an imbecile and protracted reign of thirty-nine years, bequeathed his dominions to Conrad, in return for succours and subsidies which he had more than once received both from him and his predecessor. The possession of the Lance of St. Maurice, the most precious

* *Judicio voveram Cunigunda Virgo probatur*. Nevertheless Krantzius either had not seen the Ploughshares at Bamberg, for which Struvius is our authority, (i. p. 282. n. 8.) or he did not believe in them; for he states that Cunegunda carried in her hands a red-hot iron bar, and adds a striking instance of Henry's uxorious simplicity at the close of the Ordinal. *Id puen compertum erat pudicissimam feminam quod apud Regem ea suspitione non careret, jussit igniri ferrum, et in conspectu Regis condens deportant, ostenditque viro manus intactas.* "Uti te mi," inquit, "vir intacta permanni, sic ab omni mari: pone suspitionem." *Ille incantissima feminam ad pedes provolvi incipiens, ab ea non sinitur, veneratione humiliter deprecatus.* *Saxonia*, iv. p. 97.

† Both Struvius and Leibnitz are inclined to interpret *Virgo* as *no more than barren*; but a doctrine fully similar to that of Henry II. is recorded of Edward the Confessor. R. Higden, *Polychronicon*, *ad ann.* 1043.

‡ See the words of the Bull. Struvius, i. 283. note 10.

§ M. de Simondis has drawn an admirable parallel between the Emperor Henry II. and King Robert II. of France; much and deservedly to the advantage of the former. *Hist. des Français*, v. ch. iv. p. 163.

|| Krantzius assures us that a cup is preserved at Mersburg, which St. Lawrence threw into the scale in which Henry's good deeds were weighed against his sins; and that when the Devil found he had no portion in the dying Emperor, he spitefully broke off its handle. *Saxonia*, iv. p. 99.

¶ Consolidated a. d. 926. See p. 472 of this Volume.

German
From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

Death of
Henry I.
A. D.
1024.

Accession
of Conrad
the Saint.

Accession
of Burgundy.
A. D.
1032.

History.
From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.
War with
Eudes of
Champagne.
A. D.
1033.

relic belonging to the Kingdom, and the symbol of Royalty,* was esteemed by Conrad, to whom it was delivered by express command of the dying Prince, as ample investiture: but Eudes of Champagne, husband of one of Rodolph's Sisters, preoccupied Burgundy with his troops, and contested the succession. Conrad, after a few efforts in that Kingdom, wisely transferred his military operations to the territory of Eudes himself; which he entered with a force so overpowering as to terrify his rival into speedy submission. If Eudes had been able to unite Burgundy to his hereditary possessions of Champagne, Blois, Chartres, and Tours, it can little be doubted that his predominating influence by this attainment of the greater part of France, must have substituted his own Family on the Throne of that Kingdom in the place of the Capetians.

To Lombardians.
Eudes, however, was destined once again to enter into competition with the Emperor. The pride and tyranny of Heribert Archbishop of Milan had occasioned disturbances in Lombardy; and Conrad, actuated more by a sense of justice than of expediency, arrested and imprisoned that Prelate, hitherto the chief stay of his Italian interests. But the citizens of Milan, jealous of their rights, and profiting by the oppressions which their Metropolitan had exercised, not over themselves but the district by which they were surrounded, rose in his favour and liberated him from confinement. When Conrad hastened in person to quell this insurrection, he was repulsed from the walls of his Capital, and suffered the great additional mortification of hearing that the Crown of Lombardy was offered by the rebels to his former opponent Eudes. The exaltation of the Count of Champagne, however, was but of short continuance. In an action near Bar le Due with the Duke of Lower Lorraine, he was totally defeated; and when his flying troops were rallied, their Leader was among the missing. No one in the German camp could explain his absence to the Herald sent to treat for ransom, on the supposition that he had been taken prisoner; and no Knight remembered engaging with him in personal conflict. His Countess, Ermenguard of Auvergne, obtained permission to search the field of battle, where the dead, for the most part already stripped, were lying in heaps and almost undistinguishable; but, as in a similar touching instance in our own Annals, after the Battle of Hastings, the keen eye of female affection detected the remains of one whom she had loved, and the headless and disfigured corpse of Eudes, recognised by his widow, received due honours of interment†.

To the death of Conrad.
The death of the Count of Champagne freed Conrad from a powerful foe, but he was not yet successful in Italy. On his advance into the South, the pestilential heats of an Apulian Summer, fearfully diminishing his ranks, compelled him to retreat; and before he could renew the campaign in the following year, he was seized with gout at Utrecht, and fell its victim after a short illness.

Henry III.
We need not dwell upon the campaigns against the Barbarian Poles and Bohemians, with which the reign of his son and successor Henry III. commenced, and we pass on to his first transactions with Rome. The Counts of Tusculum, retaining the wealth, power, and

ambition of Theodora and Marozia, from whom they traced their descent, were animated also with a similar spirit of simoniacal traffic; and their influence over the Roman populace secured to them a lucrative monopoly of the Pontificate. Since the beginning of the XIth Century three Cadets of the House of Tusculum had been raised successively to the Tiara; and Benedict VIII. in 1012, his brother John XIX.* in 1024, and their nephew Benedict IX. in 1033, appeared to have fixed the Papacy, as if by hereditary right, in a single Family. The last-named of these Vicars of Christ is said to have assumed the supremacy of the Church in his tenth year; during his reign the Chair of St. Peter was profaned by unspeakable abominations; and the Roman People, at length provoked to insurrection, rose in a body, chased the tyrant from the City, and on their own authority elevated to the Papedom a Bishop who assumed the style of Sylvester III. Within three months, however, Benedict partially reestablished himself by force of arms; but more desirous of free indulgence in his licentiousness than of the exercise of active power, he found means to dispose of a share of the sovereignty for a considerable sum of money to one John Gratian, who under the title of Gregory VI. completed the triumvirate of simultaneously existing Popes. Each Pontiff received a distinct portion of the Apostolical Revenue; and it is noticed that the share allotted to Benedict arose from the Peterpence of England.‡ Each also, guarded by his own faction, occupied a different Palace; and Benedict from the Lateran, Gregory from Sta. Maria Maggiore, and Sylvester from the Vatican, asserted a Spiritual Dominion which must not a little scandalize the staunch Believers in the unity of that Church which has acknowledged them all.

More than two years had elapsed since the commencement of this schism before the general murmurs of Christendom determined the King of Germany to bring it to a close. For that purpose he proceeded to Italy, assembled a Council at Sutri, summoned the three Pretenders to its sitting, and deposed Gregory who obeyed, no less than his contumacious brethren who refused attendance.§ He then filled up the Papacy by his Chancellor Sudger, who held the Episcopal See of Bamberg, and who having assumed the style of Clement II. placed the Crown on the brows of his Imperial Patron and his Consort. By a similar exertion of

Germany.
From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

The Triple
Papacy.

Deposed by
Henry III.
A. D.
1046.

* John XIX. was Consul, Duke, and Senator of Rome; *uno eodemque die Laicus et Pontifex fuit*, says Romsdualdus of Salerno.

† *Puer ferat decem.* Galfridus Rodolphus, iv. 5.

‡ *Benedictus redditibus Angliæ, quia majores redditibus auctoritatis, rivit.* Otto Frisingensis, vi. c. 33. That writer, who has been followed by the Authors of the *Universal History*, and by Voltaire in his *Annales de l'Empire*, mentions four simultaneous Popes, Benedict IX., two others to whom he does not assign names, and lastly, *religiosus quidam Presbyter Gratianus*, who commiserated the state of the Papacy, simoniacally contracted for a share in it. Struvius, who cites the passage from Otto in a note, alludes by three Popes in his text, *Benedictus, Sylvester, et Gregorius, cui prius Gratianus nomen erat.* (i. 287.) The mistake of the other writers has arisen from splitting Gregory VI., on account of his two names John Gratian, into two persons. Muratori properly styles him *Giovanni chiamato Graziano*. *Annales*, ad ann. 1044; and so also do the *Benedictines*, *L'Archiprêtre Jean Gratien—Gregory VI., qui est ce même Gratien*. *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, i. 276.

§ According to the *Annalista Sazo*, ad ann. 1046, Henry was stimulated to this good work either by a Hermit or an Angel, who addressed him in the following triplex.

*Una Summis super tribus moris;
Res Henrice, Omnipotens vice,
Solve convulsum trifurcæ, dubium!*

* Hugo Flaviniensis, xxix. p. 185.

† Galfridus Rodolphus, iii. 9. who destroys the pathos of the incident which he is relating by a most perverse and misplaced particularity.

History.

From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

Commence-
ment of
Hilde-
brand's in-
fluence.

Insurrec-
tion in the
Low Coun-
tries.
A. D.
1049.

The Em-
peror
challenges
the King of
France to
single com-
bat.
A. D.
1056.

Death of
Henry III.

Minority of
Henry IV.

plenary authority, taking upon himself the sole and absolute right of appointment, instead of that of mere approbation and confirmation which had been exercised by his immediate predecessors, Henry, when vacancies again occurred in the Pontificate, named Damasus II. in 1048, Leo IX. in 1049, and Victor II. in 1055. The last of these Popes was indebted for his elevation to the ascendancy obtained over the Emperor by Hildebrand, a Monk of Clugny, a personage already known to our readers by his fierce denunciation of Philip I. of France, and soon about to engross an important portion of our narrative. One of the earliest manifestations of the fervent spirit and predominating influence of that most remarkable man was exhibited by his persuading Leo IX. not to content himself with the Emperor's nomination, nor to rest his appointment upon the will of a mere Secular Power, incompetent to the high duty of which it arrogated to itself the performance. St. Bruno, (as he afterwards became,) convinced by Hildebrand's zealous representations, consented to forego the title which he derived from the Emperor, and entering Rome in the habit of a Pilgrim, solicited and obtained the suffrages of the Clergy and the People.

The Emperor's return from Rome, after annulling the Triple Papacy, was accelerated by troubles in his dominions nearer the Seat of Government. A powerful confederation of Nobles in the Low Countries invited Henry I. of France to join his arms with theirs for the recovery of Lorraine, that ancient and coveted appanage of his Crown. If the King of France ever hesitated as to the course which it was most politic that he should adopt, discretion ultimately prevailed, and he refused all connection with the Insurgents. The Emperor succeeded in repressing them, and afterwards held an amicable conference with the French King, in which their alliance was closely cemented. Fresh provocation after the lapse of a few years led him once again to the Low Countries in hostile guise; and in a second interview with Henry I. that King remonstrated so bitterly upon the ravage of the territory of his Vassals, and accused the German Monarch of perfidy in terms so unmeasured, that the Emperor treated the invectives as a personal affront, and challenged the King to single combat.* So chivalric an appeal ill suited the tame and inglorious spirit to which it was addressed, and the King of France avoided the difficulty of a reply to the cartel by hastily breaking up his quarters at nightfall.

Having secured, so far as association could guarantee his title, the succession of his infant son, having established peace for the most part in Germany, purged the Romish See of manifold abuses, and confirmed himself in paramount authority as disposer of its Tiara, this wise, good, and active Prince terminated his reign prematurely and unhappily. The Slavonians of Lusatia, pressed by famine, made a fierce irruption into Saxony, overthrew the Imperial forces in a bloody action, ravaged the entire Province, and retired with an enormous booty. The evil news struck Henry to the heart; he languished but a short time, and after committing the guardianship of his son to his Consort, Agnes of Poitiers, and the reigning Pope, he expired to the great loss of his subjects, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

The minority of Henry IV., a child but five years old at his Father's death, was troublous and stormy. Pope Victor died in less than a year from the assumption of

his intelligence, and the single guardianship of the Empress Germany. was watched with jealousy by the Saxon Nobles. The inroads upon secular power made by Nicholas II. who succeeded Victor in the Pontificate, and the double election of Alexander II. and Honorius II. on his death, will be more fittingly introduced in our Chapter on the Ecclesiastical History of those times; and in approaching the great struggle about to ensue between Rome and the Empire, the reader will bear in mind, once for all, that in this place we treat of no more than the position which relates to Civil affairs.

Henry Bishop of Augsburg shared the intimate confidence of the Imperial Widow, and the virulence of faction has charged their correspondence with less pure motives than those supplied by friendship; an imputation easily advanced, and which it is but just to state derives no support from any known particulars of the conduct of Agnes. It was enough, however, for the discontented that this base rumour had been spread abroad and was partially accredited; and the leading Nobles and Prelates, headed by the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, resolved upon a daring attempt to obtain custody of the young Emperor's person; and thus to remove him from a guardianship which they represented to be dangerous and immoral. A grand banquet, at which Agnes and her Son were entertained at Kayserswerth on the Rhine, presented facilities for this plot; and to Hanno Archbishop of Cologne was intrusted its execution. As the wily Prelate strolled with the simple and unsuspecting youth on the borders of the river, the admiration of the latter was strongly attracted by a new and richly decorated barge floating at hand; and the proposition of Hanno that they should embark and inspect it more closely was joyfully accepted. No sooner, however, were they on board, than the rowers sprang to their oars, and directed their course to the opposite bank. The boy, terrified at this unexpected movement, and uncertain of its object, threw himself into the stream, with the intention of swimming back; and but for the promptitude of the Count of Brunswick, who leaped after him, he would have been drowned in this attempt to escape. He was transferred to Cologne, and placed under the care of Hanno, by whom his ear was daily fed with the foulest calumnies against his Mother. The Empress herself, hopeless of recovering her Son, took a step which ought to have been effectual in the rebutment of scandal. She retired from Germany, and from the society by which it was affirmed she had been most passionately attracted; and after passing a short time in the dominions of her brother the Duke of Aquitaine, she embraced a monastic life at Rome, and finished her days in the cloister.

Under the tuition of his new guardians, and by the disgraceful connivance of a Bishop placed more immediately about his person, Henry's early youth was abandoned to licentiousness. Nevertheless most authorities speak with admiration of his natural endowments. Elegance of person, courtousness of bearing, quickness of comprehension, extensive acquaintance with Letters, a hand brave and bountiful, lips eloquent and persuasive, are among the choice possessions assigned to him.* The state of Germany, when he attained his majority and escaped from the virtual thralldom in which he had been detained by the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, was most unfavourable to the Imperial Prerogative; and

* Lambert Schnafnburgensis, *ad ann.* 1056.

* Albericus, *ad ann.* 1083.

History. those great Lords, reluctant to surrender the authority which they had so long exercised, formed an open league against their Sovereign. Jealous, however, of the ascendancy of their overgrown brother Feudatories, the majority of Barons supported their young King; and by their aid Henry for a time dissipated the opposition, proclaimed Otho of Bavaria to be under the Ban of the Empire, stripped him of his Duchy, and bestowed it upon Guelph, son of Azxon of Este. It was not with equal success that he engaged in transactions with Rome. Fickle in his attachments to women, and dissatisfied with a Consort, Bertha of Suza, who had been provided for him in his sixteenth year, he protested that the marriage had never yet been consummated, and earnestly entreated Alexander II. to sanction a divorce. The Pope, guided on the other hand by the counsels of Hildebrand, and conscious that he was sufficiently powerful to gain his own object without submitting to a bargain, refused assent to this solicitation; but he at the same time urged Henry, under pain of the utmost Spiritual penalties, to abandon his simoniacal distribution of Church Patronage, and to concede all the other demands which Rome was now pressing on the Crowned Heads of Europe. Henry, with an ill grace, submitted to domestic disappointment rather than to an abandonment of his Regal privileges; he consented to retain Bertha as his wife, and a numerous issue proved his sincerity. But on the second point, he was not so readily subdued; he tendered countless vague protestations of obedience, spoke humbly of his penitence, acknowledged by words the paramount superiority of the Holy See; but at the same time perseveringly framed new pretences to delay compliance with its injunctions. The Pope, equally resolute not to admit this temporizing, assumed a more commanding tone; and issued a citation by which Henry was summoned to appear at Rome, and to give answer in person relative to the offences with which he had been charged.

The death of Alexander diverted the storm for a short season. On the morning which followed that event, the fervid and vehement Monk of Clugny was raised by acclamation to the vacant Chair of St. Peter, under the style of Gregory VII.* Feeling, nevertheless, that he was mistrusted by a numerous party of Ecclesiastics, and willing to establish himself firmly in the Pontificate before he attempted to compass, in its full extent, the dangerous and difficult scheme of universal domination which he had long meditated, he signified to the Court of Germany, that he set no value upon the irregular and tumultuous election which had proclaimed him Pope; that it had taken place without his previous wish or knowledge; that he was fully prepared to lay aside the Tiara; and that he would on no account permit the Ceremony of his inauguration to be solemnized until he should receive a formal announcement of Henry's consent. Deceived by these idle pretences of humility, the young King promptly signified his approbation; and Gregory hastened to atone for the first and only mark of deference which he ever condescended to offer to a Secular Power.

The grand object to which Hildebrand addressed the whole energies of his vigorous mind, was a withdrawal

of the Church altogether from that extrinsic authority asserted over the Ecclesiastical States by the Emperors as Kings of Italy. The prerogative thus claimed by them manifested itself in countless shapes, offending the pride and restricting the power of the Holy See; by nominating and confirming the Popes themselves, by appointing Prefects of Rome, by exercising judicial functions in their names, by levying annual tribute, by dating the Pontifical Acts according to the years of the reigning Emperor, by stamping money with the Imperial symbols, and by investing all Prelates with the Ring and Crosier. This last-named right, claimed similarly throughout their own Realms by other European Sovereigns, although at first sight it appeared to be little more than a Ceremony, virtually placed the Superior Ecclesiastics under the control of the Prince within whose dominions their Benefices might happen to be situated; for the Fiefs and Revenues could be granted or withheld, the Prelate therefore in truth could be appointed or rejected, at the Sovereign's pleasure. The Ring and Crosier were the Feudal badges of Ecclesiastical Livery and Seisin; and at the time of their presentation by the Royal hand, the Bishop or Abbot pledged an oath of fealty and allegiance to the Lord under whom he held. It was this dependence of his Clergy upon their Princes that Hildebrand sought to terminate, by a Decree issued from Rome in the year 1074, which denounced as Simony all payments to Royal Treasuries on Investiture, and all Lay Investiture itself, as a usurpation of Spiritual power. Of the Spiritual right, however, he felt little jealous, it was the temporal supremacy which he really panted to overthrow; and if he could once emancipate his Prelates from their subjection, it followed as a matter of course, that the Pope, the Head of those Prelates, would no longer depend upon, nor be nominated by the Emperor.

It was not from Italy, however, that Hildebrand was most likely to obtain support, and had he relied wholly on the Cisalpinæ, the degradation of Henry would never have been accomplished. One distinguished exception indeed is to be noticed; and to the unbounded wealth and extensive influence which the Pope derived either from the fanaticism or the personal attachment of a woman, may be attributed a great portion of his success. Matilda, sole surviving child of Boniface, Lord of Tuscany and Canossa, and of Beatrice, sister of the Emperor Henry III.,* by the death of both her Parents united in her own person the largest possessions in Italy; and these she dedicated to the single purpose of enriching and aggrandizing the Pontificate. From her Mother, who had been harshly treated by Henry III., the Great Countess, as she was called, inherited bitter hatred of the Imperial House; and to her wealth, her power, and her impetuosity of feeling, were added unwearied energy and a masculine understanding. Strengthened on the one hand by this alliance, which placed at his disposal the chief resources of Italy,

* Matilda therefore was Cousin to Henry IV. The influence which the successor of Gregory continued to maintain over her sufficiently refutes the scandalous imputations relative to her connection with that Pope. It was plainly to the offer not to the man that she was devoted. *Sed apud omnes nomen aliquid impetente luce clarior constabat solita esse que dicebantur.* (Lambert Schaffnaburgensis, *op. Boqueti*, xl. 68.) Matilda's possessions embraced Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Piacenza, Modena, Verona, all the Country now passing under the name of the Patrimony of St. Peter from Viterbo to Orvieto, parts of Umbria, Spoleto, and the March of Ancona.

* Gregory VII. is said to be the first Bishop of Rome who assumed the title of Pope, (*Papa*), to the exclusion of all other Prelates, who equally employed it before his accession. Canteius, *Metropolitanarum Urbium Hist. Diss.* i. cap. i. p. 7.

Germany.
From
A. D.
1092.
to
A. D.
1106.

The
Countess
Matilda.

History.

From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

Gregory
cites Henry
to Rome.

A. D.
1076.

Henry de-
grades Gre-
gory and is
himself de-
posed.

The Saxons
rebel,

and invite
Gregory to
Augsburg.

and on the other by a knowledge of the ill-suppressed disaffection of the Saxons, ever ready for an outbreak, Gregory soon renewed, yet more fiercely than they had hitherto been urged, the demands of his predecessor, and added others from himself. Four leading German Prelates were excommunicated on the plea of their marriage; for the celibacy of the Priesthood, which ensured the concentration of all their exertions for the interests of their Order, was another favourite object with Gregory; similar anathemas were directed against every Ecclesiastic who should submit to receive Investiture from Lay hands, no less than against the Investor himself; and Legates were despatched, not to invite the King of the Romans to receive his Imperial Crown, according to ancient usage, from the hands of the Holy Father in his Capital, but to summon him as a criminal before the Tribunal of the Vatican under the pain of Interdict and Deposition.

Roused to ungovernable anger by this unseemly arrogance, the young and impetuous King permitted the Legates to be treated with disrespect, and anticipating the menaces of Gregory, took the first step by a solemn degradation of the Pope himself. He was answered, as might be expected, by a no less solemn Bull of deposition. Thus far the contending parties were by no means unequal, each alike triumphed in words, each carried a similar appearance of victory, each to his heart's content insulted his antagonist by unworthy re-creation. But in order to hurl Gregory from his Throne, it was necessary that the King of the Romans should first levy, and then lead an army to the gates of Rome; while effectually to realize his menace on Henry, the Pope was already in possession of weapons far more manageable. Excommunications were the sure and prolific seeds of Civil War, and the Saxons, freed by the Head of the Church from an allegiance under which they had always chafed and struggled, once more appeared in arms against their Sovereign. It was still a Duke of Bavaria by whom they were headed; not the inveterate and hereditary foe of Henry, but that very Guelph upon whom he had recently bestowed the possessions of which that very foe had been deprived. The insurgent Confederation was also strengthened by the majority of Nobles and Bishops who had but lately sanctioned the deposition of the Pope;* and who with disgraceful apostasy now invited that same Pope to Augsburg, to sit in judgment upon their King, whose Crown they spoke of proffering to Rodolph Duke of Suabia.

Abandoned at all hands, and fully conscious of the result of any assembly at which Gregory should preside, and his own Nobles be assessors, the only hope remaining to Henry was in the prevention of this menaced Council. His citation to Rome named the second week in Lent for his appearance; it was now midwinter; not a moment therefore was to be lost. Together with his Queen and their infant son, accompanied by a scanty suite, he traversed hazardous and unusual Passes of the Alps in order to avoid the common route beset by Rodolph and his followers. The Queen and her women were conveyed in hides, slung probably from the bearers' shoulders; and the horses were lowered from precipice to precipice, sometimes by machinery, at others by ropes

after their legs had been tied together.* Gregory was at that time already on his way to Germany, when hearing of the King's approach, uncertain of his intentions, and not knowing whether he was appearing hostilely with an armed force, he turned aside for security to the Castle of Matilda at Canossa, near Reggio. Even when he learned the humble guise in which the King presented himself, long and earnest intercession was requisite before he would consent to admit the suppliant to his presence. He at first demanded that Henry should place in his hands the Crown and Regalia as tokens of sincere and lively repentance; that he should acknowledge his contumacy; and confess himself to be unworthy of his Throne; leaving the result to the discretion of the Pontiff. When further entreated not to break the bruised reed by pressing measures so extreme, it was with difficulty that he could be persuaded to relax those hard conditions, and to consent to an interview. On the appointed morning, the King was admitted within the second of the three walls with which the Castle was encircled, his retinue being detained in the outermost Court. Stripped of all the pomp which might betoken Royalty, habited in a private, perhaps in a sordid garb, fasting and bewailing himself with many tears, and standing with naked feet on ground deeply buried in snow, Henry, from dawn till sunset, awaited admission to the presence of his Judge. Another and another day passed in like sorrow, contempt, and humiliation. On the fourth morning, he was permitted an audience, chiefly, as is believed, through the prayers of Matilda, and after long and doubtful discussion he was relieved from excommunication for a season. This boon, however, was not granted unconditionally. He was condemned to abstain from the usage of all outward symbols, and from the exercise of all essential prerogatives of Royalty, until he had returned to his dominions, and there having presented himself before a Diet of his Vassals, the Princes of Germany, at a place and time which Gregory would appoint, he was to plead his cause and receive final sentence from the Pope. The establishment of his innocence might obtain his restoration, provided he swore perpetual obedience to the Holy See. The proof of his guilt involved the certain loss of his Crown, and subjection to such punishments as the Ecclesiastical Law might think fit to impose. Furthermore, he was enjoined as an act of penance, to reside for an entire year in Rome, during which period he was never to mount a horse, and daily to attend as a Penitent with prayer and fasting in the stations of certain appointed Churches.*

The Italians had received their King with marks of esteem and loyalty; for Gregory, like other Prophets, was not most honoured in his own Country. They were accordingly both indignant at the Pope's unbending and unmitigable resentment, and disgusted at the lameness of Henry's submission; and they talked loudly of naming another King and another Pontiff; choosing for the former Henry's infant son, whom they resolved to carry to Rome, that he might be crowned Emperor by the new Pope, whom they intended to establish. Encouraged rather than dispirited by these appearances, Henry adroitly turned them to his own account. No sooner had he quitted Canossa than he openly renounced all the conditions into which he had been terrified and

Germany,
From
A. D.
1002,
to
A. D.
1106.

* *Ego Henricus Rex, Dei gratia, cum omnibus Episcopis nostris tibi dicimus* "Decende, Decende!" were the words with which the emissive sent to Gregory from Worms concluded. Ursinus, i. 394.

* Lambert Schnafnaburgensis, *ad ann.*

† *Idem, ibid.* and Albertus Stadenius, *ad ann.*

Henry's
values in
situation

History. entrapped, hastened back to Germany, and confident of support from the Italians, defied the Saxon Rebels. The German Diet in return at once proclaimed Rodolph King. That Noble, represented as the best and bravest, or the basest and most atrocious of mankind, according as the pen is held by a Papal or by an Imperial Chronicler, in earlier life had become brother-in-law to Henry; but both his attachment and his allegiance had decreased after the death of his wife, and he had long distinguished himself among the King's most active enemies. The two conditions required by the Nobles before they permitted his Coronation were, that he should abstain from all simoniacal Investitures, and from any attempt to establish an hereditary Throne for his family. The Pope at first was dissatisfied with this election, as made without his privity; but not long afterwards, in token of his sanction and approval, he sent the new King a Crown of Gold, bearing an inscription, which from its Leonine jingle has been often remembered, when the event which gave it birth was, perhaps, either forgotten or unknown,

*Petra dedit Petra, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.**

History. It was on this renewal of the quarrel that the Countess Matilda made her celebrated and magnificent donation to the Holy See, and enriched the Church of Rome with her entire vast possessions at the expense of her legitimate heir. "For the salvation of my own soul, and that of my parents," as the deed of gift declares, "I give to the Church of St. Peter, through the medium of Lord Gregory the VIIIth, our Pope, all and singular my possessions which I now enjoy or may enjoy hereafter, either by right of succession, or by any other right, whether on this or the other side of the Alps."† Thus fortunate in his Civil transactions, the Pontiff was less so in the field, now taken by his instruments the Saxons. Bohemia and Bavaria recruited Henry's ranks, and so evil appeared the prospects of Rodolph, that before the close of the first campaign, Gregory peremptorily enjoined a truce between the rivals, and instructed his Legates to confirm on the Throne that one of them who should first prove obedient to the command, and to excommunicate the other if he should refuse assent. Rodolph was in this instance also the favourite of St. Peter. The campaigns of the two following years witnessed engagements with various fortune, and it was in the middle of the second October that the rivals found themselves for the last time in each other's presence near Merseburg. Hildebrand had boldly prophesied that before that year concluded, the false King should perish; and the juggling and ambiguous oracle was verified, like many others, contrary to the wishes and expectations of the deliverer.‡ The Saxons remained masters of the field, but Rodolph, although victorious, was grievously wounded in the body, and his right hand was also cut off by Godfrey of Bouillon, the Hero afterwards so celebrated in the Holy Wars. Rodolph died on the following day at Merseburg, and it is said that before his last agony, he pointed to the mutilated stump, and confessed to the bystanders, with much bitterness of lamentation, that it was with that hand, "that guilty hand," he had sworn allegiance

to Henry. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp in the Cathedral, where Struvius informs us,* that so late as his time, a Cenotaph and the amputated hand (probably contained in an urn) were still to be seen. The grave itself was rudely violated in the middle of the XVIth Century, by a boozing German Burgomaster, who disturbed it in order to make wine vaults.† It is said that when Henry IV. visited the tomb, and some flatterer remarked to him that it ought to be destroyed because it was decorated with a Crown and Sceptre, he pointedly replied, "God forbid! would that all my enemies were as sumptuously buried!"

Having bestowed the hand of a Daughter and the Fief of Rodolph on Frederic de Hohen Stauffen, (the parent stem of the illustrious and unhappy house of Suabia,) Henry passed into Italy, directing his first vengeance against the territories of the Great Countess. Those dominions were easily overrun, for Matilda's troops had already been beaten on the same day which witnessed the Battle of Merseburg; but Rome, upon which the co-King afterwards marched, protracted her defence during a long and tedious siege. That quarter termed the Leonine City was at length taken either by assault or treachery, and Henry entering the Vatican with Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, whom he had previously named Pope as Clement III., first invested the new Pontiff, and then in turn received at his hands the Crown of the Empire. The Romans, it appears, in order to escape pillage, had given a pledge that they would compel Gregory himself to perform that ceremony, but he was already beyond their control. Justly alarmed at the near prospect of Henry's resentment, he had withdrawn into the Castle of St. Angelo, the strength of which defied attack; and either willing to relieve his citizens from their promise, or in derision of the conqueror, he offered to drop the Crown on Henry's brows by ropes from the battlements of his fortress.‡ A Crown thus descending might have proved too weighty a burthen, and the expedient was prudently declined. A deliverer, however, awaited Gregory in one whose still more brilliant exploits in Southern Italy we have yet to notice; and Robert Guiscard, with his strong host of Normans and Apulians, 6000 horse and 30,000 foot, drove Henry from the Capital by the mere terror of his advance. Unhappily, this succour was to visit the Eternal City with yet greater calamity than she had endured even from Attila and his Huns. Some injury had already been inflicted by the Emperor, and the Septizonium of Severus, at the foot of the Palatine, into which a few of the partisans of Gregory had thrown themselves, mourned the loss of a portion of its finest marbles, shattered by engines and dislodged from the magnificent triple colonnade by which it was encircled. But when the Normans appeared, and the walls of the City were mined and scaled near the gate of S. Lorenzo,§ every monument of antiquity, behind which the retreating Imperialists could obtain shelter, suffered equally from its assailants and its defenders. On the third day the populace rose tumultuously, and Guiscard, little touched by remembrance of the former glory or the present sanctity of the noble edifices surrounding him, called impetuously for fire, and the City

Germany.

From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

Henry in-
vades Italy.
A. D.
1081.

is crowned
at Rome.
A. D.
1033.

Burning of
Rome by
Robert
Guiscard.
A. D.
1084

* *Ordericus Vitalis*, i. p. 371. Baronius gives the first word *Roma*.

† The original Deed was lost; and the words translated above are those of a Second Instrument, accorded by Matilda to Pucal II. in 1102. They are cited by Struvius, i. 327. See also Koeler, *De Donatione Matildæ*, and Fontenini, *Memorie di Matilde*.

‡ Sigebertus Gemblacensis, *ad ann.* 2.

* See the authorities *ap. Struvium*, i. 330.

† Fabricius, *Orig. Sax.* iii. 350. *ap. Struvium ut sup.*

‡ Leo Ostiensis, iii. 39.

§ Giannone, x. *Introd.*

History.

From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

Death of
Gregory
VII.
A. D.
1085.

The Saxons
elect Count
Herman
King.

His remark-
able death.
A. D.
1058.

Revolt of
Henry's
eldest son
Conrad.
A. D.
1091.

was in an instant blaze. Death, slavery, or violation was the indiscriminate portion of both friend and foe; for the Normans in their avarice of plunder wholly disregarded the particular source from which it might be drawn. From the Lateran to the Colosseum, that fair part of the ancient City became a ruined waste, which has never been rebuilt; and Gregory, flying from the carnage and desolation of his Capital, with a well-founded mistrust of the fidelity of its citizens, took refuge with his protector at Salerno. He lived but a year longer, perhaps in specious captivity; and till his last hour he renewed his anathemas against the Emperor and his Antipope. "There is but one name in the world, that of the Pope," say the *Dictates* of this Spiritual despot, the authenticity of which, since they are recorded by a Cardinal,* is hardly to be doubted, and which we cite as a specimen of Gregory's temper. "He alone can use the symbols of Empire. Every Prince ought to kiss his feet. He alone ought to nominate and to degrade Bishops, to assemble, to preside over, and to dissolve Councils. No one can sit in judgment upon him. His choice bestows canonization. His Church never has erred, and, on the testimony of Scripture, never can err. He can depose Kings, and release subjects from their allegiance."

The Civil war raged long and furiously in Germany after Henry's return from this checkered expedition; for the Saxon Nobles elected a successor to Rodolph in Count Herman of Luxemburg, a puppet of whom little is known, excepting the remarkable manner of his death. Ultimately compelled to abdicate a throne which he had never really enjoyed, he was killed ingloriously while pretending, in a frolic, to assault the castle of a friend, in order to try the mettle of the inmates. He had pressed his horse securely across the drawbridge and under the gate-tower, when a woman, who mistaking him for a real enemy had fled for refuge to the battlements of a lofty turret, dashed a huge stone upon his head and killed him on the spot.† Thus freed from his more domestic enemies, Henry retraced his steps to Italy, where the course of Gregory had been pursued by his immediate successors, Victor III. and Urban II. The persevering hatred of Matilda also had lately received fresh stimulus from her nuptials with the ungrateful Guelph of Bavaria; a Prince from whom the anti-Imperial faction, which so long agitated Europe by its contests with the Ghibelines, is said to have derived its name. That of its opponents did not originate till many years afterwards, on the birth of Henry VI. at Ghibeling.‡ During the short period in which the married pair lived together in concord, they raised an enemy against the Emperor, who occasioned him deeper bitterness of soul than any whom he had as yet encountered. Conrad, his eldest son, and already his declared successor, either impatient of the course of Nature, and panting before his time for the possession of a sceptre, or believing the foul accusations propagated against his father, leagued with Matilda, the Pope, and the Normans, and received the Iron Crown of Lombardy,

together with the hand of a daughter of Roger Guiscard. Henry, indeed, is represented to have been capricious and a lover of pleasure, and it is far from impossible that he may have used harshly a bride to whom he had recently been exposed; but for the honour of Human Nature, it requires far stronger proof than has ever yet been advanced, to obtain credit for the detestable charges by which Adelaide, flying from his arms, roused her step-son and all Italy to revolt.* So profoundly was Henry moved by the announcement of this breach of filial duty, that he is said to have attempted suicide. Alas! how far more deeply were his affections to be wounded hereafter by similar impiety!

In the next few years, events crowded rapidly on each other. Guelph of Bavaria discovering the transfer of Matilda's property to the Church, and bitterly resenting his consequent loss of its inheritance, abandoned her party, and renewed his allegiance to the Emperor; meantime Pascal II., who had succeeded to the Pontificate, excommunicated Henry afresh, and chased the Antipope Clement into exile which but shortly preceded his death. Strengthened by this termination of the schism which had so long distracted the Romish See, (for three shadowy whom the Emperor opposed to him disappeared almost so soon as they were raised,) the new Pope urged Conrad to yet further outrages by dazzling him with the bright prospect of the Imperial Crown. The youth was saved from deeper guilt than that already perpetrated, by a death not unattended with suspicion of poison; but his place was too soon occupied by another. Not long after his revolt, the Emperor had procured the election of his second son Henry as King of the Romans. On Conrad's death, after the Prince had sworn upon the Cross and the sacred Lance of Constantine that during his Father's life he would never intermeddle with affairs of State, his Coronation was solemnized; and Henry yet further meditated abdication in his Son's favour, in order that he might undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. But the lures held out by the artful policy of the Vatican rendered the young King discontented with his present nominal aggrandizement, and his tardy hope of future real power; and when Pascal absolved him from his oath, and whispered that rebellion against an excommunicated Sovereign did not partake of sinfulness, every barrier which had heretofore restrained ambition was finally broken down. It was not difficult to find support among the restless and turbulent Saxons; and ere long the hostile army of the Son was separated from that of the Father solely by the intervention of the Danube at Ratisbon. An unnatural combat was avoided, but it was at the expense of not less unnatural perfidy. The Prince contented himself at present by seizing the Imperial treasures at Spire; but early in the following year, he repaired unattended to Coblenz, and throwing himself at the Emperor's feet, solicited pardon for his disobedience. Touched by the feigned repentance of the dissembler, Henry listened as a Father rather than as a Sovereign; and consented to accompany his Son to a Diet assembled at Mentz, before which their reconciliation might be publicly declared. But to approach his

* Baronius, *ad ann.* 1076, sec. 31.

† Struvius, i. 334, and the authorities there cited. Pyrrhus, the all but equal antagonist of Rome, perished by a similar death; and Boremondo Thiepolo, who nearly overthrew the Oligarchy of Venice, in the commencement of the XIVth Century, very narrowly escaped a like catastrophe.

‡ Cette origine de ces deux mots de guerre est aussi probable et aussi incertaine que les autres. *Annales de l'Empire*, *ad ann.* 1089.

* *Henricus Rex Adelheidem Reginam quam duxit uxorem ad se capere habere; idcirco incarcerationi eam, et concessit ut periret non e inferret; immo filium hortari. Quo reconvalescit Patria palatii stratum, cum Rex non suum sed peregrini filium esse agnosceret.* Doulichius, *ad ann.* 1093.

† Albert, Thedore, and Manulphus.

Germany
From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

Death of
Conrad.
A. D.
1101.

A. D.
1103.

Birth of
the Emp-
er's son,
Conrad.
A. D.
1104.

A. D.
1105.

History.
From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.
He betrays
imprisoned,
and departs
in faith.

Barons with an armed force, it was said, might awaken jealousy; better it would be that the Emperor should demonstrate undoubting confidence in their loyalty, by presenting himself unaccompanied with troops. The crafty suggestion prevailed. The Father and Son pursued an amicable journey almost in privacy to Bingen, where, under pretext of making arrangements for their reception by the Diet, the Prince moved forward singly, and the Emperor from that moment found himself declassified a Prisoner.*

The Diet assembled; the Papal Legates rehearsed anew Pascal's Bull of Excommunication; Henry IV. was deposed; his Son was proclaimed Emperor. Three Prelates were deputed to notify these transactions to the dethroned Monarch; and not content with the simple execution of their charge, when demanding the Regalia, they upbraided him with his former Simony: "Was it our love of gold, or our special grace and personal favour," said the Monarch, struck with their ingratitude, to the Archbishops of Mainz and Cologne, "that placed the Mitre on your brows, and is it you who are now employed to tear the Crown from mine?" Then robing himself with the Imperial Mantle, circling his head with the Diadem, and seated in a Chair of State, he addressed them further. "With these attributes of Empire I was invested by the free election of my Princes, and by the grace and bounty of my God. That God can still preserve them to me, abandoned, destitute, and deserted as I appear. If your reverence for his authority has ceased, proceed to force, which I am without power to resist." A short pause ensued, till mutual encouragement prevailed over the first hesitation of the Ecclesiastics. One by one the emblems of power were rudely stripped from the Emperor's person; and the spoilers, hastily retreating after the performance of the odious task, closed their ears to Henry's parting words: which admitted that for himself he was paying a penalty justly due to the offences of his youth; but that for them no other portion could remain but with the traitor Judas who had betrayed his Master.†

The few remaining days of the elder Henry were passed in wandering and wretchedness, and it is from his own pen chiefly that we learn the tale of his miseries. In a Letter to his rebellious son soliciting permission to remain in the abode which he occupied at Liege, he urges the request, he says, not as an Emperor, but as an exile. "Let it not be told to my shame, or rather to yours, that I am forced like a beggar to look abroad for a new asylum during the holy season of Easter. If you refuse, I should prefer living as a peasant in some foreign Country to strolling about exposed every hour

to fresh scorn in an Empire which I once swayd." In a similar strain he depicted his sufferings to the chief Princes of Europe,* whom he was unable to animate in his behalf, and to his own Nobles, who replied with insult. "By your schisms with Rome," was the answer of a Diet at Cologne to one of those Memorials, "you have reduced yourself to Apostasy, almost to Paganism, and we, the Sons of the true Church, the daughter of Christ, now visited by divine clemency, agreeing in unity of Faith, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, have rejected you, the incorrigible head of that schism; we have compelled you to abdicate on account of our zeal in God's service, and our obedience to the Apostolical See; and we have chosen a Catholic King, sprung though he be from your seed;" they then upbraided him with attempting to arm other nations against them, in order that, like a wild beast of more than ordinary ferocity,† he might ravage the Vineyard of Christ, now beginning to recover; might destroy it by his foxes; and might retort, by the sacrilege of Priests of Belial, the anathemas which had been directed against himself. On these accounts, in the name of their King, of themselves, and of the whole orthodox army of Christians, they summoned him before their tribunal for judgment.

A few partisans still remained to the deposed Emperor. Cologne baffled an attack of the rebels, and a favourable skirmish on the bridge of Liege for a while encouraged hope of restoration. But a second and more decisive engagement left him prisoner in his son's hands, and reduced him for ever to despair. A dungeon was allotted him in the first instance; scorn, beggary, and houselessness were his subsequent portion. The Bishop of Spire had been his familiar friend in earlier days, and owed his consecration to the Emperor's patronage; and the old man now stood in his destitution at the gates of the Episcopal Palace, and besought a Prebend in the Cathedral which his forefathers had erected, and himself had richly endowed. He was answered that he was excommunicated, and therefore that he had no share in the Church.‡ "Give me pity, I am touched by the hand of the Lord!" was his single meek remark as he again sought refuge in Liege, and offered to sale a portion of his wardrobe to obtain daily bread.§ Nature could not long support these joint mental and bodily afflictions; and he was freed from his complicated miseries at Liege, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. With his last breath, he bequeathed his sword, almost his only remaining possession, to his ungrateful Son; "Had you left me more," was his dying message, "I would have sent you more." His obsequies were immediately celebrated with a mockery of pomp; but the vengeance of the Holy See pursued him even beyond the grave. By a man-

Germany
From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

Unsuccessful
attempts
for his re-
stitution.

He solicits
a Prebend
fruitlessly.

His death.
A. D.
1106.

Insult to
his remains.

* *Epist. Imper. ad Hugonem Abbatem Cluniacensem, ap. D'Acheri Spiciliegium*, iii. 441. It was on Christmas day 1105 that the Emperor was imprisoned, and he grievously laments exclusion from the Eucharist at that holy season. Besides that privation, he was exposed to *apprahe, injurias, minas, gladios in cervicem exercitos, furores, sitim*.

† Our narrative is framed from the Chronicles of or near the time of the events which they relate, and who are plentifully cited by Struvius. Krantzius, without noting his authorities, and writing in the XVIIIth Century, differs widely, not in facts, but in colouring. The Emperor, according to his representation, entirely tenured deposition, the Son was actuated solely by a pious abhorrence of his Father's enormities. No more convenient disguise than that of Piety could indeed be assumed by Ambition; and we believe that the Emperor's accusation is just when he declares in an expostulatory Letter to the German Diet, *Non festina est cum non divine legis zelo, vel Romane Ecclesie dilectione, et concupiscentia Regni, Patre injuste privato, hoc incipisse*. (Krantzius, Saxon. v. p. 120.)

* See especially the pathetic Letter addressed to Philip I. of France, *ap. Bouquet*, xiv. 807. *Contra ipsam jus Nature laborantes, quod sine maximo cordis dolore, sine multis lacrymis dicere non valeo, et quia dicitur vehementer contristatus, fletum meum, meum inquam dolum dulcissimum, non solum contra me armaverant, &c.*

† *Singularum utique feram*. Krantzius, Saxon. v. p. 121, where the whole Letter from the Diet is given.

‡ *Id. ibid.*

§ Struvius, i. 339.

History

From
A. D.
1002.
to
A. D.
1106.

ried body day and night during his stay. The coffin was thence removed to Spire; but Christian rites were still denied, and during a period of five years longer it rested on its trestles in an unconsecrated outbuilding of the Cathedral, into which it was at last admitted. On the sum of this Prince's character much difference of opinion has existed, but not even his bitterest enemies have denied him the possession of numerous great and brilliant qualities; whether those qualities were on the whole more employed in good or ill may perhaps be questionable, but no doubt has ever arisen that he is to be classed among the most remarkable and the most pitiable examples of the mutability of human fortune.

III. ITALY.

From
A. D.
1000.
to
A. D.
1111.

State of
Southern
Italy at the
commence-
ment of the
XIII Century.

III. The Annals of ITALY during the XIII Century are so closely interwoven with those of the German Empire that in treating of the latter we have necessarily anticipated much which belongs to the former also. The two chief Historical events which remain to be noticed are: 1. the establishment of the Normans in Sicily and Naples; and 2. the rise and progress of the great maritime Republics of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice.

1. At the commencement of this period the Greek Emperors retained only Puglia and Calabria, as remnants of the great *Theme* of Lombardy* which they had conquered towards the close of the IXth Century; Bari was their metropolis, and the government was administered by a Lieutenant under the title of *Catapan*. Over the German Princes they had been for the most part successful; and each of the three *Othos* had ineffectually attempted their expulsion; but their supremacy was but nominal as it regarded the petty Principalities of Salerno, Capua, and Benevento, and the Republics of Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi; and they were perpetually exposed to the inroads of the Saracen Conquerors of Sicily. The anarchy resulting from the frequent collision of these numerous hostile parties, was to be terminated by the establishment of a single great Power founded and constructed by the adventurous valour of a wholly new People.†

Pilgrim-
ages of the
Normans.

Comparatively civilized by the adoption of Christianity, and by the residence of a Century in the Province wrung from France, the Normans had diverted their fierce passion for Piratical enterprise into gentler channels. Not yet wholly weaned from a life of wandering, Piety now supplied them with an ostensible

motive for indulging that propensity; and in the general rage for distant Pilgrimages by which all Europe was animated, the Normans appeared preeminent as Devotees. In their passage to Jerusalem, the focus to which all zeal was attracted, whether to escape the tedium of a long voyage through seas widely differing from their own Northern Ocean, or in order that they might visit other holy stations in their progress, they usually crossed the Alps and traversed Italy. Rome, and the Puglian mountain Gargano, which had been sanctified by the presence of the Archangel Michael, as of old time its caverns had reechoed the soothsayings of Calchas,* were among the places of their most frequent resort; when the alms of the Faithful were wanting to supply their necessities, they had swords which they well knew how to employ; and from Bari, Naples, Gaeta or Amalfi, they could at any time procure ready means of transport to Syria.

It was early in the XIII Century that a band of forty Norman Pilgrims, on their return from Palestine, lauded at Salerno; and on the solicitation of Guaimaro its Prince, delivered his City from a Saracen flotilla then anchoring in its bay, and demanding tribute. The valour of his new allies gained lavish praise and reward from the grateful Italian; and he anxiously urged the settlement either of themselves, or of some of their Countrymen equally brave with themselves, within his dominions. His offer was not accepted at the moment; but on their arrival at home, the glowing representations which they made of this brilliant proposal; of the prospect of rich booty from the Infidels; and more than all, as we are assured, of the gentle climate and luscious fruits, the dates, oranges, and figs; of the South, roused numerous candidates for establishment in Italy. Osmond Drengot, a distinguished Baron in the Court of Duke Richard, had avenged himself on a brother Noble, who boasted of the favours of his daughter, by striking him dead during a hunting match in the very presence of his Sovereign. Driven into exile by this violence, he gladly undertook the promising adventure; and placing himself at the head of somewhat more than a hundred comrades, most of them of generous birth, he crossed the Alps in order to proffer service to any of the native Princes who would engage him.‡ The first Chief with whom he treated was Melo, a rich Citizen of Bari, whom his fellow-

* The name Lombardy retained by Eastern Europe for the North of Italy, was appropriated by the Greeks to the Kingdom of Naples which the Beneventan Lombards governed as independent Sovereigns during five Centuries.

† *Thema*, from *thema*, the Byzantine Greek for a Legion, was the name given to a Province in the division of the Lower Empire. There were 17 *Themes* in Asia, 12 in Europe. *Katawaia* is sometimes derived from *κατά νύκτα*,—thus William of Apulia

*Quod Catapan Graeci, non juxta dicitur omne.
Quisquis apud Donnos vice fungitur hujus honoris
Dispariter populi parat omne quod exoptat illi;
Et juxta quod cuique dari decet omne ministrat.*

Apud Muratori, v. p. 254.

Du Cange, however, in his notes to the *Aletrid* of Anna Comnena, (p. 275) and in his Glossary ad v., ridicules this etymology, and affirms *Catapanos* to be no other than the Latin *Cyprianus*. The word was (and perhaps still is) in modern use at Naples, for a *Taxor*, or Officer who inspects weights and measures.

‡ The Political state of Southern Italy just before the arrival of the Normans is fully treated by Giannone, *Ist. Civile di Napoli*, l. viii. *cap. ult.*; and a rapid but most distinct outline is compressed into a few paragraphs by Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 238. 4to. ch. iii. part i.

* Strabo, vi. (436 ad 234). Baronius, ad ann. 493. sec. 42. According to Leandro Alberti in his *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, there is an altar in Monte Gargano consecrated by the Archangel himself. The room in which he lived during his abode on the mountain must have been singularly uncomfortable. We cite Hænenberg's translation which is at hand. *Ad destrum capiti mirabilis apparuit in orientem explicata, Duxi Michaelis Archangelus domesticus, tota ex vivo conspectu: lapide purum liquorem peritum stillante horrida, profunda, et obscura, hanc in altum ut pulvis factum, quam saluta animum causis. (p. 379.)* This dark, deep, and fearful cavern, appears less adapted to Christian Pilgrims than to the Heathen votaries who consulted the Oracle of Calchas, by sleeping in it on the fleece of a black ram.

† Leo Ostiensis, ii. 37.

‡ M. de Simondis states that the Varangian Body Guard was originally enlisted to Constantinople by the flavour of the rich fruits which its neighbourhood produced; and he adds, on the authority of Bonstetten, that in Icelandic, the word *figuabata*, to long for figs, is still used as expressive of any vehement desire. *Rep. Isl.* vol. i. ch. iv. p. 255, note 2.

§ I Normanni, gente che sapeva pescare nel torbido, e seguita senza scrupolo ora l'uno, ora l'altro di que' Principi, entrepando sempre chi gli dava a promettere di più. Muratori, *Annali*, ad ann. 1029.

History. townsmen, in a fruitless attempt to throw off the Grecian yoke, had elevated for a short time to nominal power, and had afterwards abandoned with treachery and cowardice. After some short opening success, the Normans were completely routed at Cannò; those who survived the fight distributed themselves under the pay of the Princes of Capua and of Salerno, and Melo himself died in Germany, while soliciting aid from the Emperor Henry II.

It was not, however, till three years after the decease of Melo, that the threatening attitude of the Greeks, by which Rome itself was endangered, drew Henry across the Alps. The Normans were then invited to his standard, and did good service under it; till the Emperor, satisfied with the glory acquired by the capture of Troja,* and alarmed by the ravages of a contagious disorder among his troops, commended his allies to the regard of his Feudatories, and retired to Germany. The Italian Princes, now more secure from the attacks of the Catapan thus checked by Henry's invasion, forgot their promised gratitude to their most active deliverers; and the Normans, no longer retained in their service, appear for the most part to have supported themselves by pillage. We hear no more of Drengot; but Turstin, the warrior chosen as his successor, appears to have united in himself enough valour and bodily strength to qualify him for a Hero of Romance. From a Legend of one of the Chroniclers, there can be little doubt that he perished by treachery.

He was a man, says William of Jumieges, of numerous tried excellences; on one occasion, he tore a kid from the jaws of a Lion, and when the disappointed beast was raging for the loss of his prey he seized him also with his naked hands. At another time he tossed an Italian, with whom he had quarrelled, over the wall of the Duke of Salerno's Palace, no less easily than if he had been but a kitten. The Lombards, envious of his great qualities, enticed him to a spot inhabited by a huge Dragon,† in company with a numerous smaller fry of Serpents. No sooner had the Dragon shown himself, than the Lombards fled; and while Turstin was asking his Esquire the cause of their hasty retreat, the fire-breathing monster with open gape snapped at the head and neck of his horse. A second blast from the hellish nostrils of the scaly beast melted in an instant the hero's shield upon his arm; but so well did he ply his sword, that the Dragon was soon conquered and slain; Turstin himself dying three days afterwards in consequence of the poisonous fumes which he had inhaled;‡

This doughty champion was succeeded by Rainulf, a brother of Drengot; who in a feud between Sergius Duke of Naples and the Prince of Capua, served the former so effectually, that he was rewarded with a small district between the rival Cities, upon which he erected the town of Aversa. The central situation of that town rendered it an important outpost to Naples; and Sergius, in order to ensure the fidelity of a powerful garrison on his most exposed frontier, obtained from Conrad II. the investiture of Rainulf as Count, and cemented the alliance by a family intermarriage. Such was the first step to titular authority and permanent abode trodden by the Normans in Southern Italy.

The foundation of the County of Aversa naturally heightened the attractions which Italy presented to emigrants, and Rainulf hourly increased in power and in numbers. Of the twelve sons of Tancred of Hauteville, a Noble distinguished in the Court and Camp of Normandy,* ten repaired from time to time to the new Settlement. In their trade as *condottieri*, they passed from the service of the Duke of Salerno to that of the chief enemy of the Italian Princes, Maniaces, the Catapan of the Greeks. But it was not to assist him against their former master that they engaged their swords; it was against the common adversary of all Christendom, the Saracens of Sicily. Thus seconded, Maniaces rapidly stormed Messina and invested Syracuse; wherever danger was most ripe, three sons of Tancred, Drogon, Humfrey, and William, were always foremost; and to a personal conflict in which the last-named overthrew and killed the gigantic Saracen Governor of Syracuse, he was indebted for the title of *Bras-de-fer*, bestowed by the acclamation of the confederate army.

But a quarrel, arising out of the cupidity and dishonesty of the Greeks in the distribution of spoil, soon dissolved the foundations of this ill-assorted alliance; and the discontent thus awakened among the Normans was fomented by a wily Italian, yet more grievously injured than themselves. Ardouin, a noble Milanese, having unhorsed a Saracen, claimed the charger of the vanquished enemy as his booty. It was seized, however, by Maniaces, who, offended at the complaint of the rightful owner, ordered him to be shamefully scourged round the camp. United by common wrongs, the aggrieved parties planned schemes of revenge, and having dissembled their resentment until they had communicated with Rainulf, and secured his cooperation, the whole Norman contingent, accompanied by Ardouin, embarked by night, crossed the Reggian Straits, and spread themselves over the Greek dominions in Puglia. The Greeks, weakened by their expedition to Sicily, which totally failed soon after the departure of their allies, opposed but feeble resistance; their strong holds surrendered in succession, and thrice when they mustered in sufficient strength to dispute the open field, they were signally overthrown. The conquest of almost the whole of Puglia was achieved in two campaigns, and the confederates divided their spoil without a diminution of friendship. Melfi, a well-fortified and considerable town, almost in the centre of the Province, became the Capital of their new dominion, under the joint government of Ardouin and Bras-de-fer, the latter first Count of Puglia; and twelve other Norman Counts were established in equal authority over the twelve places next in importance.† The Government was not that of a Feudal Sovereign supported by his Vassals, but a military Oligarchy in which all were peers.

The birth of this new and powerful State was not likely to be viewed without jealousy by its neighbours, and the conquering Normans probably were not very scrupulous as to the methods by which they strengthened

Italy.
From
A. D.
1000.
to
A. D.
1111.
Emigration of the sons of Tancred.
A. D.
1035.
Expedition with the Greeks against Sicily.
A. D.
1041.

Quarrel with the Greeks.

Conquest of Puglia.
A. D.
1042.

Death of Bras-de-fer.
A. D.
1046.

* Gibbon has adjusted the descent of Tancred in due equisance between the malice of Anna Comnena, who degrades him to Peasant extraction, and the adulation of his own Chroniclers, which derives him from the Ducal stem. His ancestors were *vaivassors*, or Bannerets, of the middle order of private Nobility, in the Duchesse of Coutances in Lower Normandy. (ch. lvi. p. 271.)
† Siponte, Ascoli, Venosa, Lavello, Monopoli, Trani, Canosa, Montepuloso, Trignano, Acerenza, S. Arcangelo, Minervino.

History. and enriched themselves in a Country won at the sword's point. Bras-de-fer soon died; and if we believe the Chroniclers, together with him expired the chief hope of tempering the rude settlers into a community regulated by Law. To discretion and valour he is said to have united extraordinary powers of persuasion which secured obedience; and he is described by a contemporary as a very Lion in War, a Lamb in Social life, and an Angel in Council.* His brother and successor Drogon was foully assassinated by a Puglian whom he had admitted to familiarity, and who had been bribed to that great crime by the Greek Catapan. The scene of murder was the porch of the Church of Montoglio, and the greater part of Drogon's immediate suite perished together with their master.† The sanctity of consecrated places was indeed of little protection against bloody and barbarous violence. We read of a company of Normans headed by their Count, who rode to the gates of the Abbey of Monte Cassino, dismounted, and left their horses and arms in the Galilee, while they bent their knees in prayer before the Altar. The servants of the Monastery, either suspecting that the present design of the strangers was pillage, or resolving to profit by a favourable opportunity of wreaking vengeance on those by whom they had already been plundered, closed the gates, sounded the alarm bell, and summoned the whole neighbourhood to their assistance. Fifteen of the Normans were slain on the pavement of the Church, and their leader was not released from imprisonment till all former levies upon the Monastery had been paid back as his ransom.‡

These detached outrages were but a prelude to a formidable and organized League for the total expulsion of the Normans from Italy: and the hardy adventurers became involved in a struggle against an alliance of both Empires, consolidated by the Head of the Western Church. Leo IX., on his assumption of the Pontificate, made frequent visitations to the Churches of Puglia, and was deeply affected by the representations of the Ecclesiastics every where groaning, as they affirmed, under the Norman tyranny. In his project of a Crusade against the new settlers for the deliverance of his Clergy, he received ample promises of support from the Greeks, suffering also under their own peculiar grievances; and his kinsman, Henry III. of Germany, provided him with a body of 500 men at arms, to form a nucleus for a general gathering of the Italians.§ If numbers could have secured victory, the Pope might have advanced with confidence to battle. Greeks, Germans, Puglians, Calabrians, and Campanians, the inhabitants of the March of Ancona and of the Patrimony of St. Peter, young and old, devout and profane, Clerks and Laics, followers both of the gown and of the sword, poured down upon the South, under the banner of the Church. The blessing of the Virgin and of the Saints was promised to this great but confused host, as it made a pilgrimage to Monte Cassino while on its march; and when Leo compared the strong-knit limbs and gigantic

frames of his German allies with the shorter stature and slighter figure of the Norman foe, he doubted not, in his simplicity, that the approval of Heaven, the righteousness of his cause, the sanctity of his own person, and the superiority of his numerical force, would amply atone for any deficiency in military skill or any want of combination.

To oppose this overwhelming force, the Normans mustered no more than 3000 horse, and a much smaller proportion of infantry; and these were arrayed under Humfrey, the survivor of the three sons of Tancred who first entered Italy, Robert Guiscard, a half-brother, who had recently joined him from Normandy, and Richard Count of Aversa. These Chiefs well knew the bodily vigour, hardihood, courage, and warlike ability of the Germans; but with the smallness of their contingent, and the weakness of the remaining undisciplined rabble by which the ranks of Leo were swelled, they were unacquainted. Some superstitious reverence they doubtless cherished for the holiness of the Pontiff's character, person, and authority; and to this was added a total and very natural want of confidence in the fidelity of any Puglian whom they might intrust with arms. It was upon their own single swords, therefore, that they must rely; and against those, when they computed numbers, the odds were fearful. One slight check would be their ruin, for in the general defection and rising which must be consequent upon it, the bitterness of hatred would raise every man's arm against them; and even if they possessed a spot to which they could retreat, all retreat would be intercepted. These doubtless were powerful motives for negotiation; and they asked for who for Peace; promising unlimited Spiritual obedience to the Pope, Holy See; suing that they might be permitted to retain the lands which they had won by toil, wounds, and blood; and proffering their swords to the future service of the Church, with expressions of humility and reverence heretofore unknown to their lips. The reply was and was a stern denial of compromise. Peace it was said might perhaps be granted when Italy was evacuated.

The desperation awakened among the Normans by this impolitic refusal received additional force from a consciousness that it was by their own act they had been exposed to indignity; and as victory was now the only safeguard of their dominion, so without victory death was the only purifier of their honour. Thus grimly resolved, they determined to give battle; and mounting an eminence which separated the two armies, they reconnoitred from its summit, with well-founded hope, the loose array and disorderly encampment of the host which blackened the plains of Civitella beneath. Dividing their scanty force into three squadrons, they first charged the Italians with their right wing, under Richard of Aversa; threw their careless and unwarlike ranks into instant confusion, which soon became hasty flight; and pursued them vigorously and with unsparring slaughter. Meantime Humfrey directed himself upon the firm and serried phalanx of the German auxiliaries. A volley of arrows on either side preluded a murderous close engagement; and fortune continued doubtful till Guiscard, who had been intrusted with a reserve composed partly of Normans, but yet more of picked Calabrians devotedly attached to his person, charged at a favourable moment; and although thrice unhorsed, bore down all opposition, and slew his enemies to a man, disdaining as they did to give back one foot from their position. The Pope at a short distance observed the fluctuations of the Battle;

* Gualtinius Apulus, ii. 12.

† Gausfredus Malaterra, i. 13.

‡ Leo Ostiensis, ii. 71.

§ Henry would have granted, and indeed had commissioned a much larger force for the support of Leo; but he was deterred by the remonstrance of the Bishop of Rhaetia, a Prelate greatly in his confidence, who forcibly exposed the unseemliness of a Vicar of Christ heading an army against Christians. The Bishop when he became Pope as Victor II., heartily repented his interference, Giannone, ix. 3.

Italy.
From
A. D.
1000.
to
A. D.
1111.

who for
Peace.

Battle of
Civitella,
June 18.
A. D.
1053.

Defeat and
capture of
Leo.

History. and no sooner did he perceive that it was lost than he retired within the walls of Civitella; but that town, ill prepared for an assault, was speedily surrendered; and the terrified and astonished Pontiff became the prisoner of those warriors to whom but a few hours before he had refused every hope of Peace; and whom he had described to the Emperor Henry, and considered in his own mind, as Barbarians without law, humanity, or Religion.

It was as a Military Chieftain, not as a Minister of Peace, that Leo had confronted these supposed Savages. He had waged War as a Secular Prince, and by the rules of War he was now a captive, and might be treated according to the pleasure of his conquerors. What then was his surprise to perceive himself approached with submission and respect, and conducted with every mark of honour to the victorious Camp! Not only did Count Humfrey restore him to liberty upon his parole, but he escorted him with distinguished attention to Benevento, and assured him of a similar guard whenever he wished to proceed onward to Rome. This unexpected gentleness opened new views to the eyes of Leo; instead of enemies to God and his Church, he recognised in the Normans devout and faithful servants; and relieving them from all spiritual censures, assuring them of his own friendship, and sanctioning their arms by his benediction, he gave them a solemn investiture, as Vassals of St. Peter, of all that Country which they had hitherto conquered in Puglia, of all which they might hereafter conquer in Calabria.* By this remarkable donation, the Papacy acquired a far greater and more lasting dominion than it affected to confer. Naples was still to be won by the sword of the Normans, but after it was won, in consequence of this gift by a Priest who had no right to that which he gave, it remained during seven Centuries a Fief of the Pontificate.

The Normans pursued their victory, Humfrey in Puglia, Robert Guiscard in Calabria; and the latter the destined founder of a race of Princes, and now in the commencement of the spring-tide of his fortunes, seems for a few years to have passed the life of a Brigand and a Preboster. Often, says Malaterra,† would his Steward announce to him that there were neither provisions for the morrow's meal, nor money by which they might be purchased; and indeed that if the latter were at hand no one was to be found willing to sell within many leagues' circuit. The Count and his suite alarmed at the tidings of approaching hunger, then sprang to their saddles, and marauded through every village within reach, in pursuit of a dinner. The person of Robert Guiscard is described as well adapted to hardy adventure. He was tall, strong, active, and graceful; a breadth of shoulders denoted vigour, a ruddy complexion, health; his eyes sparkled with the fire of courage and intelligence; his voice inspired terror or encouragement as it sounded to the ears of friend or foe. Even the colour and measure of his hair and beard have been preserved to us; they were long and flaxen; and in the exercise of all martial weapons he was ambidexter. His mental qualities and disposition fitted him no less than his Physical powers for distinction in the rude Age in which he lived, and among the half-civilized People to whom he belonged. If he extorted treasure rapaciously, and even barbarously, from his prisoners, it was that he might dispense it with proportionate lavishness among his followers;

and if he rigorously compelled the observance of discipline in the field, no one understood better how to gain the soldiers' hearts by frankness, courtesy, and affability in seasons of relaxation. His ambition is attested by the elevation which he attained; his discretion and policy by the surname which contemporaries bestowed; for *Guiscard*, or *Wiscard*, in the Norman idiom, implies a cunning man.‡ Such is the representation of the sixth son of Tancred who passed the Alps as a Pilgrim, and who on the death of his brother Humfrey succeeded to the guardianship of his infant children, and virtually to the dignity and power of Count of Puglia. It was not long before he pushed his conquests to the extreme verge of Italy; and when Reggio yielded to his arms, affecting a loftier title on the attainment of a larger dominion, he styled himself, or was saluted by acclamation, Duke of Puglia and Calabria. After some differences with Pope Nicholas II., who, perceiving that the Normans were not the sort of people to be managed by excommunication,† discreetly recalled one of those Bulls which he had rashly issued; Robert received the consecrated Standard of Rome as Gonfaloniere of the Church, from the hands of the Pontiff in a Council assembled at Melfi; and he there also swore allegiance to the Holy See in a style distinguished by proud confidence of future conquest: "I, Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter Duke of Puglia and Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily!";

In his latter conquests, Robert had been greatly assisted by his youngest brother Roger, a youth destined to compete with himself in glory. Roger, lately invited from Normandy, had been invested as a Count on his arrival; but jealousy or avarice on the part of Robert, denied fitting appointments for the maintenance of his dignity. Money he had none; a single steed was his recompense for long and perilous services; and in his after hours of prosperity, when dictating some of his early adventures to Malaterra the Chronicler, he insisted that these particulars should be recorded in his pages, in order that posterity might know how laboriously, and from what a deep slough of Poverty, he had attained the pinnacle of wealth and honour. "It is not therefore to his disgrace that I mention it," says the Historian, "but by his own desire I inform you that he was supported by robberies which his followers committed." Many a time did he pillage merchants while travelling, and once, accompanied by a favourite Esquire, who afterwards became a rich Count, he stole some horses from their stables in Melfi. Even his Brother did not escape un plundered; and for a while, until the subjugation of Calabria demanded Roger's active cooperation, intercourse was suspended between them, and open hostility was almost avowed.

On the reduction of Calabria by their joint forces, Robert bestowed its government on his Brother; and the

* Gibbon, whom character of Robert Guiscard we have here freely paraphrased, says that in our old word *Wiscard* he can discern something of similar sense and termination. Does not *Wiscard* approach more nearly?

† Il Papa considerava che co' Normanni erano inutili le accomunche; e ch'essi non erano gente di lasciarsi niente, se non s'adoperassero que' medesimi mezzi che usavano tenuto per conquistarle. Giannone, *x. Intro.*

‡ Barrois, *ad ann. 1099. sec. 69.*

§ Jeffrey Malaterra is eloquent in the character of his Patron Roger Guiscard. *Erant enim juvenis pulcherrimus, procerus statura, eleganti corpore, ingenio ferventissimus, consilio callidus, in oratione agendarum rerum providus, omnibus jocundus et affabilis, viribus fortis, nullius ferrox laudis appetens.* i. 19.

• Gaufridus Malaterra, ii. 14.

† *Ibid.* i. 16.

History.

From

A. D.

1000.

to

A. D.

1111.

He invades

Sicily.

A. D.

1060.

Occupation
of Traina.

near prospect of the Sicilian shore soon awakened in Roger Guiscard's breast an eager desire for the possession of that Island. This hope was encouraged both by the effeminacy into which the Saracen occupants had degenerated, and by their intestine dissensions. Almost each separate town was swayed by a separate Emir; and in a feud between two of those Chieftains, the application of one of them for Roger's aid against his rival, greatly facilitated the Norman project of invasion. His first attempts were little more than predatory incursions; and the sixty men who traversed the fabled dangers of the Sicilian strait in open boats, returned satisfied with their booty, after having chased the Saracens within the walls of Messina. Encouraged by this and similar early successes, Roger became more enterprising, and favoured by certain Greeks who inhabited the town of Traina at the foot of Etna, he appeared before its gates with 300 Knights, (the largest number which he appears to have been able to collect at any time,) and established himself in its possession. The fickle Greeks, soon weary of their new friends, recalled the Saracens; and opposite quarters of the town were respectively occupied by the hostile forces. In contact thus close, daily skirmishes were unavoidable; and each party, exposed to the perpetual observation of its foe, and denied free egress, occasionally suffered the extremity of privation. According to the chivalrous habits of his time, Roger was accompanied by his youthful bride; and the Countess and the few Ladies of her suite prepared with their own hands the scanty repasts of her husband and his comrades. Clothes were no less wanting than food; and the single mantle* which remained to the Noble pair was worn alternately by each as they happened to be called abroad. On one occasion, Roger left alone, environed by enemies, who were dragging him like a struggling Bull from his horse which had been killed under him, cleared a passage for himself with his sword; and disengaging his saddle from the dead beast, in order that the Saracens might not vaunt it as a trophy, he placed it on his shoulders, and made good his retreat slowly and on foot. During four months of continued peril, want, and difficulty, the Normans maintained their arduous post; and on the approach of Winter, when the snows covered the neighbouring summits and embedded Traina itself, these hardy warriors, accustomed to endure severity of climate, continued vigilant and alert, while the Greeks and Saracens relaxed into inactivity. Profiting by their want of energy, Roger mastered the disputed quarter of the town in a night attack, and having slain or dispersed its garrison, defied all future efforts for its reconquest.

His further
successes.

The above is but a sample of the numerous romantic adventures ennobling the tedious struggle which preceded the entire conquest of Sicily; and were it not that St. George; performed for the Normans a like kind office to that which St. Jago was in the habit of exercising for the Spaniards, and fought on horseback in

their ranks, we might hesitate in assenting to some of the victories which they claim. In full confluence of Divine protection, thirty-six Christian Knights fearlessly attacked and put to flight 30,000 Infidels, and on the plain of Ceramio, another handful, under the special leadership of the Bishop Knight of Cappadocia, overthrew a host. Beaten in every field, chased from every castle, the Saracens at length concentrated their whole remaining force, their treasure, and their military equipments in Palermo, the Capital of the Island, and the strongest fortification. It required five months' investment, the aid of Robert, whom Roger called to the siege, and the cooperation of a Pisan Fleet, before its reduction could be effected; but on its surrender, the sovereignty of the Island was virtually transferred to the Normans, and Roger became first Count of Sicily, by investiture of Roger as Count of Sicily. A. D. 1072.

Meantime, the progress of Robert Guiscard on the continent of Italy had been not less brilliant than that of his Brother in the adjacent Island. Of the three Lombard Principalities, Capua long since had passed under the sway of the Counts of Aversa; Bari, the Capital of the Greeks, after an obstinate defence of four years, surrendered with its Catapan to Robert; and no sooner did the prosperous course of events in Sicily permit him to renew operations in Calabria, than Salerno and its dependence Amalfi were united to his Duchy.* The conquest of the former City relieved him from some domestic enemies by whom he had been long embarrassed. The two sons of his deceased Brother Humphrey were legitimate heirs of their Father's Duchy, and during many years they had solicited aid from the Byzantine Court for the recovery of their inheritance. They were in Salerno at the commencement of its siege; but dreading the severity of their Uncle, they escaped from its walls, and after a short delay in Italy, took refuge in Constantinople, where they passed a long subsequent life in penury, neglect, and obscurity. Robert's crowning success was the conquest of the Duchy of Benevento; its territory he retained, the City itself was ceded to Rome in compliance with a claim asserted by Hildebrand; and contributed doubtless to purchase a relaxation of the Spiritual wrath with which that most energetic of Pontiffs had visited the Norman Conqueror,† in common with every other Potentate in Europe. Of the powerful assistance which Robert afterwards afforded to Gregory, during the occupation of Rome by the Emperor Henry IV., we have already spoken; and to the gratitude which the Pope cherished for that benefit, or to the constraint which he endured under Norman protection, may be referred a renewal of the investiture which Robert had obtained from his predecessors in the Holy See. The haughty spirit of Gregory manifested itself in that grant. Robert asked confirmation in the territories which he had recently subdued. "I give you that," replied the Pope, "which Nicholas and Alexander have given." For the rest he wrote as fol-

* Non nisi unam capiam habentes. Gualfred. Malaterra, ii. 29.

† Quasi tantum reluctantem. Id. ii. 30.

‡ Apparuit quidam equus apud apud in armis, equo alio insidens, alium vexillum in summis hastis alligatum ferens, et draperis appendicibus crucem, et quasi a nostris acceperat, ut nostris ad certamen promptiores redderet, fortissimo impetu hostes ut denique erant irumpens. Id. ii. 33. From the day of that victory, Roger bore on his shield and annexed to his coat of arms the motto *Dextera Domini fecit virtutem, Dextera Domini exaltavit me*. Estell, Hist. Sic. Dec. Post. lib. vii. c. 1. p. 397.

* We have followed the order of dates given by Giamnone. Salerno is made Robert's final acquisition by M. de Sismondi.

† Questo Errore che merita di essere notato sopra il nome di Conquistatore. Giamnone, x. 6.

lows. "As to the dominions which you unjustly occupy, as Salerno, Amalfi, and part of the Firm March, for the present I patiently leave them to you, relying on Almighty God and your own righteousness that hereafter, for the honour of that God and of St. Peter, you will so conduct yourself, as it becomes you to do and me to receive, without the peril either of your soul or of mine.*" Thus unbroken in its steady purpose of aggrandizement was the proud temper of the old man, while an exile from his Capital, a more than ambiguous prisoner, and now verging to the confines of the grave.

Thirty years since, Robert Guiscard had quitted Normandy, a poor and private Gentleman, the younger brother of a Noble House with numerous scions and scanty revenues; he now united under his sway dominions corresponding in extent to the modern Kingdom of Naples. But his ambition was rather excited than wearied or satiated by this most astounding elevation; he coveted still wider rule, and already grasped in fancy the sceptre of the East. A pretext was easily found for aggression; but the splendid, although less auspicious expedition against the Byzantine Emperor, which occupied the closing years of his life, will be more fully narrated when we reach the Annals of Constantinople. It was on his return from that Oriental enterprise interrupted by the troubles of Italy, that he afforded the above-mentioned deliverance to Gregory VII.; and in the following year, after having signally defeated the combined fleets of Greece and Venice, on an element novel to himself, but familiar to his enemies, while renewing his preparations for a second invasion of the Empire, he expired in Corfu, in his seventieth year.† The dream of Oriental conquest was dissipated with his last breath; and the hasty flight and rapid dispersion of his terror-stricken armament, forcibly manifested the importance of this great man's single life. Sepulture was nearly denied to his remains, for the galley which conveyed them to Italy was lost upon its coast. The corpse of the Hero was at length recovered, and as if the Cities under his rule disputed the possession of their

deceased Sovereign, the heart was deposited at Otranto, the body itself at Venusia.

The sway of Apulia passed to his second son Roger; for Boemond, the eldest by a former marriage dissolved on the plea of consanguinity, had been pronounced illegitimate by the Church, and was consequently disinherited by his Father. Reluctantly surrendering his claims, the excluded Prince long urged them even by the sword; and till the Crusades diverted him into that course of glory which has immortalized his name in Song, the throne of Roger I. could scarcely be deemed secure. That Prince's reign was protracted through the first eleven years of the new Century, but it affords little worthy of record. His uncle, the greater Roger, appears to have ruled Sicily undisturbed after the year 1090; for although the surrender of Palermo had given him a superiority which ensured ultimate tranquil sovereignty, it was not till that date that resistance altogether subsided. The close of his reign was distinguished by the attainment of an immunity from the Holy See, for which every other nation in Christendom in vain employed both force and supplication. Urban II., devoted to the single object of the Crusades, and deeming no price insufficient to conciliate a Family so necessary to his views as that of Guiscard, recalled the Legate whom he had despatched to Sicily; and freed the Island for ever from the risk of groaning under the rapacity of a successor, by nominating Roger and his heirs born Legates within their dominions, and investing them with Spiritual no less than temporal authority. This most important privilege was exercised by all Roger's posterity; and afterwards was transferred with their Crown to the Kings of Arragon. It is known in History by the name of *Lu Monarchia di Sicilia*,† and its origin and extent have not escaped dispute among the Roman Writers. Having obtained this great Civil benefit for the Kingdom, as it was about to become, which he had won by his prowess in the field, Roger Guiscard closed a life of singular glory and prosperity, when, like his elder and no less fortunate brother, he had fulfilled the years of man.‡

2. It is to the North of the Italian Peninsula that our scene must now be shifted, where we shall throw a brief glance in the first instance on the birth and adolescence (terms much affected by her own Historians) of the eldest horn of European States. About the middle of the Vth Century, during the invasion of Attila, the inhabitants of the North-Eastern angle of Italy between the Alps and the innermost coast of the Adriatic (the *Venetia* of the Romans) abandoned their towns at the

* In a Battle fought between the Brothers at Farnito in the Beneventan territory, it is said that only one man was killed in the two armies. (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, iii. 808.) This was an anticipation of the engagements of the Condottieri of the XVth and XVIth Centuries.

† On the *Monarchy of Sicily* and the controversies respecting it enough for complete satisfaction may be found in Giannone, x. 8, Baronius (*ad ann.* 1097.) attacks it, and it has been defended by Dupin and Ludewig. But whence did it receive its name? Maratori certainly was at a loss for its origin; *la decantata Monarchia di Sicilia, nome veramente strano. Annali ad ann.* 1098.

‡ The early authorities for the History of the Guiscards are the contemporary History of Gausfredus Malaterra and the Poems of Guilielmus Apulus in the Vth volume of the *Script. Ital.* of Muratori and the Chronicle of Leo Odoenus in the IVth volume of the same Work. Fazell in his *Hist. Sicil.* has a full Chapter on the subject; and Giannone abounds in curious matter. Denina is simple and satisfactory; Gibbon as usual exhausts his authorities, without leaving one syllable of his story impressed on the reader's memory, and M. de Sismondi narrates accurately, vigorously, and eloquently,

Italy.

From

A. D.

1000.

to

A. D.

1111.

Roger I.

Duke of

Puglia and

Calabria.

His death.

A. D.

1111.

Roger of

Sicily

obtains

from Urban

II.

A. D.

1098.

Spiritual

authority

over that

Island.

A. D.

1098.

His death.

A. D.

1101.

Origin of

Venice.

* Giannone, x. 1. No one has better described the character of Hildebrand than the fearless Neapolitan. *Ma non altro più meglio, e più al vivo ci diede il ritratto di questo Pontefice, quanto quel giudiziooso Dipintore che lo dipinse nella Chiesa di S. Severino di Napoli. Vedasi quivi l'immagine di questo Papa, tra le altre de' Pontefici dell' Ordine di S. Benedetto, avere nella sinistra mano il pastorale col' croce, nella destra, alzata in atto di percuotere, una terribile scure, e sotto i piedi scarti, e corone Imperiali, e Regali, in atto di freggiargli. E dopo avere così mostrato essere stato Gregorio il terrore, ed il flagello de' Principi, e capitane scettici, e corone; volendo ancora far vedere, che tutto ciò poteva ben accoppiarsi colla santità, e modestia de' suoi costumi, sopra il suo capo scritte in lettere cubitali queste parole: SANCUS GREGORIUS VII.*

† Roger Hoveden twice affirms that Robert Guiscard was poisoned by his Consort, bribed to that crime by an assurance from the Greek Emperor that so soon as she became a widow he would marry her. He fulfilled his promise, and after she had been crowned, declared her guilt, and condemned her to the flames. (*x. Scriptores*, pp. 1010. 1218.) Gibbon, who has noticed this story, concerning which far more authentic authorities, William of Apulia, Jeffrey Malaterra, and Romuald of Salerno are silent, has himself fallen into a slight error in correcting Hoveden. "The English Historian," he says, "is so blind that he ranks Robert Guiscard or Wiscard among the Knights of Henry I. who ascended the throne fifteen years after the Duke of Apulia's death." (*ch. lvi. n. 92.*) In both the passages referred to above, Hoveden speaks of Robert Guiscard *as div in curia* Willielm Rufi, *Regis Anglie, consensatus*. Even with this detraction, however, the anachronism is sufficient to condemn him. Robert Guiscard died in 1085, William Rufus did not ascend the throne till 1087.

History.

From

A. D.

1000.

to

A. D.

1111.

Occupation
of the

Lagoons.

A. D.

452.

First Doge
of Venice.

A. D.

697.

Was with
Pepin.

A. D.

804.

Foundation
of Venice.

A. D.

809.

St. Mark.

A. D.

827.

advance of the Barbarian Conqueror. Their choice was limited between flight and extermination; and the spot selected by them for refuge was one, the barrenness of which, combined with its difficulty of approach, afforded promise that it might be forgotten, neglected, or despised by the avarice of the pursuer. A nest of Islands bedded in the shallow water of Lagoons, navigable only in the estuaries of the numerous rivers which descend from the Alps or Appennines to the Adriatic, and protected from the inroads of the sea by a long bar or sand-bank, (*aggere*), deposited by those rivers, was colonized by the fugitives. During the progress of nearly a Century and a half, a continued influx of fresh emigrants, chased by new invaders, contributed to swell the numbers of the first exiled fishermen; and the powers of a Government more vigorous than that of the annual Tribunes, at first depu- ted by each of the Islands, were finally concentrated in the person of a single Chief Magistrate, who possessed authority little short of despotism, and bore the title of Doge, or Duke.

The reigns of the early Doges were for the most part oppressive, perpetually stained with blood, both of the Prince and the People, often terminating in the expulsion of the Tyrants. During an intestine contest of this nature, not long after the accession of Pepin, son of Charlemagne, to the Crown of Lombardy, that King accepted the invitation of one of the rival parties who solicited his assistance. Taking advantage of the footing thus obtained, with a policy often repeated in History, after his admission as an ally he endeavoured to establish himself as a master; and but for the firmness of a private citizen, Angelo Participazio, he would probably have succeeded. The fleet of Pepin rode victoriously in the Lagoons, and captured all the outposts which protected Malamocco, at that time the Capital of the State; his troops, disembarked on an island separated from it but by a narrow canal, were preparing to cross the bridges already constructed, when Participazio advised the entire abandonment of the invested City, and a retreat to another island, *Rialto*, in the very centre of the Lagoons; an asylum which the besieged might easily gain in their own light craft, although the shallow soundings forbade all approach to the heavier ships of the invader. This bold proposition was adopted; Pepin, to his surprise and discomfort, entered deserted walls; failed, after the loss of a great portion of his fleet, in an attempt upon the new position of his enemies; and retired to the Continent baffled and disgraced. Angelo Participazio received the Ducal Bonnet as his reward; and under his auspices, Rialto, connected by bridges with numerous smaller adjacent islands, was speedily covered with houses and public buildings, with a Cathedral and a Palace; and VENICE arose upon the waters which she was to rule for a thousand years.

The new City rapidly increased, by the special protection, as was believed, of the Evangelist St. Mark, whose remains were transported from Alexandria to the Lagoons; and whose Lion became the symbol, as himself was the tutelary Saint of the Republic. Before the close of the Xth Century, Venice, rich, active, and powerful, commanded all the trade between Europe and the Levant; established factories on the coasts of Syria, Egypt, and the Sea of Marmora; and maintained free and privileged intercourse both with the jealous Sultans of the East and the haughty and exclusive Court of the Byzantine Cæsars. Her first step to continental dominion was taken by the suppression of a horde of Pirates at

Narenta on the Eastern coast of the Adriatic; and the conquest, or the voluntary surrender, we know not which, of a large portion of Dalmatia almost immediately followed; an acquisition which annexed to the title of Doge of Venice, that of Duke of his newly attained territory. Every year of the succeeding Century increased the wealth and dominion of this great Republic; and when we enter upon the period of the 1st Crusade, we shall discover her supplying its sinews to that chivalrous and romantic enterprise, not only in ships, money, and equipments, but yet more in a band of statesmen and warriors preeminent in wisdom and in valor, and consequently among the most successful reapers in the profuse harvest of glory which it afforded.

Of the two Italian Cities which cradled their Naval power on the Mediærranean, GENOA claims only incidental notice during the period now under consideration; but PISA, if we credit some of her own Annals, may assert a far earlier date than that which is allowed to PISA, Venice without controversy. The anonymous writer of a Breviary of Pisan History, printed by Muratori,* commences boldly, "once upon a time, among the Greeks, there was a certain man named Pelops," and continues that, "concerning the time of the foundation of Pisa, it is certain, that it occurred long before that of Rome; so that I do not think any State can be found boasting so high an antiquity." Be its claim just or otherwise, this ancient People is unknown to History till we learn with surprise that before the close of the Xth Century its maritime resources were sufficiently powerful to be coveted by Otho II. in his Calabrian expedition; the earliest *Nobili* of Pisa sprang, indeed, from seven Barons deputed by the Emperor to conduct this negotiation, who struck by the beauty and fertility of the Country settled and became naturalized in it. The chief connections of the rising City were formed with the Calabrian Greeks; and the injuries which their commerce with the ports of Southern Italy endured from the Piracies of the Saracens, kindled in the Pisan bosom an inveterate enmity against those general foes of Christendom. The representations made by some merchants who had suffered from the Moslem aggressions awakened an enthusiasm not to be repressed; the population with one voice demanded revenge; and the City poured forth her bravest youth to man a fleet destined to seek the Infidels within their own fastnesses.

The departure of the flower of her inhabitants and the main strength of her Navy was watched for with keen expectation and beheld with eager joy by an enemy nearer home; and Musa, a Moorish Chief, who had established himself in the neighbouring Island of Sardinia at the head of a band of Corsairs, grappled with his prey so soon as he believed it to be defenceless. Penetrating the Arno in the dead of the night, he disembarked in the middle of the City, and fired one of its suburbs. The intrepidity of a woman preserved her birth-place from destruction, her fellow-citizens from captivity; and when Chinzica de' Simiondi, regardless of her own peril, had crossed a bridge and traversed a road in possession of the Saracens, which connected the suburb with the main town, she aroused in the Consular Palace an armed force sufficient to check the configuration, and to repulse the invaders. The suburb when rebuilt was called after the name of the Heroine, and her statue still existing, half sunk into the wall of that

* *Script. It. Med. vi. 163.*

quarter, testifies the admiration with which her noble daring was regarded by contemporaries.

The armament returned in triumph from Calabria, and the first cry was for revenge on the Sardinian Corsairs. But from causes unknown to us, the day of vengeance was postponed till after a second insult by an incursion from the Moors of Spain. The aid of the Genoese, a people for some years past increasing in maritime reputation, was then solicited; and the most powerful Christian fleet which as yet had ploughed the Mediterranean, entered the Ports of Sardinia, and landed the allied troops; who, seconded by the resident Christians, speedily overpowered the Mussulmans, drove them to their ships, and delivered the Island from their sway. Partition of the spoil, however, that fruitless source of discord in combined armaments, soon generated a quarrel between the allies, their swords were turned against each other, and the Pisans remained sole masters of Sardinia. Eighteen years were spent by Mussa in ineffectual attempts to dispossess them of their conquest; and even at the expiration of fifteen more of reluctant peace, we find him at the very close of a long life renewing the struggle, and, by the aid of his Spanish Countrymen, triumphantly reentering all his former territory, excepting Cagliari. A second Confederacy again dispossessed him; he was wounded, taken prisoner, and although past his eightieth year, barbarously condemned to languish in fetters through his few remaining days; while Sardinia and its neighbour Corsica were divided among the allies. We obtain our scanty knowledge of these particulars from one of the ancestors of Napoleon Bonaparte,* and they are the sole incidents of any note in the obscure early annals of Pisa and Genoa, till we find them united with Venice as Partners in the 1st Crusade.

IV. The confusion in SPANISH History arising from its numerous subdivisions is increased rather than diminished in the course of the XIII Century; and on returning to it we must prefix an observation by Mariana with which we most cordially sympathize, "How is it possible in such distraction to be plain?" Hixem, the son and successor of Alhakem, mounted the throne of Cordova in his eleventh year, and his long and impotent reign forcibly reminds us of the *Roi Fainéant* in France. Neither was he wanting in his Mayor of the Palace; and fortunate was he in the hands by which his protracted tutelage was administered. The guardianship of his person, even after he attained manhood, continued with his Mother Sobeha, a Princess by whose wisdom the imbecility of her Son was screened from observation. The Khalif, immured within his Palace or his Gardens, devoted himself solely to the inmates of the Harem. When conducted to the Mosque in which he was used to perform his devotions, from the lofty seat enveloped in draperies which he occupied, he was scarcely visible to the assembled worshippers; as he approached or quitted the holy building, he was surrounded by an impenetrable throng of guards; and if audience or admission to his person were ever granted, they were regulated by the strictest forms, in order to secure him against private communication. Forgetting and forgotten, his name was pronounced by his subjects only during their formal prayers, and his image was unknown to them

unless as impressed upon his coinage.* The whole executive power of the State devolved upon Sobeha's chief Secretary, Mohammed ben Abdala ben Ali Amer, better known by the name Almansor, "the Victorious;" a title with which he was saluted by acclamation on his return from a second invasion of Galicia, productive alike of glory and of spoil. The great qualities of that distinguished warrior have thrown his feeble Sovereign into obscurity; and the name of Almansor and his two successors, have frequently superseded with the Spanish Chroniclers, that of the real Khalif, Hixem.

The career of Almansor, indeed, was one of brilliant and almost uninterrupted triumph; and the Christians, quelled by his powerful genius, and weakened by their own divisions, surrendered or abandoned every strong hold against which his arms were directed. After the storm of Zamora, he reentered his Metropolis, preceded by 9000 slaves, his own peculiar share of booty; 4000 had fallen to the second in command; and an equal number were put to the sword in an attempt at escape. The King of Leon, Bermudo II., terrified by the announcement of this calamity, stripped his Capital of all movable treasure, disinterred the bodies of his Royal predecessors, and transported them, together with the precious furniture and reliquaries of his Churches, to the mountains of Asturias, fixing his seat of Government at Oviedo. This precaution was indeed not more than reasonable, for Almansor appeared rapidly under the walls of Leon, with a train of powerful battering machines. The Spanish Historians aver that the City maintained itself for almost a year; the Arabians on the contrary boast that, despite its lofty towers and gates of bronze, five days sufficed for a breach; when Almansor himself heading the storming party was the first man who sprang upon the ramparts, with a sword in one hand, a banner in the other.† The Governor, Count Guillen, was carried from a sick-bed to the battlements; and from the litter in which he was placed at the breach, continued to encourage his men, till his guards were slain around him, and himself fell beneath Almansor's sword,‡ an easy and inglorious conquest to his adversary, a proud testimony of the devotion of her sons to his Country.

The fall of Astorga speedily followed; Barcelona in the extreme East was the fruit of a later campaign; next retracing his steps, Almansor desolated Castile to its furthest boundaries; continuing onward into Galicia he sacked Compostella, and notwithstanding the miraculous light which is said to have scared the Unbelievers from the Tomb of Saint Jago himself, the Bells of the Apostles' Church were dragged by Christians, contemptuously substituted for beasts of burden, in order to heighten the profanation, and suspended to serve the purpose of lamps in the great Mosque of Cordova.|| During these brilliant exploits in Spain, Almansor suppressed, also by his son Abdalmalech, a dangerous revolt in Africa; terminated the dynasty of the Edrissites; and

Spain.

From

A. D.

976.

to

A. D.

1109,

and Al-

mansor,

A. D.

978.

Almansor's

Conquest.

A. D.

981.

Capture of

Leon.

Conquest

of the

King-

dom of the

Edrissites.

A. D.

985.

* See p. 490. note 2.

† Mariana, viii. 6.

‡ De Marles, vol. ii. p. 22.

§ *Id. ibid.* Mariana says that Count Guillen's illness was occasioned by the fatigues of a defence protracted during many months; that he sat in the breach for three continuous days; and that when he saw all was lost, he threw himself into the midst of the assailants and perished, *ad sup.*

|| Mariana, *ad sup.* who does not explain the process by which the bells were converted into lamps. Ferreras (Partie iv. § x. tom. iii. p. 106, *par d'Hermilly*) says the gates were carried off; whichever was the spoil it probably was melted down.

* Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* i. ch. iii. Muratori, *Scrip. Ital.* iii. part i. p. 401.

History.

From

A. D.

976.

to

A. D.

1109.

Story of the Infantes of Lara.

annexed their territories with the Metropolis of Fez, after two hundred years' possession, to the European Khalifate. It was about this time that he participated also in a Tragical incident, in itself more of private than of public interest; but which nevertheless, since it has afforded a favourite theme to the Chronicles, the Romances, and the Traditions of Spain, must not be wholly omitted in any review, however brief, of her History.

The nuptials of Ruy Velasquez, Lord of Barcelona, with Lambra, a near relative of the Counts of Castile, were celebrated with unusual splendour during five weeks' continued feasting; and among the most distinguished guests were seven nephews of the Bridegroom, the Infantes of Lara. In a chance quarrel at a martial sport, between one of these youths and a kinsman of her own, Lambra conceived herself to be insulted; and in revenge she instructed a slave, a few days afterwards, during a Hawking party, to fill a gourd with blood, and to fling it in the young Knight's face. The brothers, indignant at so gross an affront, pursued its wretched perpetrator, and laid him dead, notwithstanding he sought refuge at the feet of his mistress, whose mantle was stained with the blood of the murdered victim. Lambra indignantly represented her wrong to her husband, and Ruy Velasquez conceived, promised, and executed a deep and most perfidious vengeance upon the offending family. Dissenbling his resentment, he engaged Gonzalo Gustio, the Father of the Youths, to undertake a mission to Almansor, with whom he was connected in bonds of friendship; an intercourse not unsrequently maintained, during these singularly romantic times, between individuals of the two nations so dissimilar in Faith, and so constantly opposed in open War. A Moor was employed to write a letter in his native Tongue, of which Gonzalo was to be the bearer; and lest the scribe should betray that its contents enjoined Almansor to put the messenger to instant death, Ruy Velasquez struck off the slave's head at the moment at which his penmanship was concluded. Almansor, too generous to stain his hands with the blood of a defenceless and confiding guest, spared Gonzalo's life, but committed him to prison; and a Moorish damsel of high birth, probably a sister of Almansor himself,* deeply interested by the captive's misfortunes, consoled them by her love.

One other part of Velasquez's request was more strictly fulfilled; some Arab troops were placed in ambush at a spot agreed upon for the capture of the Infantes, and their treacherous uncle betrayed them into the snare. The seven Brothers after a gallant defence were slain, and their heads were conveyed as trophies to the Palace of Almansor in Cordova. No other portion of Almansor's recorded history, certainly not his subsequent conduct to Gonzalo, justifies our belief that he intended cruelty in the horrible exhibition to which he led the aged Father; and if the occurrence (unnoticed by the Arabian Chroniclers) really took place, it is but charity to suppose that it resulted from ignorance. Almansor, it is said, visited his prisoner, informed him that in a skirmish with the Castilians seven Christians had been killed, with whose features Gonzalo might perhaps be acquainted. He was accordingly brought out to a

chamber, in which the seven heads were arranged on a fair linen cloth; and when the old man recognised his sons he fell on the ground as if life had passed away. Recovering from his swoon, he announced that they were his children, and taking up the heads one by one, he talked wildly with each, and recounted their good deeds. Then overwhelmed by the fury of grief, he snatched a sword from a bystander, slew several Moors near him, and when at last disarmed, prayed death from their Chief as the close of his great miseries. Almansor pitied, consoled, and released him; but on his return to Castile the bereft Father was much too weak to attempt the punishment of his guilty kinsman. Many years rolled away, when a youthful Moorish Knight appeared with a brilliant escort at Gonzalo's castle; presented to him as his voucher a well-known ring, which had passed as a love-token between the former captive and his noble mistress; announced himself as Mudarra Gonzalez the issue of that amour, and avowed his intention of avenging his Brothers' death and his Father's imprisonment. Ruy Velasquez fell by his hand; Lambra is said to have been stoned by the indignant populace; and Mudarra having abjured Mohammedanism, was formally adopted into the Family of Gonzalo and his Consort, and became the stem of the illustrious House of Lara.*

In a new invasion of Castile, Almansor inflicted a signal defeat on its Count Garcia Fernandez, who survived but a few days the grievous wounds which he had received. The conqueror embalmed his body, placed it on a gorgeous barge decorated with scarlet and cloth of gold, and delivered it without ransom to his Family. But this act of generosity by no means preluded a more pacific course. On the contrary, fire and sword were carried throughout the devoted Country; and save in the mountains, refuge seemed unknown to the trembling Christians. Resolved at length upon a great final blow which should terminate these long ravages by the total extinction of the Kingdom of Leon, Almansor devoted many months to the assembling of an overpowering armament. Troops poured in from the chief cities which the Moors had either inherited or had conquered, and to the levies of Merida and Valencia, of Toledo and Andalusia, was annexed a ferocious band of African auxiliaries. It is difficult to conceive, after the long desolation of her lands, and the slaughter and captivity of

* The most copious account of the story of the Infantes of Lara may be found in a passage of the *Chronica General de España*, translated by Mr. Southey in a note on *The Chronicle of the Cid*. The reader may turn likewise to Mariana, vii. 6. and to *De Maribus*, vol. ii. p. 35. Mr. Lockhart has given a spirited translation from a Spanish Ballad, *The Seven Heads*, in which Almansor is made guilty of a cruelty paralleled only in the history of Harpagus and Astyages. He invites Gonzalo to feast with him in his Palace where the heads of his seven sons are displayed on the table in charges. No doubt can be entertained that this addition to the story is false. *The Frangence of Mudarra* forms the subject of another Ballad. The singular method of Mudarra's adoption, as described by Mariana, should not be omitted. "By this vengeance which he took for the murder of his seven brothers, he so won to himself the good liking of his step-mother, Donna Sancha, and of all the kindred, that he was received and acknowledged as heir of the Signories of his father. Donna Sancha herself adopted him; as her Son, and the manner of this adoption was thus, not less memorable than rude. The same day that he was baptized and stretched Knight by Garcia Fernandez Count of Castile, his father's wife being resolved to adopt him, made use of this ceremony; she drew him within a very wide snuck by the sleeve, and thrust his head forth at the neck-band, and then kissing him on the face, delivered him to the family as her own child."

* So De Maribus conjectures, because she is frequently styled the Sister of the Khalif, and Hixem had neither brother nor sister. Almansor, as we have before said, was easily mistaken for the Khalif; and in the *Chronica General*, "the honourable Moorish woman" is in one place said to have been reputed Almansor's sister.

her inhabitants, how Spain was able to present a force which might cope with this mighty gathering; but, for the first time perhaps in their History, Leon, Castile, and Navarre united their confederate arms; and the hostile forces met at a spot, not now to be recognised, under the name of Calat Anasor, but which probably may be fixed on the right bank of the Douro, between Medina Cæli and Soria. The fight continued from dawn till sunset; more than once the Christian cavalry, overwhelmed as it seemed, by the charges of the Arabians, rallied and bore terror in return among the squadrons of their foe. Almanzor, prodigal of life, rode to every spot in which danger was most apparent; but victory for the first time refused his call. Night closed on a field apparently undecided, and each army reposed amid its dead. But when the Moorish Chief held a Council of War, and summoned his Generals to his Pavilion, few obeyed the invitation; and when he inquired for the remainder by name, he was answered that they were either slain or disabled by wounds. His loss was far too great to be dissembled, his surviving forces were too scanty to renew battle on the morrow, and he gave orders for speedy and immediate retreat.

So great a triumph of the Christian arms could scarcely fail to generate a Prodigy; but that which Mariana has chosen but little ennobles the victory. "The same day that the Battle was fought," says the credulous or crafty Historian, "one in the habit of a fisherman was seen at Cordova on the bank of the River Guadalquivir, singing in Arabic and Spanish metre,

'At Calat Anasor, at Calat Anasor
Almanzor lost his drum!'

It was believed the Devil in Human shape proclaimed the defeat, because the People of Cordova endeavouring to lay hold of him, he vanished like a shadow." Almanzor, defeated and humiliated, abandoned him to despair, refused to allow his wounds to be dressed, and, unable to mount a horse, was conveyed in a litter to Wolorari on the frontiers of Castile. There, heart-broken, and, as it is said, rejecting sustenance,† he expired in the arms of his son Abdalmalech, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. A Moorish tradition records that during his first victorious incursion into Galicia, when he returned to his tent after every battle, he shook the dust from his armour into a chest. That chest accompanied him in each of his fifty-two triumphant expeditions; and its accumulation, the testimony of his glory, was now heaped into his coffin. He was buried in his arms, at Medina Cæli, where his tomb still exists; and the Khalif's mother Sobeiha soon followed to the grave the great and faithful servant who, during five and twenty years, had supported and ennobled the sway of the most imbecile of the Sovereigns of Cordova.

With Almanzor terminated the glory of the Khalifat; for notwithstanding the vaunt of the Arabians that during the six years of Abdalmalech's administration he was no less successful than his Father, it is plain that the germs of Civil dissension, soon about to prove fatal to the Omniad dynasty, were already fast ripening. His second brother, Abdalrahman, who took up the reins of power on his death, was less politic than his distinguished predecessors; and not content with that virtual sway which they wisely preferred to nominal Sovereignty, he prevailed upon the weak Hixem to declare

him his successor. A great grandson of the illustrious Anasir was still living in the person of Mohammed Almahadi; who naturally jealous of this invasion of his family rights, raised partisans among the more distant relatives of the Khalif, and the numerous discontented Moors who regarded with disgust the now hereditary aggrandizement of the Almahadis.* Thus supported he surprised Cordova, defeated Abdalrahman, and condemned him to the cruel and ignominious punishment of the Cross. The very error, however, which had occasioned his rival's destruction was to prove fatal to Mohammed himself. Dazzled by his near approach to the Throne, and coveting its immediate possession, he was less scrupulous than Abdalrahman had been of the means by which that consummation was to be obtained; and but for the wise and faithful interference of Wadhah, the Chamberlain of Hixem, Mohammed was already prepared to imbrue his hands in the blood of the feeble and unsuspecting Prince. Wadhah forcibly represented that a crime so heinous was altogether unnecessary; that it would be enough to seclude the Khalif in some well-guarded secret spot, and to propagate a report of his natural death. Hixem accordingly was privately removed; an individual somewhat resembling him in person was conveyed to the Palace by night, stifled, and placed in the Royal Couch; rumours of Hixem's increasing illness were spread abroad; and when the chief officers of State, in compliance as was supposed with the dying Khalif's instructions, had acknowledged Mohammed his heir, the decease of the Monarch was publicly announced.

The usurpation was but of short continuance; some tyrannical acts of Mohammed gave birth to a conspiracy which soon found a leader in Suleiman, Commander of the African Guards, whom the new Khalif had disbanded. But we need not trace too minutely these convulsions of the expiring Kingdom. Suleiman allied himself with the Spanish Princes, and Navarre, Castile, and Leon are said to have furnished troops which he led to victory at Quintos. Nor was Mohammed without his Christian supporters also. It is not easy to determine why the Spaniards should be more disgraced by enrolling under his banners than under those of his rival; for a similar motive, that of gain, probably operated in each case. Nevertheless, the offer of Mohammed, accepted by Raymond Count of Barcelona, is condemned as shameful by De Mariès;‡ and although it by no means appears that so unseemly a spectacle was presented as the conflict of Christian Warriors armed against each other in the opposite armies of Unbelievers, Mariana seems to consider the death of three Bishops slain on the field of Acaballbacar, among Mohammed's Catalonian auxiliaries, but a just retribution for their profane warfare.‡ This victory for a while restored Mohammed to his throne, but a third battle

* Anasor was the family name of Almanzor; hence his kinsmen and adherents were termed Almahadis.

† ii. 72. Yet within half a dozen pages the same Writer informs us that, on Mohammed's final defeat, the fanatical Arabians avowed that God abandoned him on account of his alliance with Infidels. How true is Schiller's remark, *Nach dem allgemeinen Wahn jener Zeiten stand jedes Volk unter dem Schutz einer besondern Nationalgöttheit; und es schmeichelte dem Nationalstolz, dass Göttheit über die Güter aller andern Völker zu setzen.*

‡ viii. 7. Acaballbacar is placed by De Mariès ten leagues North of Cordova. He adds, that in consequence of the rival Princes having by turns employed Christians in their armies, the year in which this battle was fought was computed by them from the Era of Christ, not from that of the Hegira.

Spain.
From
A. D.
976.
to
A. D.
1109

is crucified.
A. D.
1005.

Usurpation
of Mohammed
Almahadi.
A. D.
1009.

Struggle
between
Mohammed
and Suleiman.

History. wholly changed the fortunes of the competitors. Mohammed escaping almost alone after total defeat, took refuge in Cordova, and prepared for a siege. The toils and privations consequent upon this design excited bitter murmurs among the Citizens, and Wadha, profiting by a moment which appeared favourable to the restoration of that ancient Master whose interests he had never ceased to cherish, drew Hixem from his concealment, and exhibited in the Royal seat of the chief Mosque a Prince whom his astonished subjects had long numbered with the dead. The effect was most striking and instantaneous. The Khalif, recalled to new existence, was borne on the shoulders of the enthusiastic citizens to his Palace, and seated once more upon his throne; and Mohammed dragged to its steps from some hiding place in which he had ineffectually sought protection, received sentence of death, which was executed on the spot.*

Death of Mohammed.

Famine and Pestilence succeeded the horrors of Civil War; the clamours of the Populace, as is usual, found an object upon which they might be vented in their Governor; and one of the first acts of Hixem, hitherto unused to act at all, was to throw the head of his restorer Wadha, as a Peace-offering to the rabble of Cordova. It is not improbable that Suleiman shared in the intrigue which occasioned the downfall of this Minister; certain it is that not long after his death he approached the Capital in great force, fought in its streets till they were clogged with dead, and when the troops of the Khalif gave way, delivered the City to his infuriated soldiery for three days' pillage and massacre. The fate of Hixem is unknown; and it remains doubtful whether he perished obscurely amid the general carnage; whether he was imprisoned by Suleiman till an alarm of insurrection rendered it dangerous to permit his longer existence; or whether, as Mariana thinks,† he escaped to Saragossa, and passed the remainder of his days in privacy.

Victory of Suleiman. A. D. 1012, and second deposition of Hixem.

These Revolutions shook the Khalifate of Spain to its foundation; Cordova no longer maintained her supremacy, nor was the jealousy between the rival Tribes of Africa and of Andalusia as heretofore the only cause of intestine distraction. Every petty Chief in every City in the Moorish dominions asserted independence, and keenly vigilant of his own self-created authority neglected or sought to overthrow that of the general Sovereign. Had the Christians known their season, and in what manner its advantages might be employed, the Arabian domination would now have terminated. For ever in the field, Suleiman maintained himself during four years on his ill-established throne, and perished in

Overthrow and death of Suleiman. A. D. 1016

* Oheydalla, or Abdalla, a son of Mohammed Almehadi, during these transactions declared himself King of Toledo. He is said to have obtained from Alfonso V. King of Leon, the hand of his sister Theresa; and 'on the wedding night when he refused to accept Baptism the reluctant Bride invoked upon him the vengeance of Heaven. A strange malady fell upon Oheydalla in consequence of this appeal; and well knowing its origin, he sent back Donna Theresa to her Brother, with costly presents. The Lady died as a Nun in the Monastery of St. Pelagius at Leon; her story is told by Mariana, (viii. 8.) and is the subject of one of Mr. Lockhart's *Ballads*. Oheydalla was captured by Wadha, and beheaded after the restoration of Hixem.

† viii. 8. Mariana, however, expresses a doubt whether this was the same Hixem or another of like name, the last Khalif of the race of the Omeyyads. During the anarchy which succeeded the fall of that dynasty, the reappearance of Hixem was on one occasion falsely announced as a political stratagem. De Maris, ii. 147. Ferreras, tom. iii. p. 138. says that after the capture of Cordova Hixem escaped to Africa, where he died.

the end, after a hard fought battle, by the sword of the executioner. His destroyer, Ali, had taken arms in the name of Hixem, a belief in whose reappearance, like that of our own Arthur or of the Portuguese Sebastian, was long fondly cherished; and when all inquiry after the rightful Prince had failed, the Crown was seized, as was but natural, by the most recent conqueror. But we gladly listen over the obscure, monotonous, and sanguinary annals of the few following years, all stained alike with blood and treachery in quarrels between Chiefs who coveted a diadem even for an hour, and all tending to the final extinction of the Omeyyads. A second Hixem (in whom terminated the dynasty of that illustrious race which had swayed the sceptre of Moorish Spain for nearly three Centuries) was dragged from his beloved privacy, and soon compelled, not unwillingly, once more to return to it, by the discontent of a People unworthy of his rule. It was then that one Omeyyada more was still found, who expressed wishes for a Crown, long placed upon the brows of its possessor but as the symbol of approaching death, like the gilded ornament between the horns of the victim led out to sacrifice. "Seat me but for this day upon the throne, and to-morrow I will meet my fate without repining," was the blind request of the deluded youth! Even to entertain such a desire was perilous; his Family had been proscribed, and scarcely had he given utterance to the promptings of his hope, before he disappeared.

Moslem Spain at this epoch presented a rabble of petty Kings; no less than eleven Cities* maintained their separate Princes; and numerous other districts formed themselves into States unconnected with their once powerful Metropolis. Among the Christians, Leon, which had surrendered to the victorious arms of Almansor, was now restored to its former masters, reinstated in its rights as a Capital, and repossessed of its holy treasure of deceased Saints and Monarchs. Its late King, Alfonso V., after a peaceful reign dedicated to the improvement of his People, had been killed before a fortress in Portugal; and his successor Bermudo appeared well inclined to cultivate his Father's policy. An unexpected event for a while disturbed his intention. Garcia of Castile, already betrothed to his sister, was treacherously assassinated while proceeding to celebrate his nuptials; and the inheritance of his extensive dominions devolved upon his brother-in-law, Sancho King of Navarre and Aragon; whose ample possessions, no less than his distinguished qualities, had already won for him the merited title of the Great. Jealousy of this largely increased power, and some apprehension, perhaps, for the safety of his own Kingdom, which since he was without issue must fall to his sister on his decease, precipitated Bermudo into a War with Navarre. In that contest Sancho was eminently successful, and it terminated in additional prospective advantage to his Family, by the marriage of his second son Ferdinand with the heiress of Leon.

Sancho the Great is said to have affected a title unknown to the Goths in their season of loftiest preeminence; but the dominions which this *Emperor* of Spain had concentrated under a single hand, were again to be

* The survey of Spain taken at this point by De Maris is clear and distinct. ii. p. 135—144. The Moslem Kings were those of Saragossa, Huesca, Valencia, Toledo, Seville, Badajoz, Grenada, Algeiras, Almeria, Denia, and Carmona. Gibraltar, Huelva, Niebla, Ocenobla, (near Faro), Lerida, Tudela, and Tortosa declared themselves independent.

History. spread abroad at his death, by an unwise partition. He was assassinated while on a Pilgrimage to Oviedo; and of his four sons, Garcia became King of Navarre; Ferdinand had already received Castile, erected for him into a Kingdom; and Gonzalo during three years wore the crown of Sobrerra, till at his death it merged in that of Aragon, the portion of the illegitimate Ramiro.* Dissension, as may be anticipated, was the speedy result of this divided power. Ramiro first took arms against his brother Garcia; and not long afterwards Bermudo of Leon, dissatisfied with the arrangement which had prepared a successor to that Throne in his Brother-in-law Ferdinand, projected his entire overthrow. The childless Monarch paid dearly for this selfish and personal ambition. In a bloody engagement near Lantada on the banks of the Carion, willing to terminate the conflict by singling out King Ferdinand, he broke into his enemy's ranks, and received a mortal wound. The consequent annexation of Leon to Castile, rendered Ferdinand the most powerful Sovereign in Spain; and believing, as we are told, that "nothing could gain him more reputation among his People, or be more pleasing to God, than to make war upon the Moors," he employed his great resources in piously desolating the territory of the Unbelievers. Having swept the whole of Estremadura between the Tagus and the Guadiana and skirting the Douro, he advanced beyond the borders, "wasting all the country about Merida and Badajos without sparing any thing that came in his way, but driving a vast number of cattle and prisoners." Such, without needless and painful repetition, may be accepted as a general picture of the exterminating conquests extended over Arabian Spain, which won for Ferdinand the ambiguous title of the Great; and so far terrified the Infidels, that the Kings of Toledo, of Saragossa, of Portugal, and of Seville, consented to pay him tribute, "to the great honour of the Christians, and the shame of the Moors, who were now subject to those they had not long before lorded it over. These were special blessings of God for the good lives the Christians then led, following the example of their King; whereby many Moors were converted, and the Bodies of Saints held even by them in great veneration."†

It was not only against the Moors, however, that the sword of Ferdinand was drawn triumphantly; it prevailed also in a contest which Religion must have dis-

* Mariana (viii. ult.) relates a story of Ramiro, which even he admits to near the air of Romance. Garcia and Ferdinand falsely accused their mother of adultery, and the stake would have been her lot but for the successful championship of Ramiro. It is to this incident that some authorities ascribe Ramiro's possession of the Crown of Aragon, but it is far more probable that he derived it from Sancho's Will. Ferreras (tom. iii. 171.) treats the story as an idle fable.

† Mariana, ix. 2. Ferreras relates an amusing Legend which proves how greatly King Ferdinand was abetted by Saint Jago in these conquests. "A Greek Bishop, on a pilgrimage to the Tomb of the Apostle, during the siege of Coimbra, was much scandalized at often hearing the Saint, whom he knew to be no other than a poor fisherman, invoked as a brave soldier and a gallant knight. One evening as he was praying at the Tomb, the Saint appearing to him with some keys in his hands, addressed him as follows: "You treat as ignorant persons those who invoke me as a knight and soldier, but undecieve yourself, and credit that I am so. To-day I am going to Coimbra, and to-morrow at the hour of Three I will deliver that City into the hands of King Ferdinand." At the same moment the church-gate flew open, a sword magnificently caparisoned and glittering with a blaze of light was seen in waiting, the Saint sprang upon its back and galloped off, and the news of the surrender of Coimbra arrived according to his prediction. (Tom. iii. p. 184.)

avowed; and after long bickerings and more than one act of perfidy and injustice on either side, Garcia of Navarre lost both his life and his dominions in battle against his brother. Even in his old age the martial spirit of the Conqueror was rekindled; and when the Moors struggled against his yoke, although his revenues were exhausted, and his subjects wasted by heavy taxes, Ferdinand accepted the money, plate, and jewels which his Queen Sancho contributed to the charges of war, and took the field to emulate the victories of his youth. At his death, a fresh partition scattered piteous seeds of future intestine war. He bequeathed among his sons, Castile to Sancho II.; Leon to Alfonso VI.; Galicia and the conquered districts of Portugal to Garcia; Zamora to one of his daughters Urraca; Toro to the other, Elvira.* The reign of Sancho was one perpetual warfare with his brothers, equally ambitious and equally powerful with himself. His first efforts were directed against Alfonso, and sometimes victor, sometimes vanquished, Sancho at length stripped him of his dominions in a decisive battle: in which his success was mainly owing to a Hero distinguished alike in History and in Romance, the very Proverb and household word of Spanish Chivalry, Don Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar.† It is by no means easy to separate Truth from Fable in the countless adventures recorded of this greatest man of his times; and indeed if it were so, the main outline of his story has become so familiar to the mind, by the bold and spirited sketches in National ballads, and the more finished, but less deeply interesting pictures completed from them in the Modern Drama, that the task would be both ungrateful and unprofitable. The birth of Rodrigo took place at Burgos in the year 1026; his lineage was among the most noble in Castile, that of Layn Calvo §. While still a youth, he avenged an insult offered to his Father, too old for feats of arms, by challenging the aggressor, Don Gomez Earl of Gormaz, and slaying him in single combat. His marriage, at her own request, with Ximena, daughter of the Nobleman whom he had killed, so repugnant to the feelings and habits of later times, is not on that account to be hastily rejected; because if it had equally violated probability in his own days such an invention would never have been hazarded. It is moreover asserted, without any doubt or remark upon its singularity, in numerous early documents; and the tomb of the Lady has been exhibited time out of mind in the church of St. Peter at Cardena, without suspicion of its authenticity.‡ The great wealth of this Heiress, added to his own patrimony, enabled Rodrigo to maintain a force amply sufficient for private warfare against the Infidels; and indeed, before his nuptials, he had overthrown and captured five Moorish Kings in battle, and granted them freedom on condition of the payment of a yearly tribute. This

* "These cities were then called *Infantadas*, signifying thereby the estates left for the support of younger children." Mariana, ix. 5.

† Ruydiaz, as he is called by abbreviation, Ruy being short for Rodrigo. *Campeador*, which is sometimes attached to his name, according to Sanchoval's very probable explanation, means the Camp-marshal, the officer whose duty it was to select proper sites for encampment.

‡ *Il y a peu de Monumens sur lesquels on puisse faire fond, touchant les exploits de cet, et il n'est pas facile de distinguer le vrai du faux dans sa Chronique fabuleuse.* Ferreras, tom. iii. p. 228.

§ When Ordoño II. treacherously cut off the Earl of Castile about a century before, Layn Calvo was one of the two Judges who administered the government of his Country then left without a head.

¶ Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 6. note.

History.

From
A. D.
976.
to
A. D.
1109.

Alfonso
takes re-
fuge with
the King of
Toledo.

A. D.
1071.

Sancho
overthrows
his brother
Garcia.

Besieges
Zamora,
and is
assassi-
nated.

A. D.
1072.

Alfonso VI.

tribute was on one occasion discharged while Rodrigo was present in the train of King Ferdinand at Zamora; and the Moslem envoys on presenting it, addressed Ruy Diaz as *Cid** or Lord. The King of Castile inquired the particulars of the adventure from which so much honour was derived; and he was so delighted by the prowess of his Knight, that he confirmed him in the possession of that title by which he is best known to posterity.

Alfonso, taken prisoner after his late defeat, was secluded in the Monastery of Sahagun; but ere long finding means of escape, he threw himself on the protection of Ali maymon King of Toledo,† by whom he was generously entertained. Not content with this acquisition of Leon, Sancho next attempted Galicia; and in spite of the assistance which Garcia derived from Portugal, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and languished till his death, during the successive reign of each of his brothers, in seventeen years' captivity;‡ The whole of the late King Ferdinand's dominions, except the two Cities bequeathed as a provision for his daughters, was now united under the ambitious Sancho; and he turned his arms in the next instance against Toro, which he captured,§ and afterwards against his sister Urraca's portion, Zamora. The siege had lingered on during many months, for the walls were strong, the garrison was brave, and the town well stored; when a traitor, under pretext of showing an unguarded postern, enticed Sancho without followers to a remote spot, and there, striking him a mortal wound, escaped within the City.

Tidings of his brother's assassination were speedily conveyed to Alfonso in Toledo; and the Moorish King, gratified by the frankness with which his guest revealed to him the posture of affairs in Christian Spain, freely permitted his departure, and furnished money for his present necessities.¶ The first care of Alfonso was to secure the person of his brother Garcia, and then assembling the Nobility of Castile, he demanded their allegiance. The Cortes, in a preliminary debate among themselves, hesitated on one point only; was he pure from his brother's blood? Would he swear that he did not participate in the murder? But who, it was also asked, would have the daring to propose or to administer such an oath as this to his future King? To the

honour of Castile an instrument was not wanting for this noble purpose. The Cid, when the late King notified his intention of attacking Zamora, had fearlessly remonstrated against the justice of that spoliation, refused cooperation, and quitted his Sovereign's Camp; and he now with equal high-mindedness demanded that test from Alfonso which his peers wished, but feared to require. The suspicion of the Nobles was not without grounds; Urraca, deeply wronged, is said to have avowed her determination of bloody revenge; she permitted the assassin to escape, when within her power; and she was most affectionately and confidentially attached to Alfonso, whose peaceable accession was secured chiefly through her assiduity for his interests. In Sancho's Epitaph she is openly accused of his murder; and the belief in her guilt endured in Spain through many Centuries; for so late as the reign of Philip II. a place of penance was shown in the Cloisters at Bamba, said to have been erected and frequented by Urraca in atonement for her fratricide. Alfonso, therefore, most probably was acquainted with, if not accessory to, the murder. According to the legal custom, the Cid tendered the oath upon the Gospels, thrice successively to the King and twelve chosen followers; and each time as Alfonso repeated the expurgatory words, his colour changed. It might be either consciousness of guilt or offended pride which produced that emotion; but assuredly from that same hour there was no love in the King's heart towards Don Rodrigo de Bivar.*

In the second year of his reign, Alfonso testified his gratitude to Ali maymon by personally aiding him with a large auxiliary force against the rival King of Cordova. While the Moorish and Castilian Monarchs were on one occasion seated at table in the pavilion of the latter, Ali maymon observed with consternation that on a signal from his host he was surrounded by five hundred armed knights; and at the same moment Alfonso demanded release from the solemn oath of amity to which he had pledged himself during his exile. The Moor, in his necessity, consented; and then Alfonso, calling for the Gospels, renewed his former oath that he would injure neither Ali maymon nor his sons. "This vow," he said, "once made under compulsion, might have been legitimately broken; I now make it of free will, and it must be religiously observed."†

The Cid meantime continued his incursions upon the Basins Moors, and captured many strong castles and much rich booty. On one occasion, the chance of war led him to ravage part of the Kingdom of Toledo, and Alfonso gladly took advantage of the outcry raised against this violation of a friendly territory, to gratify the resentment which he had long dissembled. His anger was sedu-

* *Cid*, or rather *Sid*, an abbreviation of the Arabic *Sagid*, Lord, Ruler.

† The Moorish Chroniclers name this Prince Aben Dylunus.

§ Garcia committed suicide, he opened his veins and suffered himself to bleed to death. Mariana, ix. 8. Ferreras passes this fact in silence, and probably, therefore, disbelieves it; but he states that Garcia was interred with great pomp in the Royal vault at Leon, and that by his own desire his letters were buried with him. (iii. 271.)

§ Ferreras, tom iii. p. 230.

¶ Mariana, ix. 7. De Marés, ii. 188. According to the account of Archbishop Rodrigo, vi. 20. Alfonso did not reveal the whole truth to Ali maymon; he spoke only of troubles in his own Country which required his presence; and although the Moor had heard of Sancho's death from other sources, he doubted that intelligence in consequence of Alfonso's silence. When he gave permission for departure, he assured his guest that any attempt at secret escape must have proved fatal, since all the passes were vigilantly guarded; and he besought him to renew an oath of friendship to himself and his sons; his grandsons, as Alfonso afterwards recollected to his profit, were not included in this compact. The *Coronica del Cid*, 67, on the other hand, relates that Ali maymon detained him day after day, on various pretexts, so that in the end Alfonso lowered himself from the walls by ropes, and escaped under the cover of night. Southey, 34. 36. We are far more willing to believe with Ferreras that an unreserved and generous confidence existed between the two Princes. History is not rich enough in such incidents, to afford the surrender of them without a struggle.

* Southey, 88, and the authorities there cited.

† Id. 92. Castile, a daughter of Ali maymon, is a Spanish Saint. Touched with pity for the Christian slaves in her father's Court, she used to carry provisions to their dungeon in a basket. The King suspected and watched her; and one day crossing her path inquired the contents of her basket. She answered unhesitatingly roses, and when her Father lifted the cover, they indeed proved to be roses. This miracle completed her conversion; and having occasion to visit Spain for the benefit of some medicinal waters, which cured a disease under which she laboured, she was baptized, and took up her residence in a Hermitage near Bilibica. Her remains after death worked so many miraculous cures, especially in cases of dysentery, that Castile was canonized, and her Feast is celebrated at Burgos and elsewhere on the 9th of April. Ferreras, (iii. 240.) who is sceptical enough regarding general Historical facts, relates this and countless other prodiges without a misgiving.

Spain.
From
A. D.
976.
to
A. D.
1109.
The Cid
breaks as
expurgatory
oath.

Alfonso
aids the
King of
Tolosa.

Alfonso
captures
the King of
Toledo.

History. lously encouraged by his Courtiers, jealous of the superiority of the Cid; and the King sternly commanded Ruy Diaz to quit his dominions at the expiration of nine days; a sentence of unusual severity, since the Hidalgos claimed a right of thirty days' law previous to banishment. The achievements of the Cid during his exile would fill volumes; but the gallant bearing of his mettled steed Baviaca, and the temper of his good swords Colada and Tizona,* must be sought in his own peculiar records. It would be unjust both to the Hero and to our readers, if we were to dim the brilliancy of his great exploits by a scanty and abridged narrative.

Ali maymon and his son who had succeeded him were now dead; Alfonso was released therefore from the letter of his oath; and the misgovernment of the new King Yahia, and consequent dissensions among the Moors, afforded a favourable opportunity for the recovery of Toledo. Six years were spent in preparations, and in obtaining mastery of the adjacent Country, and when the City itself was at last invested, a mighty army of many different nations sat down under its battlements. Castile, Leon, Biscay, Galicia, and Asturias gathered under the banner of their own King, Alfonso; the Kings of Aragon and Navarre each headed his respective contingent; and France, Italy, and Germany supplied auxiliaries for this "so great and catholic a war." The Cid also, himself a host, restored to his Sovereign's favour for the occasion, mingled with the leaders. Toledo, wonderfully strong by nature, had exhausted all the military art of those times in its fortification. It is encompassed with high and craggy rocks, and the girdle of the Tagus breaking through them, surrounds the City on all sides except on the North, where a steep and difficult ascent is surmounted by a double wall. Even when the engines of the besiegers had effected more than a single breach, the ruggedness of the scarped height, the loftiness of the houses, the narrowness and sinuosity of the streets, and above all the numbers and bravery of the garrison, appeared to forbid any hope from assault. If provisions became scarce within the walls, they were equally so without; the heats of approaching Summer generated disease in the army; and there were those in it who thought the enterprise must be abandoned, when St. Isidore appeared to the Bishop of Leon, and announced the joyful tidings of surrender if they would tarry only fifteen days longer.† His prediction was verified: the Moorish populace, jaded by toil and privation, exhibited symptoms of mutiny; all hope of relief was abandoned; and the King, having in vain attempted to appease the clamour of his subjects, reluctantly acceded to a capitulation. Thus after a possession of three hundred and sixty-nine years by the Arabians, did this powerful City, the ancient Capital of the Goths, revert to the descendants of its former masters.‡

* Baviaca, says Mr. Southey, "is an old and obsolete word of contempt; *lubber* would perhaps represent it." The Cid, it seems, required a heavy and powerful horse. *Colada* may be rendered *Scrubber*; *Tizona*, *Fire-axe*.

† Mariana, ix. 9.

‡ The *Chronicle of the Cid* records that while Alfonso was in exile at Toledo, one day as he was lying on a couch in the Royal Gardens, he overheard a conversation between Ali maymon and some of his Courtiers relative to the strength of the Capital. One of them observed that it was impregnable, unless the country round it should first be wasted for seven years, in which case it must be at last surrendered. As they retired, they perceived Alfonso, and when the King was troubled, the Courtiers recommended that

The ambition of the conqueror was stimulated by this great success; he spread his forces on each bank of the Tagus, and we read, among his other acquisitions, of Madrid, at that time a small fortress protecting the river Manzanarez.* It was in no small degree owing to the alliance of the Moorish King of Seville, Muhamad, that Alfonso had triumphed at Toledo, and the events which follow plainly arose out of that connection; whether we accept their immediate cause from the Arabian or from the Spanish Historians, whose accounts widely differ from each other. The Spaniards assign six wives to Alfonso, the third of whom they say was Zaida, a daughter of Muhamad, who renounced Islamism on her marriage, and was baptized either as Mary or Elizabeth.† In order to reduce the whole of Spain under the rule of himself and of his Father-in-law, it is added that Alfonso consented to the introduction of a powerful force of Africans. The Moors, on the contrary, admitting a political alliance, but denying any family connection between the Christian and Moslem Kings, attribute the invitation of foreign auxiliaries to the natural jealousy felt by Muhamad of the insatiable appetite for dominion which Alfonso exhibited after the conquest of Toledo.

About the middle of the XIth Century, a Tribe of Africans, advancing across the Western Desert from the range of Atlas, spread themselves over Mauritania, and it was not long before these *Almoravides*, or "Men of God," as they termed themselves, chased the native men and wild beasts from the district between the mountains and the sea; and on a spot then named Eylama, laid the foundation of Morocco. When Yusuf, one of their leaders, who partly by superior intellect and valour, partly by treachery, so often the handmaid of ambition, had elevated himself to supreme authority, undertook the subjugation of Fez, he already numbered more than one hundred thousand horsemen under his command; and new warriors, allured from beyond the Desert by the fame of his magnificence, daily increased his ranks. With feigned or real humility, he declined the proud title of *Al Mumenin*, tendered by his followers, and was content to bear the lower designations of *Al Muslimin*, Prince of the Musulmans, and *Nazaradin*, Defender of the Faith. Peaceably seated on the throne of a powerful Kingdom, and meditating plans of future aggrandizement, the conquest of Spain, perhaps, had been one of the dreams which floated before this aspiring spirit; when a near prospect of realizing the bright hope was afforded by an embassy from the King of Seville, denouncing the aggression of Alfonso, and the inertness and timidity of the Andalusian Princes.

A powerful fleet and army were equipped for the expedition which ensued. Whether Muhamad was at war or in league with Alfonso, we find, according to the records of both Nations, that the entire Moslem force was soon directed against the Christians. Before the hostile armies confronted each other in the plains of Zalacca, we are informed by the Arabians that Alfonso for many successive nights was harassed by fearful dreams;

he should be despatched on the spot. Ali maymon generously protested against this breach of faith; and in order to ascertain whether Alfonso had really slept or not, the Courtiers said they would observe whether he had drifted. We need not add that the sleeper awoke took good care to wet his pillow. c. 50.

* De Mariès, ii. 213. note.

† Ferreras says Mary Isabella, but that she never used the latter name. iii. 280.

Spaia.

From
A. D.
976.
to
A. D.
1109

Establishment of the
Almoravides in Morocco.

A. D.
1070.

A. D.
1085.

Yusuf invades Spain.

History.

From
A. D.
976.
to
A. D.
1109.

he seemed mounted on an elephant, and a huge drum suspended at his side distracted him by its thunder. The Monks assured him that he might depend on victory; the elephant which he bestrode was, as they said, the vanquished Yusuf; the echo of the drum the celebrity of Alfonso's triumph. In spite of this favourable interpretation, the King, overcome by gloomy forebodings, resorted to a Moslem Fakir of great repute in Oneirocritics. "Behold," said that holy man, "the certain tokens of defeat. When the King of Ethiopia, heading a mighty host, marched against the Arabians to overthrow the Temple of the Eternal, he rode upon an Elephant, and Alla rained fire from Heaven, which consumed his army, as it is written in the Koran; 'Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the masters of the Elephant? Did he not make their treacherous design an occasion of drawing them into error?' As to the drum, it signifies that the day on which its sound shall be heard will be a day of death and desolation to the Gisors." The Musulman made the shrewder conjecture of the two, for Alfonso was defeated with great slaughter.

Defeat of
Alfonso
at Zalaca.
A. D.
1086.

Origin of
the King-
dom of
Portugal.

Trembling for his Kingdom after this disaster which endangered all Christian Spain, Alfonso sought assistance from Philip I. of France, a near relative of his Queen; and many brave Knights were despatched to his succour. Among them were Raymond Count of Toulouse, his namesake the Count of Burgundy, and a kinsman of the latter, Henry of Lorraine. The services of these Nobles were honourably rewarded, and each received the hand of a daughter of Alfonso. To Henry of Lorraine was assigned as a marriage portion with the illegitimate Theresa, all that district of Portugal which had been conquered from the Moors; and this Country, under his son, was erected into a Kingdom, which remained in his line during the long period of four Centuries. Yusuf, meantime, too powerful to apprehend any immediate renewal of hostilities from the Christians, matured his plan for supremacy over the Kings of Andalusia. He had been more than once recalled to Africa, and it was not until his third visit to Spain that he was sufficiently prepared to abandon his mask altogether, and to show that he came no longer as an ally but as a master. Mutual jealousy had long severed all bond of union among the Moorish Princes;

* *Al Koran*, ch. cv. which continues, "and send against them flocks of birds which cast down upon them stones of alk clay, and render them like the leaves of corn eaten by cattle." The following is the incident to which this passage relates. Abresham, King of Yaman, an Ethiopian by birth, and a Christian, built a magnificent Church at Ansis, in the hope of rendering it a more attractive spot of pilgrimage than the Caaba. The Korish, malignant at his success, defiled the Church by night, and Abraham in revenge vowed to destroy the Temple of Mecca. In the army which he led out for that purpose were several elephants, borrowed from the King of Ethiopia; and that upon which Abraham himself was mounted, when approaching the Holy City, refused to advance, and kneeled down whenever the guides forced him towards its gates, although he moved briskly enough if they turned his face in another direction. At the same time a large flock of birds came up from the coast, each bearing three stones, (one in either talon, one in the bill), and dropped them separately with certain death upon the heads of the invaders. Sable labours hard to establish "that there was really something extraordinary in the matter;" forgetting that he thus retracts upon his own head a charge of partiality, perhaps not unjustly, adduced by him against Dean Prideaux; who rejects this miracle, and yet gives more credit than they deserve to the marvels related of the attack of Brennus on Delphi, and the mortal wound received by Cambyse in the very same part of the body in which himself had struck the sacred Apis of the Egyptians.

and one by one they fell an easy prey to their oppressor. Muhammad, who too late discovered his error in having forged his own chains, too late also sought to redeem himself by an alliance with Alfonso. The confederates were defeated, the Christians after severe loss made good their retreat, but the army of the King of Seville was annihilated. The Almoravides soon afterwards entered his Capital, and Muhammad was transported to Africa, where he lingered four years in captivity till death terminated his sorrows.

A general opinion is said to have prevailed in Andalusia, that the fulness of time had arrived for their Princes, and that henceforward the dynasty was to be swayed by a single African hand. The Astrologers, who accommodated present events to ancient obscure predictions, gave birth to or encouraged this belief; and never was there a fancy more likely to produce its own verification. Before the close of the year 1094, each of the petty Kingdoms which had maintained a stormy independence since the overthrow of the Omniads, with one exception, submitted to Yusuf, Saragossa enjoyed a mild and humanized government, and its resistance, if attacked, was likely therefore to be obdurate. The Conqueror accordingly listened to representations, true in themselves, that its territory afforded the surest barrier between his own dominions and those of the Christians; and willing both to spare himself a doubtful contest, and to leave the frontier to the defence of another, he concluded an alliance instead of insisting upon submission. The first fruits produced by this amicable understanding were the repulse and death of Sancho II. of Aragon, who had long spread terror through the Kingdom of Saragossa; the Almoravides uniting their arms with those of the native Prince chased this invader from all his conquests, and saw him receive a mortal wound by an arrow from the battlements of Huesca.

Valencia had been betrayed two years before by the Cadi to whom its temporary administration had fallen after the death of its King in battle. The Cid, still exiled, chose it as the scene of new and extraordinary exploits, reduced it by famine after a long siege; maintained it in spite of powerful attacks till his death; and then bequeathed its defence to his noble-minded widow Ximena. Twelve days did that Lady sustain the assaults of the Moorish Buear and his train of six and thirty Kings, before the preparations were completed for fulfilling the dying injunctions of her Lord. Soon after midnight on the thirteenth morning, one part of the garrison escorting Ximena, the whole of their stores and treasure, and a burden more precious than all, the remains of their beloved master, slowly and silently quitted the gates of Valencia, and proceeded on the road towards Castile. At daybreak another division of the Spaniards fell upon the Moorish Camp, and by dint of surprise, of valour, and of prodigies, chased King Buear and his host into the sea, so that all those who were fortunate enough to gain their ships, "hoisted sails and went their way and never turned their heads." Were it not that the little handful of Christians led by Alvar Paez in that engagement seemed to the Moors "full seventy thousand Knights all as white as snow; and before them a Knight of great stature upon a white horse with a bloody cross, who bore in one hand a white banner, and in the other a sword which seemed to be of fire, and he made a great mortality among the Moors which were flying"—if it were not for this most impudent miracle,

Spain
Fue
A. D.
976.
to
A. D.
1109.
Fall of
Muhammad
A. D.
1091.

Alliance
between
Yusuf and
the King of
Saragossa.
A. D.
1091.

Death of
Sancho II.
of Aragon
A. D.
1094.

Death of
the Cid
May 15.
1099.

History. we would endeavour not to refuse belief to the assertion of the Chroniclers, that of the Infidels "more than 10,000 died in the water, and of the six and thirty Kings, twenty and two were slain."^{*}

Valencia, as may be supposed, was soon occupied by the Almoravides after this victorious abandonment. Alfonso in vain attempted its recovery, and the force despatched for that purpose was completely routed. Yusuf established his Court at Cordova, not so much from a desire to restore supremacy to that ancient Capital, as to gratify the wishes of a larger population than he found elsewhere. Having approached his hundredth year, and secured his throne to Ali, (his younger son, but the one whom he deemed most worthy of sovereign power,) he peaceably closed a life of unusual extent and glory, a few days after his return to Morocco. Alfonso survived him but a short time, too long, however, for his happiness. The new Moorish King, ardent with youth and the recent attainment of power, speedily made preparations for war, and Alfonso's first loss, while guarding against these hostile menaces, was that of one of his best Captains, his son-in-law, Raymond of Burgundy. One son had been born to the old age of the King of Castile, and Prince Sancho, in his eleventh year, was now to enter upon his maiden campaign. His Governor, Don Garcia de Cabres, accompanied him to the field; and so brilliant was the company of Nobles, so strong, numerous, and well-appointed the

host of their retainers arrayed under the banners of the Heir of Castile, that the Almoravides distrusted the issue of a battle and meditated retreat. The proposition was overruled, the armies engaged near the Castle of Uclés, and victory was long doubtful. At length the Moorish cavalry by a desperate charge penetrated to the centre of the Christian line; the young Prince spurred into the melee animating his followers by a war-shout, when, unhappily, his horse stumbled, and ere he could rise, himself and Don Garcia, who attempted to cover him with his own body, were pierced by a thousand swords. The remainder of the battle was a massacre, and the flower of the Spanish Nobles and twenty thousand of their vassals fell in the pursuit. Notwithstanding the severity of this disaster, the acuteness of his sorrow, and the infirmity of his advanced years, Alfonso retained sufficient energy to protect Toledo, now threatened by the conquerors, and they turned aside Eastward. His next care was an adjustment of the vacant succession; and having fixed it on his daughter Urraca, (married after the death of Raymond of Burgundy to Alfonso King of Aragon,) with reversion on her demise to Don Alfonso Raymond, a son by her first husband,[†] he expired at Toledo after a reign of forty-three years, in which he had earned the distinguished Historical memorial, that he was "modest in prosperity and undaunted in adversity."[‡]

Spain.
From
A. D.
976.
to
A. D.
1109.
Battle of
Uclés.
May 29.
A. D.
1108.
Death of
Prince
Sancho of
Castile.

Death of
Alfonso VI.
July 1.
A. D.
1109.

^{*} *Chron. del Cid*, c. 284. *Chr. Gen.* ff. 308, cited by Southey 338. from whom we have borrowed the citations in the text. The striking description of the Cid's funeral cortege is too long for our brief summary, and it would be unjust to deprive it of one drop of that richunction which Mr. Southey has bestowed upon it. The body is said to have been embalmed, clad in armour of painted hose and pasteboard, with Tizona in the right hand, and then mounted on Baveca. Those who remember the scarcely less singular account of the treatment of the remains of Don John of Austria, as recorded by Strada, (*De Bello Belgico*, x. ad fin.) will see little cause for regretting this history of the Cid's funeral because it differs from modern habits.

^{*} Galicia, according to Fernas, (iii. 307,) was left in the first instance to Alfonso Raymond; so that Leon and Castile formed Urraca's portion.

[†] Mariana, x. 4. Both the order of events and their dates in the period of Spanish History treated in the above Chapter are frequently confused, and differ widely in different authorities. For the most part we have abided by *De Marâs*, whose narrative has the merit of consistency. In the date of the extinction of the Omeyyades, however, since, without assigning any reason, he has anticipated all other authorities with which we have met by seven years, placing it in 1031 instead of 1038, we have been guided by the general voice.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXX.

ANNALS OF THE GREEK EMPIRE DURING THE IXth, Xth, AND XIth CENTURIES: OF THE KHALIFATE FROM THE RISE OF THE ABASSIDES TO THE END OF THE XIth CENTURY.

FROM A. D. {802.} TO A. D. 1081.

History. As Nicephorus was the first Sovereign of Constantinople who recognised the revival of the Western Empire by Charlemagne, his accession, in A. D. 802, has been generally considered by Historians as an epoch from which they might change the denomination of Roman for the more appropriate and perspicuous title of the Byzantine or Lower Empire. Contemporary writers exhaust the language of invective in describing the character and conduct of the unlucky Nicephorus; yet as the vices charged against him are set forth far more strongly in the declamations of the Byzantine Chroniclers than in the tenour of his actions, perhaps much of the hideousness of the portrait should be attributed to the invention of those writers, who detested him as an Iconoclast, and regarded his toleration of the Paulicians a sufficient ground for stigmatizing him as a Manichean.* He is charged with ingratitude to Irene, whose favour raised him to that power which he exerted for her ruin; yet the enormity of her guilt would have rendered any indulgence towards her in some degree a participation in it; and in executing the punishment demanded by the public voice, he restricted his sentence to banishment to the Island of Lesbos, where in declining years the labour of her own hands supplied her with means of support.† Avarice, the besetting sin of Nicephorus, induced him to deny the exiled Empress an adequate allowance; and actuated by the same passion, he wrung money from all classes of his people by vexatious inquisitions. He withheld also from his troops the necessary arms and equipments, and was thus himself principally conducive to the disasters of his military enterprises.‡ Yet at few periods did the Byzantine Empire more need the guidance of a firm and prudent ruler. To the West lay the mighty Monarchy of Charlemagne; to the East the Asiatic Khalifate, then in the meridian of its glory and strength, and ruled by the renowned Haroun Al

Raschid, whose power and talents were rendered more formidable by his haughty and martial disposition. Cautious negotiation conciliated the friendship or forbearance of Charlemagne;* but the furious hostility of the Khalif was provoked by a rash defiance. Our narrative of the War which resulted must be prefaced by a concise retrospect of the History of the Khalifate subsequent to the rise of the Abbasside dynasty.

Saffah, the first of the line of thirty-seven Abbassides who held the Khalifate during five hundred and twenty-four years,† claimed that dignity as the descendant of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet.‡ He owed his elevation to the exertions of his uncle Abdallah, and to the zeal and talents of Abou Moslem, who possessed one of those commanding intellects which appear destined by Providence to confer superiority on any cause which it may espouse. Originally the slave of Ibrahim, uncle to Saffah,§ he had been commissioned to promote among the Khorassanites the cause of the Abbassides, both by preaching and by arms; and having levied a considerable body of that warlike race, he defeated the Ommiadan General, and escorting Saffah to Coufah, there proclaimed him Khalif. The battle of the Zab decided the contest between the rival Families.|| Merouan, the Ommiadan Khalif, was there defeated, and having loaded four thousand camels with his treasures at Haran, fled to Egypt. Thither he was hotly pursued, and when overtaken at Busir on the confines of Nubia, his head was cut off, and his tongue torn out and thrown in scorn to be devoured by a cat.¶ Saffah, although naturally humane, in the exultation of victory gave an instance of frightful cruelty. He caused seventy of the Ommiades to be slaughtered in his presence, and as they lay struggling in the pangs of death, he ordered carpets to be thrown over them, on which he and his followers took their seats and feasted, regardless of the groans of the wretches beneath.** The victorious dynasty chose black as the distinguishing colour of their dresses and ensigns. Saffah died A. D. 754, and was succeeded by his brother Mansur.

* Cedren. 480. Baron. *Annal.* A. D. 810. iii. Baronius loses all patience with this many-headed monster. *Tot habuit capita cornuta monstrum unum, quorum singula duri infestant Ecclesiam*, he observes, in allusion to the various ways in which he levied exactions on the Ecclesiastics.

† Cedren. 475. Zonar. ii. 122. Gibbon remarks, ix. 34. that Irene's treatment of her son Constantine, "may not easily be paralleled in the history of crimes;" the Image-worshippers of Constantinople, however, regarded her as a Saint, and celebrated her anniversary. Pagi, *critica* in Baron. *ad ann.* 803. l.

‡ Cedren. 481.

* Baron. *ad ann.* 803. cum Pagi *crit.*

† Till A. D. 1256, when Mostasssen, the last Khalif, was put to death by the Mongol Hologu. D'Herbelot, in *ev. Abbas-Abbassides*.

‡ D'Herbelot, in *ev. Abbas-Abbassides*.

§ *Fundgruben des Orients*, v. 28.

|| D'Herbelot, in *v. Marwan*.

¶ *Fundgr.* v. 35.

** *Ibid.* v. 39.

The title of this Khalif was disputed by his uncle Abdallah, who, however, was defeated and made prisoner by Abou Moslem in a battle at Nisibis. Mansor confined him in a prison, the walls of which had been built on masses of rock-salt; and when this frail foundation was melted by water secretly directed against it, the captive was crushed beneath the ruins.* The unbending and haughty spirit of Abou Moslem was ill calculated to soothe the jealousy felt by the Khalif at the influence which he had acquired, and as he had now ceased to be necessary, Mansor, with the usual ingratitude of despots, caused him to be assassinated.† This Khalif possessed in a high degree the qualities calculated to confirm and consolidate the power of a recent and unstable dynasty; he was active, resolute, penetrating, and frugal. His sagacity led him to consider Coufa, hitherto the Capital, as too remote from the Western Provinces, and in 765, in a moment declared auspicious by Astrologers, he laid the foundation of Bagdad, which he named Medinat al Salam, or Dar al Salam, the "Dwelling of Peace."‡ The future prosperity of this City avouched the judicious selection of the site, since, although the turbulent spirit of the citizens provoked many of the Khalifs to choose other places of residence, the increase of population was so rapid, that within a Century after its foundation, eight hundred thousand men and sixty thousand women attended the funeral of a popular teacher of the law.¶ The habitual parsimony of Mansor withheld his hand from the distribution of alms, in general so much practised by the Commanders of the Faithful, either through policy or a sense of duty. On one occasion, when repeatedly solicited for relief by a man who represented how much he stood in need of clothing, the Khalif took off his own threadbare robe and gave it to the clamorous mendicant.¶ By a long course of similar penuriousness, he accumulated a treasure of above twenty-five millions sterling.** Nor was the aggrandizement of the Khalifate during his reign merely financial; by the conquest of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, he restored it to a territorial extent equal to that which it possessed before the revolt of Spain.

Mansor was succeeded by his son Mahadi, a Prince of widely dissimilar character, whose wanton and extravagant luxury in a few years dissipated this enormous treasure. In the course of a pilgrimage to Mecca, he expended six million dinars,†† and was attended by a long train of camels carrying snow, a natural production which had never before been seen in that City.‡‡ His

reign was disturbed by one of those strange impostures which have often shaken the Empires of the East. Its projector, Hakem, or Mocanna, for he bears both these names, is supposed to have been by birth a Jew. By dint of valour he rose to a high command in the army of the Khalif, and having received a severe wound in the face which deprived him of an eye, he wore a golden mask to conceal the defect, and hence obtained the surname of *Barcai*, or "the Masked."

Skilled beyond his Age and Country in scientific attainments,* and ambitious of a control over the minds of men equal to that which had been attained by the Prophet himself, he attempted to establish not only an independent Government, but even a new Religion. His pretensions were set forth in Khorrassan, a Province in which the restless and warlike disposition of the people, and their imperfect attachment to the tenets of Mohammedanism, made them ever ready to throw off allegiance to the Khalif. His followers were principally drawn from the Jews and Christians, whom he led to regard him as an incarnation of the Divinity; and his project succeeded till defeated by Mahadi. Besieged in a fortress without hope of relief or resistance, he poisoned his followers, and then plunged into a vessel of some corrosive liquid which totally consumed his body. A female who had contrived to conceal herself, opened the gates of the castle, and gave the besiegers an account of the manner of the catastrophe. But the volaries of the Impostor long maintained that he had been miraculously translated to the regions of bliss, whence he would return to establish his glorious reign on Earth.†

Mahadi, although fond of luxury, sustained the reputation of the Sarcenic arms by a successful campaign against the Greeks. He advanced in person into Asia Minor, as far as the river Pyramus, whence he sent forward his second son, Haroun, who at the head of ninety-five thousand men penetrated to the shore of the Bosphorus, and there compelled the terrified Empress Irene to promise payment of an annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars.‡

His life was terminated by an accident during a hunting party; while intent upon the chase, he spurred his horse through a ruined gateway, the low architrave of which gave him a fatal blow. As the spot was remote from any civilized habitation, no bier could be procured, and the body of the late master of the wealth of half Asia, was borne on a door to an humble grave dug at the foot of a tree under the shade of which he had previously reposed.§ His spirit was frank and generous, and he was studious of popularity. It is related that on one occasion, when he was about to commence the public prayer, an Arab of the lowest condition exclaimed, "I have not performed my ablutions, yet I am anxious to join with you in devotion." The Khalif stopped, and remained standing in the midst of the Mosque, until the person

The Greek Empire. The Khalifate.

From A. D. 802. 780. to A. D. 1081.

Mocanna, the Masked Impostor.

Mahadi invades the Greek Empire.

A. D. 780.

* D'Herbelot, in v. *Abdalla*.

† Ibid. in v. *Abou Moslem*.

‡ It should here be observed, that it is impossible to determine with complete exactness the early dates of Mohammedan History, as the most competent judges differ so much as a dozen years in fixing the era. See D'Herbelot, in v. *Hyrah*. In the present narrative his selection of A. D. 622 has been generally followed.

§ D'Herbelot, in *Bagdad*. Elmacin, 102. Kutysh *Annals*, ii. 399.

¶ D'Herbelot, v. *Hamid*.

¶ Elmacin, 104.

** £18,750,000 in silver, and £5,417,000 in gold. Price. *Chronological Retrospect of the Principal Events in Mohammedan History*, ii. 33. Gibbon, guessing from the translation of Elmacin (104.) by Kræpinus, sets down the amount at thirty millions sterling. x. 36.

†† £2,750,000, taking the dinar according to Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i. 161. 8vo. ed. at 9s. 2d.

‡‡ Abulfed, ii. 41. D'Herbelot, v. *Mahadi*. Gibbon, x. 36. transfers the passages without any sceptical comment, yet the account seems incredible, as the snow of Libanus, probably the nearest, is 500 miles distant from Mecca.

* One of the artifices practised by Mocanna was the elevation of a luminous body resembling the Moon from a well near the City of Nekseeb. It rose to a great height, and shone with surprising brilliancy. Was the Impostor acquainted with Aerostatics? The story of Mocanna has been treated by Mr. Thomas Moore in his Poem of *Lalla Rookh*, or the *Fried Prophet of Khorrassan*.

† D'Herbelot, v. *Hakem*. Abulfed, ii. 45—49. Abulpharaj, 146. Price, ii. 25.

‡ Elmacin, 106. Abulfed, ii. 49. Abulpharaj, 146. Price, ii. 25.

§ Elmacin, 107. Abulfed, ii. 53. Abulpharaj, 147. D'Herbelot, v. *Mahadi*.

History who thus addressed him was qualified to join in the service.*

From A. D. 802. 780. to A. D. 1081
Hadi Khalif. A. D. 784.

Mahadi was succeeded by his eldest son, Hadi, a cruel Prince, whose short and inglorious reign presents nothing remarkable, except the rebellion of the descendants of Ali, under the conduct of Houssain, the hereditary Chief of the family who assumed the title of Khalif at Medina. The Alides were defeated, and all who could be seized were put to death. Among the remnant that escaped was Edris, who took refuge in Egypt, whence he pursued his course into Barbary, and soon after, assuming the dignity of Khalif, founded the dynasty of the Edrissites.† This must be regarded as an important event, since, after the revolt of Spain, it is the next instance of the falling asunder of the Saracenic Empire. Hadi viewed with the malignity of offended jealousy the superior talents and popularity of his brother Haroun, whom he treated with great indignity. His cruelty and violence of temper became intolerable to his family and Ministers. He ordered Harthamah, one of his officers, to put Haroun to death, to massacre a number of the Alide party then in prison, and to burn the City of Coufa, which had zealously espoused their cause.‡ These furious mandates were disclosed to the mother of the Khalif, and as her parental affection was engrossed by Haroun, the more worthy object, she caused Hadi to be assassinated by her female attendants, who as he slept threw on him a great quantity of coverlets, and pressed them down until he was suffocated.§

Haroun Al Raschid Khalif. A. D. 786.

On the succession of Haroun Al Raschid, the dominions of the Khalifate stretched from the Atlantic to the Indus, and from the Straits of Babelmandel to the Sea of Aral. The superficial extent was about three-million of square miles, but much of this vast expanse was occupied by the sandy Deserts of Arabia, of Persia, and of Caubul. The public income is estimated at £34,375,000, a sum double that drawn from nearly the same dominions in the period previous to the conquest of Alexander. The example of revolt which had been given by the Omniades of Spain, was followed by Edris the Alide, who made himself master of the Northern part of Africa West of Tunis, and assumed the title of Khalif.¶ Haroun received the intelligence of this audacious rivalry with extreme anger and mortification. The remote position of Edris, and the attachment of his followers, secured him against the arms of the Khalif; but poison was easily administered by an emissary of Haroun. The Alide cause, however, survived in his posterity, who retained the title of Khalif until a. d. 941, when they were deposed by the more powerful Fatimites of Egypt.**

The ardent fanaticism of the Arabs had given them energy sufficient to reverse the usual course of conquest, and to extend the dominion of the Southern Asiatics over the Northern and more warlike inhabitants of Khorassan and the adjacent Countries. But when the first fever of enthusiasm and ambition had passed away, the Khalifs found the government of those fierce and rest-

less Provincials, dangerous and difficult. The rapid alternation of Magian, Christian, and Mohammedan tenets in the Nations bordering on the Caspian, produced an endless variety of Sects, whose wild practices and struggles for superiority, accelerated the anarchy already beginning to overspread the Northern dominions of the Khalifate. The Zendicisms, by their numbers and singular tenets, especially claim the notice of the Historian. Their belief appears to have been a medley formed from the doctrines of the Magians and Paulicians. They permitted the intermarriages of nearest relatives, and they are said to have denied the Resurrection. Their enmity and contempt was particularly directed against the Moslems, whose procession round the Temple of Mecca they compared to the circuits made by oxen on the threshing-floor, and whose prostrations were especial objects of contemptuous merriment.* The Moslems avenged these taunts by massacre, and the Khalif Hadi on one occasion hanged a thousand of the detested Infidels on as many gibbets ranged round the walls of Bagdad.† A large number eluded the exertions made by Haroun for their extirpation, and half a century later the subversion of the Khalifate was threatened by their leader Babek, who at various times gave up two hundred thousand Moslems to the executioner.‡

The title of Haroun encountered a formidable disturber also in Jahia the Alide, who laid claim to the Khalifate, and raising the standard of revolt in Ghilan on the Southern shore of the Caspian, by means of his emissaries extended his influence over the whole Empire. Haroun, doubtful of the event of an appeal to arms, succeeded in inducing the Chief to surrender, by solemnly pledging his faith for his impunity; but this pledge did not secure the unfortunate prisoner from the treatment of a criminal.§ The indulgence with which the Vizier Giarfar received the captive, led to his own ruin and that of his family, the Barmeides, whose generosity and benevolence had given them a degree of popularity suspected by their Sovereign and dangerous to themselves. When the devoted Minister received an unexpected summons to execution, he observed to the messenger, without any appearance of surprise or terror, that the order had probably been given under the influence of wine, and advised him to return and ascertain whether the Khalif persisted in the fatal mandate. The messenger refused this indulgence until Giarfar agreed to accompany him to the door of the Khalif's chamber. Haroun awaited the event with impatience, and as the executioner appeared, demanded whether he had brought the head of the Vizier. The officer accordingly retired to obey this reiterated command, and striking off the head of the disgraced favourite, brought it and laid it at the feet of his relentless Sovereign. Haroun was too politic or too vindictive to leave the relatives of the executed Vizier in a condition to avenge his fate. With few exceptions they were put to death, and their possessions confiscated, so that little remained of this once opulent and powerful family but their memory, preserved in the affectionate traditions of the people. The wealth of Giarfar, amounting to three millions sterling, replenished the coffers of the Caliph; his head and mangled limbs were placed on the most

* D'Herbelot, v. cit.

† Price, ii. 61. D'Herbelot, v. cit.

‡ Price, ii. 55.

§ D'Herbelot, v. Hadi. Almfled. ii. 59. Abulphar. 150.

¶ Gibbon, *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. v. p. 141, estimates the public revenue of the ancient Persian Empire at sixteen millions sterling.

¶ De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns*, vol. i. 359. Cardonne, *Histoire de l'Afrique*, &c. sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. 58.

** De Guignes, *Ibid.*

* Price, ii. 61. Abulphar. 149.

† D'Herbelot, v. Hadi.

‡ Price, ii. 148.

§ Elmacin, 114.

History.
From
A. D.
802.
730,
to
A. D.
1081.
Aglabites
of Africa.

conspicuous parts of the city as objects of terror to the disaffected populace of Bagdad. At the same time the apprehension and disgust with which the Khalif viewed the insubordination of the citizens, induced him to remove the seat of government to the neighbouring town of Raecah.*

Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, had been appointed by Haroun Governor of the Province extending from Egypt to Tunis; and his successful revolt, in A. D. 800, established the dynasty of the Aglabites,† who governed that region until A. D. 928, when they were expelled by Abdallah, whose short-lived power sank before the arms of Moez the Fatimite.‡ The haughty Khalif had hitherto been baffled by Moslem Powers, whose names appear as points scarcely perceptible on the great page of the History of the World, he was now to vindicate his fame and power in a conflict with the Christian Empire, whose actual weakness was rendered more striking by the memory of its former might. Nicephorus, not content with refusing to continue payment of the tribute, due according to the Treaty signed by Irene, demanded restitution of the sums already disbursed on that account. The ambassadors, at the close of their address, threw down before the Khalif a number of swords, adding, "These, in the event of your refusal, must be the arbiters of the dispute." Haroun, drawing his sabre *Samsamah*, showed at once its temper and the wonderful strength of the arm which wielded it, by shattering at a blow the puny weapons of his enemies;§ without injuring the edge of his own blade. The insulting defiance of Nicephorus was answered on the back of his letter in these terms: "In the name of the most merciful God, Haroun al Raschid, Commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman Dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother, thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." That reply (to borrow the spirited language of Gibbon) was written in letters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia. Nicephorus, who attempted to check the rapid and wide devastation inflicted by the Khalif, was defeated with the loss of forty thousand men|| In the next campaign, Haroun invested Heraclea with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand regular troops, and the clouds of irregular followers raised the whole amount to above three hundred thousand. The town was stormed after a month's siege, and sixteen thousand of its surviving inhabitants were led into slavery. At the same time the Isle of Cyprus¶ was again reduced under the dominion of the Khalifs. Alarmed by these great losses, Nicephorus implored Peace, which was granted on condition that the tribute should be raised from seventy thousand

to three hundred thousand pieces of gold,* and that the captured towns should remain in ruin as a lasting memorial of the vengeance of the Khalif.

Haroun al Raschid, amid the splendour of his conquests, found time for the most close attention to the observances of the Mohammedan Law. A hundred daily prostrations and nine Pilgrimages to Mecca are commemorated among his acts of devotion. One of these Pilgrimages was performed on foot, yet so little of real humiliation attended that display of the Khalif's piety, that his path was then strewn with carpets. During the year in which a personal visit to the Caaba was out of his power, he defrayed the expense of no less than three hundred Pilgrims; and his death was accelerated by a superstition which has found a parallel in more than one Sovereign, even professing a more enlightened Faith. As he advanced towards Khorassan, to chastise a rebellious subject, he dreamed that a naked arm extended towards him a hand containing some red clay, whilst a voice exclaimed, "Such must be the earth of your tomb." Soon after he was attacked with illness at the town of Tus, and in his despondency he ordered Mesrour, his favourite Eunuch, to bring him a handful of earth. The earth happened to be red, and as the messenger presented it, the sleeve of his robe fell back, and left his arm uncovered: "Such," exclaimed Haroun, "was the earth and such the arm which I beheld in my dream;" and his disordered imagination produced so

The Greek
Empire.
The Khalif-
ate.

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A. L.
802.
730,
to
A. D.
1081.
Devotion of
Haroun.

His death.

violent an effect on his health, that in a few days he was deposited in the grave which he had caused to be dug by the side of his couch. The Khorassan rebel, against whom his expedition was directed, had been seized and brought into the presence of the dying Khalif, who exerted his sinking powers to order him to be cut to pieces, and in his last moments witnessed the execution of the barbarous sentence.† Some years before his death Haroun committed the baneful error of dividing the succession between his three sons. To Amin, the second, was allotted the Khalifate, with that portion of the Empire South of the Caspian and West of the Gulf of Persia. The Northern and Eastern parts were given to his eldest but illegitimate son, Mamoun, who was admonished to acknowledge the supremacy of his brother. Armenia and the North of Mesopotamia formed an appanage for his third son, Mutama.‡ In relating this arrangement, Elmacin observes, "Some said Raschid has given stability to his Empire: but others said nay, but he has sown discord amongst them, and the event will be terrible."

Division of
his Empire.

But to revert to Constantinople. Nicephorus was now engaged with a less illustrious, but a yet more destructive foe than he had encountered in Al Raschid. The Bulgarians, a Slavonian race, had emerged from their wilds North of the Danube, and extended their dominion to the Balkan, in the fastnesses of which they were firmly established.§ Whilst the Greeks were engaged in the Saracenic war, those Barbarians had ravaged Thrace, and sacking the City of Sardica led six thousand of its inhabitants into slavery.|| The expedition by which Nicephorus retaliated this invasion was at first Bulgarian.

Nicephorus
invades
Bulgaria.

* Price, ii. 68. Abulfed. ii. 89.

† D'Herbelot, v. *Giafar*. Elmacin, 116. Abulphar. 151. Abulfed. ii. 81. Price, ii. 75. Our limits do not admit room for the romantic story of the marriage of Giafar to Abbassa, the sister of Haroun, and its fatal consequences. It may be read in the authorities just stated.

‡ Abulfed. ii. 79. Cardonne, i. 1.—59. De Guignes, i. 359—365. D'Herbelot, v. *Ibrahim ben Aglab*.

§ D'Herbelot, v. *Haroun*. Gibbon, v. 54. Abulfed. ii. 87.

|| Elmacin, 119.

¶ Abulfed. ii. 91. Cedren. 477. Theophaues, 407. Of the other great Islands of the Mediterranean, Sardinia had been wrested from the Byzantine Empire by the Saracens, A. D. 714; Price, i. 471.; Sicily was conquered by them between the years 827—878; Crete, 823; Corsica was seized by Pope Leo IV. in 852, and a moiety assigned to the Genoese on the annual payment of a pound of gold. Baron. *Annal.* ad 852. v.

* Price, ii. 65. D'Herbelot, v. *Hagge*. Elmacin, 120.

† Abulfed. ii. 93. Abulphar. 152. D'Herbelot, v. *Haroun*. Price, ii. 84—87. Kutchy, *Annal.* 412.

‡ Elmacin, 115. D'Herbelot, v. *Haroun*. Price, ii. 65.

§ D'Anville, *Etat des fornic en Europe apris la Chute de l'Empire Romain*, p. 248.

|| Cedren. 478.

History.

From
A. D.
802.
730.
to
A. D.
1081.

is defeated
and slain.

A. D.
811.

Stauracius
Emperor.

Michael I.,
surnamed
Rangabe,
Emperor.
A. D.
811.

Leo V., surnamed the Armenian, Emperor.
A. D.
813.

marked with success. He extensively desolated the Bulgarian territory, and making himself master of the Royal residence, appropriated the vast store of plunder which it contained, the accumulation of many a predatory excursion. Crum, the Bulgarian Prince, offered unmolested retreat to the invaders, together with their spoils, provided a stop were put to further devastations. His proposal was rashly and disdainfully rejected. But a wild and mountainous tract lay between the Greeks and their homes; the passes were secured by strong palisades guarded by powerful detachments of Bulgarians; and Nicephorus, viewing the toils which enclosed him, exclaimed, "Unless we were birds, escape must be impossible." For two days he remained in his camp in the inactivity of despair; on the third, the impatience of the Bulgarians anticipated the effect of famine: they broke through the Greek lines, and the Emperor, with nearly his whole army, fell in the carnage which ensued. The head of Nicephorus was cut off, and in barbarous exultation exposed for some days on a pole. His skull, formed into a drinking cup and set in silver,* gave the zest of triumph to the carouses of the victor.

Stauracius, the son of Nicephorus, escaped from the field of battle, but with a wound which eventually proved mortal. Having determined that his Empress Theophano should succeed him, he prepared to seize and deprive of sight his brother-in-law Michael, surnamed Rangabe. The design failed, Stauracius was deposed and secluded in a Monastery, within the walls of which he died in six months after his accession.† Michael, raised to the throne by the public choice, was mild, pious, benevolent, and generous, and his dignified carriage and aspect were well suited to command popular respect; but he wanted the stern energy requisite for controlling a restless and seditious people; and his army, although timid in the presence of an enemy, despised the gentle and peaceful disposition of their new Emperor. A fresh defeat, inflicted by the Bulgarians, was attributed rather to his incapacity than to their own cowardice; and in his absence at Constantinople, they declared that Leo the Armenian, a rough but valiant soldier, was alone worthy to wear the diadem. Michael might have defended Constantinople against his rebellious army; for the Senate valued his mild and equitable sway, and the Clergy and People were zealous in the cause of an Emperor who had evinced his orthodoxy by persecuting the Iconoclasts;‡ but reluctant to agitate a Civil contest, he declared that not a drop of Christian blood should be shed in his cause. At the same time, regardless of the remonstrances and reproaches of his Empress, the bold and ambitious Procopia, he sent the Imperial ensigns, the diadem, and purple robe, and slippers to Leo, who at the head of the army had taken a threatening position at the gates of the city. The Emperor, after this abdication, was allowed to retire unmolested to a Monastery in the Island of Prote, in the Propontis, where the thirty-two years during which he survived were spent in tranquil piety.§

The military talents of Leo were well suited to the exigencies of the Empire, which continued to bleed under the fierce inroads of the Bulgarians. Crum their King led a numerous army to the suburbs of Constanti-

nople, whose citizens viewed from their ramparts with mingled terror, curiosity, and abhorrence, the uncouth rites and bloody sacrifices* performed by the Barbarian to propitiate his idols. The invader suspended attack whilst he set forth his insolent demands; in which the delivery of a costly ransom was less galling to the pride of the besieged than an intimation that the Conqueror intended to strike his lance into the Golden Gate.† Leo proposed that the terms should be adjusted in a personal conference; and when Crum repaired to the place of meeting, some Greeks, ambushed in a ruined building, moved forward to cut off his retreat. Crum's suspicions, however, were seasonably alarmed, and he escaped with a slight wound.‡ In his fury he levelled the suburbs, and bearing away all movable spoil, he relinquished the siege and dispersed his hordes to ravage Thrace and Macedonia. Adrianople was among the Cities which he sacked.§ and having sated his cupidity and anger, he led home his troops laden with booty, and driving before them fifty thousand Greeks destined to a hopeless servitude. In a subsequent invasion, Leo totally defeated the Barbarians, and vigorously following up his success, drove the Bulgarian Prince and the dismayed relics of his army back to their wilds.¶ The Emperor now had leisure to turn his attention to the futile and mischievous Polemics which distracted his subjects. Although an unlettered soldier, he was not content to employ force against the worshippers of Images, but in a Council§ held to take cognizance of the dispute, he exerted himself to prove that the adoration of those inanimate objects was at variance with the precepts of Christianity and the principles of Reason. The courtiers applauded the eloquence of their Sovereign, declared that his arguments were irrefragable, and Leo, whose inflexible purpose needed no such encouragement, removed the Images which had been restored by his predecessor, and punished the refractory sect of his votaries with the rigour of a military despot.** His attention was diverted from this controversy by the terrors of a new Bulgarian irruption. Crum a second time invested Constantinople, and taking his station at the gate Blacherna, prepared on a vast scale those engines, the employment of which had enabled him to destroy the fortifications of Adrianople. His death opportunely relieved the apprehensions of the Greeks, as the Bulgarian host immediately retreated.

The unsettled nature of succession to the Byzantine diadem stimulated the rashness of adventurers to seize so rich a prize, and Michael, surnamed Traulus, or the Stammerer, was encouraged to form treasonable designs against an Emperor unpopular from his severity. Michael, who had been mainly instrumental in the elevation of his Sovereign,†† long experienced his forbearance, even after his designs were more than suspected; but as kindness failed to soothe, or threats to intimidate his dangerous enemy, he was at length convicted of treason, and sentenced to be burned alive. The anniversary of the birth of Christ had been fixed for this execution, but it was postponed in consequence of the remonstrances of the Empress Theophano, who regarded with abhorrence the desecration of that great Festival by so inhuman a spectacle. The delay gave time to ripen a conspiracy

* In silver, Theoph. 416. Cedren. 482. Zonar. ii. 114. not in gold, as Gibbon (x. 199.) represents.

† Zonar. ii. 125. Cedren. 482. Theoph. 418.

‡ Cedren. 483.

§ Cedren. 484. Zonar. ii. 118.

• Leo Gram. 414.

† Ibid. 432.

‡ Zonar. ii. 129. Cedren. 487.

** Leo Gram. 438.

† Ibid. 445.

† Ibid. 433.

¶ Ibid. ed. ann. 814. iii.

†† Zonar. ii. 128. Cedren. 484.

History. From A. D. 802. 780. Michael II. married A. D. 820. formed by the friends of the criminal, and they attacked Leo whilst he attended early service in the Chapel of the Palace. The Emperor seized a massive crucifix and attempted resistance, but his right arm was cut off, and he was slain at the foot of the altar.*

Michael was thus raised from a dungeon to the Throne, and as in the tumult a Smith could not readily be procured, he wore his fetters for some hours beneath the Imperial Purple. Since he imitated his predecessor in excluding Images, the Historians who advocate their adoration relate with marked delight that, sprung from Amorium, he retained the Jewish observances and prejudices prevalent among the concourse of Hebrews and Manicheans by whom that city was inhabited. The example of his own successful treason was imitated by his fellow-soldier Thomas the Cappadocian, who asserting that he was a son of the Empress Irene, drew together in his native Country an army of eighty thousand irregular troops, and laid siege to Constantinople. Michael solicited the aid of the Bulgarians; and those hardy Barbarians soon dispersed the myriads of effeminate Asiatics. Thomas was made prisoner, and in vain implored the mercy of his former comrade in arms. His hands and feet were lopped off, and thus mutilated, he was borne by an ass through the streets of Constantinople to the stake on which he was impaled.

During the inglorious reign of Michael, the conquest of Crete by the Saracens is one of the few instances in which the foreign relations of the Empire merit the notice of History. A band of Corsairs from Spain, during a predatory expedition, were so struck with the fertility and delicious climate of the Island of a hundred Cities, that they renewed the attack with a large reinforcement of their Countrymen, who landing from forty galleys achieved its conquest.† The post fortified for the security of their colony received the name of Candax, which, subsequently softened by the Franks into Candia, has been extended to the whole Island. In the last year of the reign of Michael, the Saracens commenced those invasions of Sicily, which, after an occasionally intermitting warfare continued through half a Century, rendered them masters of the Island. The treachery of a native first exposed its shores to their arms. Euphemius, a youth holding a high command in the Sicilian military force, carried off a Nun from a Convent, and when his amorous sacrilege was about to be punished by the Emperor's command with mutilation, he escaped to Africa, and invited the Prince then on the throne of the Aglabites to invade his native Country. The proposal of the apostate, for Euphemius had abjured Christianity, was favourably entertained, and returning with the command of seven hundred horse and ten thousand foot, he laid siege to Syracuse. The invaders were baffled by the vigour of its defence, but they established their dominion over the Western part of the Island, and made Palermo the Capital of their conquest.‡

Theophilus, undisturbed by any rival claimant, inherited the Imperial dignity on the decease of his father Michael. One of his first acts was the punishment of those conspirators who had raised that Father to the throne by the assassination of Leo; and this proceeding,

in itself indiscreet and of doubtful merit, was rendered utterly unjustifiable by the insidious means employed for its execution. In a full Senate he declared his pleasure that those who had caused the death of Leo should come forward, in order that he might reward them. When, in hopeful eagerness, they had separated themselves from the rest of the Senators, he demanded of the Assembly what those persons merited who, in the very Church, had slain the Lord's anointed. This question sufficiently intimating the views of the Emperor, was answered by the general exclamation, "Death!" and the award was executed without delay.*

The new Emperor distinguished himself as a zealous Iconoclast; but we pass on to his more important transactions with the Khalifate.

Amin, the successor of Haroun Al Raschid, was a dissolute and imbecile Prince, vigorous only in the unjust attempt which he made to deprive his brother Mamoun of his dominions. An army of sixty thousand men, despatched for this purpose under the command of Ali, was encountered by Mamoun's General, Taher, who, near Rei, defeated this numerous host with an insignificant number of the valiant soldiers of Khorrassan. This victory encouraged Mamoun to assume the title of Khalif, and the successes of his Generals soon enabled them to besiege Bagdad, where the infuriated Amin, relinquishing to his courtiers the management of his affairs, sought to exclude care by an incessant round of trifling amusements and debauchery. The citizens, afflicted by oppression within the walls and by the operations of the besiegers without, rose in tumultuary insurrection, and gave up the town to the troops of Mamoun. The Khalif, seized in flight, was immediately put to death by the order of Taher, and his head was despatched to Mamoun, who awaited the event in the remote city of Merou.†

The humane disposition of Mamoun was so shocked by the melancholy fate of his brother, that he never saw Taher without shedding tears; and that Chief, from the impulse either of resentment or of alarm, retired to Khorrassan, a Province which had been assigned, in nearly full Sovereignty, as the reward of his services. With this successful soldier, commenced the dynasty of the Taherites, who ruled the North of Persia for four generations;‡ and the establishment of that Power is the next step in the dismemberment of the Khalifate after the loss of Spain and Africa. At the accession of Mamoun, the State had attained its greatest financial prosperity, and his revenue, it is probable, considerably exceeded thirty millions sterling.§ His liberality kept pace with, or even outstripped his opulence. On one occasion, as he returned on horseback to the Palace, the Syrian payments, amounting to three millions sterling, were displayed before him, and observing that his courtiers wistfully eyed the glittering hoards, he told them that they should not crave in vain while he possessed means for their gratification, and distributed four-fifths of the treasure

The Greek Empire, The Khalifate.

From A. D. 802. 780. to A. D. 1051.

Amin Khalif. A. D. 809.

Mamoun Khalif. A. D. 813.

Taherites.

* Zonar. ii. 141.

† Elmacin, 124—129. Abulfed. ii. 105. Abulfar. 157. D'Herbelot, v. Amin.

‡ Abulfed. ii. 139. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i. 146, 147. 8vo. D'Herbelot, *re. Mamoun, Taher*.

§ 279, 970, 714 dirhems. Von Hammer (*Fundgruben des Orients*, vi. 364.) considers the dirhem equal to the piastre forte, 2s. 2d. Mamoun, besides, received very great payments in kind, according to the natural productions of the respective Provinces. *Fowiger, Hist.*

* Zonar. ii. 132—134. Leo Gram. 417.

† Zonar. ii. 135. Cedren. 496.

‡ Zonar. ii. 139.

§ Zonar. ii. 140. Baron. *Annal. de ann.* 820. xx. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, vii. 440. 8vo. Milan, 1819. St. Marc, *Abregé Chronol.* i. 474.

History. before he drew foot from the stirrup.* On his marriage, a thousand pearls of uncommon size and lustre, showered on the head of the bride, became the property of those who could gather them, and lottery tickets, thrown among the spectators, (after the manner of some of the Imperial despots of Rome,) entitled the fortunate holders to rich possessions in lands and houses.† Mamasen was also a munificent patron of letters, and expended three hundred thousand pieces of gold in translations of the most eminent Christian writers.‡ During an expedition against the Greeks, he died in consequence of a surfeit of dates, rendered more deleterious by excessive draughts of the chill water of the Bezizon, or Cydnus,§ a river once before nearly fatal to a far more illustrious Sovereign.

Amin was succeeded by his brother Motassem, whose short-sighted policy accelerated the dissolution of the Empire of the Khalifs. Intent on surrounding himself with a strong Body-guard upon whose fidelity he might implicitly rely, he purchased a great number of Turkish youths, and after they had been disciplined, stationed them in his Palace. The insolent rapacity of those rude foreigners led to frequent quarrels with the Citizens of Bagdad, and Motassem, retiring in disgust from his Capital, laid the foundation of the Town of Samara. By a whimsical display of power, he commanded each soldier in his cavalry, said to amount to a hundred and thirty thousand men, to fill with earth the little sack, or (as it is familiarly called in English) the nosebag, used in feeding his charger, and all of these being emptied at an appointed spot formed an eminence on which was raised the Palace of the Khalif.¶ The transfusion of Turkish hardihood into the military force of the Khalifate gave it some transient vigour, and the reiterated invasions of Syria by the Emperor Theophilus afforded occasion and scope for his exertion. In his fifth expedition, Theophilus besieged the town of Sozopetra, the birthplace of Motassem, who, engaged in tranquillizing some disturbances in Persia, sent an embassy to intercede in his favour. The Emperor eagerly seized the opportunity of mortifying the Khalif's pride, and having taken and razed Sozopetra, he treated the captives with ignominious cruelty. In the subsequent invasion by which Motassem revenged this insult, Theophilus was defeated, and fled precipitately from the field on which thirty thousand of his soldiers had fallen. The victorious Khalif then, in retaliation, laid siege to Amorium, the birth-place of Theophilus, who in vain sued that it might be spared. The strength of the fortifications, and the desperation of the garrison protracted the siege for two months, and the gratification of Motassem's vengeance cost the lives of above seventy thousand Moslems.¶ But the city was at length destroyed, the inhabitants suffered death in its most cruel forms, and after a profuse expenditure of life and treasure, the Khalif evacuated the country which his troops had overrun, and led them back to Samara. Motassem, like most of the Abbasside Khalifs, was generous. Having been separated on one occasion from his attendants, he saw an old man who fruitlessly attempted to

extricate himself and his ass from a deep slough. The Khalif alighted, and plunging into the mud, with which he was thoroughly bemired, drew out the old man and his beast, and when rejoined by his courtiers, bestowed on him an alms of four thousand pieces of silver.*

The deep anguish which Theophilus felt in consequence of his defeat and the destruction of Amorium preyed upon his health, and irritated into cruelty his temper naturally severe. A woman complained to him that a powerful Nobleman, the brother of the Empress, had raised his Palace to so great a height as to exclude light and air from her humble dwelling. Not content with adjoining to her the Palace and ground, Theophilus ordered the unhappy Patrician to be stripped and scourged in the presence of the people. In a similar spirit of rigour, officers, recommended by the length and importance of their services, were banished, mutilated, or burned alive for venial acts of carelessness or negligence. The Emperor's former zealous persecution of the Image-worshippers also was at this time rendered more active from the exposure of a fraudulent attempt to raise a popular commotion, by means of a contrivance which caused milk to exude from the breasts of a statue of the Virgin.† His suspicions and cruelty increased as his strength decayed, and since his son Michael was but five years old, he feared lest his succession might be prejudiced by the eminent qualities of Theophobus, a Prince of Persian extraction, but allied to the reigning family of Constantinople by marriage. Theophilus issued his mandate for the death of his unsuspecting kinsman, whose great services and tried loyalty merited a different recompense. His head was brought to relieve the apprehensions of the dying despot, who, recognising the features, said in a faltering voice, "Thou art no longer Theophobus, and I soon shall be no more Theophilus." Then intrusting his Empress Theodora with the guardianship of Michael, and the powers of government during his minority, he spent his expiring breath in exhorting her to persist in the exclusion of Images.‡

Theodora, however, was zealously opposed to the Iconoclastic faction, and disregarding the injunctions of the deceased Emperor, she assembled a Council, and declared her resolution to restore Images; which accordingly, on the first Sunday in Lent, amidst sumptuous ceremonies and the noisy exultation of the populace, were replaced in the Greek Churches. The streets of the Capital were crowded with swarms of Monks who descended from Athos, Ida, and Olympus, and the Imperial halls were filled with Confessors recalled from exile and relieved from persecution. In an entertainment given by Theodora to the most eminent of those sufferers, her eyes were often directed towards the countenance of one Theophanes scarred with wounds inflicted by the Iconoclasts. That Confessor, divining her thoughts, asked what attracted her attention; and when he received the expected answer, "I admire your patience and detest the cruelty of those who have inflicted those scars;" he retorted with savage and vindictive fanaticism, "Detest then the late Emperor Theophilus your own husband. I have made a vow that he shall decipher those marks, and will see it performed in presence of that just Judge who no more regards the

War between the Emperor and Khalif.

Samara founded. A. D. 836.

Motassem. Khalif. A. D. 833. Introduction of Turkish Guards.

His splendour and munificence, and death.

From A. D. 802. 730. to A. D. 1051.

* Price, ii. 163.

† Ibid. ii. 140. Abulfed. ii. 147.

‡ Ibid. ii. 142.

§ Elmacin, 158. Abulfed. ii. 123. Price, ii. 142. D'Herbelot, v. Mamasen.

¶ D'Herbelot, v. Motassem. Price, ii. 143. The eminence was called by the people, *Tel al-nahab*, "the hill of satchels."

¶ Eutyech. ii. 439. D'Herbelot. Zonar. ii. 150—152. Cedren. 529—532.

* D'Herbelot, v. Motassem. Abulphar. 166.

† Elmacin, 152.

‡ Zonar. ii. 152. Cedren. 533.

purple than the beggar's sackcloth."* This uncharitable insolence was reproved by the Patriarch Methodius, but the uneasiness felt by Theodora on account of her husband's eternal woe, could be relieved only by the assurance of the Image worshippers that their prayers had been heard in his behalf, and by a dream in which she saw him penitent, pardoned, and beatified †

The turbulence of her Court soon disgusted Theodora, and when, relinquishing her guardianship, she retired to a Monastery, Michael availed himself of uncontrolled Sovereignty to lavish the treasure of the State in the most wanton extravagance and debauchery. The frugality of the Empress Mother had accumulated a treasure of above six millions sterling; and from this stock the profuse youth distributed thousands in rewards for acts of gross and disgusting buffoonery. His thoughtless impiety treated Religion itself also with mockery. Himerius, his favourite Jester, was arrayed in the robes of the Patriarch Ignacius, and when the Empress Theodora came forward to receive the benediction of so revered a personage, she was undeceived by a brutal insult. § On the day of a solemn festival, Michael and the companions of his debaucheries, attired in Episcopal robes, rode on asses through the streets, and encountering the Patriarch at the head of his Clergy, disturbed the procession with shouts and gestures; and the Emperor and his minions are said to have profaned the Eucharist in their revels, by a mock administration of it in a composition of vinegar and mustard. The follies and crimes of the Emperor were stimulated by the insidious policy of his uncle Bardas, who hoped that he might supplant so unworthy a possessor of the Imperial dignity. His intrigues, however, were rendered abortive by the superior abilities or fortune of Basil the Macedonian, who had been introduced to the notice of Michael by his adroitness in horsemanship, and had acquired unrivalled influence over him by his talents at once insinuating and commanding. Bardas fell by the dagger of this new favourite, who rose from the dignity of Grand Chamberlain to a participation in the Imperial Throne. He confirmed his influence by surrendering his sister to the passion of Michael, and still further by his marriage with the discarded concubine Eudocia. || Yet during this period of crime and degradation, the Peloponnese was restored to the Empire by the subjection of the Slavonian intruders, ¶ and Bogoris, the Prince of the Bulgarians, embracing Christianity, voluntarily declared himself a vassal of the Emperor. ** The consummation of Basil's ambition was hastened by a drunken frolic, in which Michael associated with himself in the Imperial dignity one Basilinus, a rowdy, admitted to join the degrading revels of his Sovereign. When Michael unloosed his mantle and threw it over Basilinus, he looked at Basil, and observed that he was at full liberty to associate this second colleague in his Throne. The remark excited the jealousy and resentment of Basil, who taking advantage of the familiar access which he enjoyed to all

parts of the Palace, introduced assassins by night, and cruelly butchered his Master as he lay sunk in sleep and intoxication.

Basil the Macedonian was born at Adrianople, of parents who, although they earned their subsistence by manual labour, are represented by contemporary Historians to have derived their descent from the Arsacide of Persia, from Alexander the Great, and from the Christian Hero Constantine. * The power which he had attained not without the commission of many and great crimes, was employed by him with wisdom and activity in retrieving the deplorable condition of the Empire. Of the great treasure inherited by Michael, but three hundred pounds of gold remained. † But the frugality of the new Emperor, and the moneys which the Favourites of the late prodigal reign were compelled to refund for the public service, afforded means for giving equipments, number, and discipline to his naval and military force.

The Paulicians of Asia Minor, formidable from their fanaticism, their despair, and their alliance with the Saracens, had long ravaged with impunity the Eastern frontier of the Empire. Under the conduct of Chrysocheir, their Spiritual as well as temporal leader, they extended their devastating incursions to the Eastern shore of the Archipelago. Basil having in vain tried the effect of negotiation, marched into Pontus, the principal seat of those sectaries; where, after laying waste the open country, he retired, baffled by the strength of the fortifications and the numbers and bravery of the garrison of Tephrike. After his retreat, he offered up incessant prayers that his warfare might so far be blessed with success, as to permit him to discharge three arrows into the head of Chrysocheir; and his wishes were gratified. In an inroad, Chrysocheir was surprised and slain. His head was sent to the Imperial presence, and Basil, who had not forgotten the military exercises of his youth, pierced it with three arrows. In a second expedition the Emperor made himself master of Tephrike, which he immediately razed to the ground. This success greatly diminished the power of the Paulicians, who nevertheless continued to assert independence against every effort of the Byzantine Emperors. †

The Saracens, by their superiority of Naval force, Recovery were now masters of the Mediterranean, and they took of Southern advantage of this command to desolate or to occupy the Italy: maritime cities of Southern Italy. Their principal garrison in Italy was at Bari, on the Eastern shore, whence they infested all the Southern and central Provinces. To check their alarming progress an alliance was concluded between Basil and Louis II., Emperor of the West. While the German army under the command of the Emperor invested Bari by land, a fleet of four hundred ships, despatched by Basil, blocked it up by sea. The Greek Admiral, either through dread of his enemies or jealousy of his allies, withdrew with his fleet to the Gulf of Corinth; and as Sergius the Christian Duke of Naples, took advantage of that retreat to supply the besieged Saracens with provisions and warlike stores, four years elapsed before the town was captured. The power of the Saracens in Southern Italy was effectually broken by the arms of the Germans. But on the death of Louis, Bari

The Greek Empire. The Khalifat.

From A. D. 802. 730. 10 A. D. 1081. Basil I. was named the Macedonian, Emperor. A. D. 867.

Successful war against the Paulicians.

* Baron, *Annal. ad ann. 842. xvi.—xviii. cum Pag. crst.* Genesius, 39. Cedren. 534.

† Zonar. ii. 154.

‡ One hundred and nine thousand pounds of gold, three hundred thousand pounds of silver. Zonar. ii. 157. Cedren.

§ Cedren. 544.

|| Zonar. ii. 167. Leo Gram. 464.

¶ Constant. Porphy. in Banduri, vol. i. 108.

** Zonar. ii. 135. Cedren. 540. Stritter, *Memoria Populorum*, &c. vol. ii. 569—571.

* Constant. Porphy. in *Scriptor. post Theoph.* fol. Par. 1685. p. 135. Scylitz. 32.

† Zonar. ii. 167.

‡ Zonar. ii. 165. Genes. 57. 60.

History. with his other conquests were occupied without resistance by the troops of Basil. The *Theme* of Lombardy, as this acquisition was styled, was included between the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas, and a boundary extending from Mount Garganus to Salerno.* This Province was administered by an officer who bore the title of Catapan.† The talents of Basil as a Legislator were displayed by an adaptation of the Code of Justinian to the altered state of Society, promulgated under forty titles styled *Basiles*; and this Prince's salutary reign was terminated, too soon for the welfare of his Empire, by an accident in hunting. A stag of enormous size having been driven to bay, entangled one of his antlers in the dress of the Emperor, dragged him from his horse, and inflicted a mortal wound.

Leo VI., surnamed Philosopher, Emperor. A. D. 886.

Basil was succeeded by his son Leo, a Prince ill adapted indeed for the active cares of Empire, but distinguished for other talents which have obtained him the title of the *Philosopher*. His younger brother Alexander was associated with him in the Imperial dignity, but so lost was he in debauchery and sloth, that his name and character have almost escaped the notice of Historians. The unwelcome Leo was unable to chastise, or even to repel, the incursions of the Bulgarians headed by Simeon, their able and valiant King, who owed much of his superiority to an education at Constantinople; and the Greeks, without power to resist, invited the dangerous assistance of the Hungarians, a people whose ferocious habits and first appearance in Europe we have already noticed.‡

Their diversion in favour of the Greeks was at first successful, and, assisted by the Imperial fleet which conveyed them over the Danube, they defeated Simeon, entrenched on its Southern bank. In a second engagement, the Hungarians were in turn defeated, and few escaped across the river into the wasted region of Pannonia, which they now began to regard as their Country, or, at least, as their principal retreat. The Bulgarians, now unresisted for many years, ravaged the tract extending from the Adriatic to the Euxine Seas, from Mount Hæmus to Thessaly. The fortifications and maritime power of Constantinople alone prevented them from subverting the Eastern Empire. To these disasters was added the ruin of the populous and wealthy City of Thessalonica, taken by a predatory force of Saracens, who departed unmolested, with an immense booty and a numerous train of captives.§ The peace of Constantinople itself, also, was disturbed by an impolitic marriage of Leo, who, regardless of the canons by which the Greek Church forbade the repetition of the matrimonial union, had declared the beautiful Zoe his fourth Empress, after she had presented him with a son, Constantine, his sole offspring. The Patriarch Nicholas resented this disregard of Ecclesiastical authority, and degradation and persecution failed in compelling him to sanction the union. Notwithstanding this blemish of illegitimacy, the infant was associated in the Imperial dignity under the name of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; an illustrious appellation, denoting that he had been born the heir of the Empire in the Porphyry chamber appropriated to the accommodation of the pregnant Empresses.

Constantine in early infancy succeeded to the Empire on the death of his father. The guardianship of the young Prince was held at first by a Council of seven of the chief Nobles, and subsequently passed to Zoe, through whose intrigues their removal had been effected. Her influence yielded in turn to that of Romanus Leptenus, an adventurer, who by his talents and bravery had raised himself to the command of the maritime force of the Empire. The marriage of his daughter to Constantine was followed by his admission to a participation in the Imperial dignity. The Bulgarians continuing their ravages, defeated the army of the Emperor, on the banks of the Achelous, with great slaughter; and the victorious Barbarians advancing to Constantinople, threatened it with siege, till a repulse under its walls obliged them to sue for Peace.*

The Bulgarians and Greeks, exhausted by their mutually hostile operations, were unable to resist a furious invasion of the Hungarians, who passed the Danube, ravaged the territory of both people, and approached Constantinople with so great boldness, that one of their warriors drove his battle-axe into the timbers of the Golden Gate. The fortifications of the Capital, however, bade defiance to their rude ferocity, and their retreat was procured by the payment of a large tribute. A formidable attack by the Russians was met in a manner more worthy of the Roman name. In the reign of the infamous Michael III. those Savages or (as Karamsin styles them) those heroes of the North first descended the Dnieper in boats, entered the Bosphorus, and terrified the Greeks with the apparition of unknown enemies from the interminable wilds of Scythia. The Patriarch Photius is then said to have displayed a robe preserved through Ages from the wardrobe of the Virgin in view of the armament of the freebooters, which immediately was scattered as a sport to the winds and waves, so that but a small residue of the invaders returned to inform their Countrymen of the divine protection extended over the Greeks.† Christianity, first preached in Russia in A. D. 866, and received, at least nominally, to a great extent, might be supposed to have rendered their hostilities less inhuman, yet their expedition at the date now under consideration was distinguished by horrible barbarities, exceeding those practised in their former invasion. Their armament, stated by the Byzantine Historians to amount to above ten thousand boats, was encountered by fifteen of the Imperial galleys, equipped with an extensive and well-arranged artillery for the discharge of the Greek fire. The Barbarians were panic-stricken at the effects of this terrible instrument of destruction. Most threw themselves into the sea to avoid being burned, some took refuge on the shore of Thrace, where they fell into the unsparing hands of the peasantry, and about one-third succeeded in regaining their homes under the command of their Prince, Igor.‡

Three sons of Romanus were associated in the Imperial rank, and thus was exhibited the singular spectacle of five individuals, each wearing, with acknowledged right, the emblems of Sovereignty. Constantine

* Muratori, *Annal. d'Italia*, vii. 648—661. 665. ix. 156. S. Mare, ii. 534—616.

† See p. 540, note 1.

‡ P. 470.

§ Cedren. 606. Georg. Mon. 558. Sym. Mag. 465.

* Zonar. ii. 185. Cedren. 613. Georg. Mon. 568, 569. Sym. Mag. 485.

† Russian History, French translation, Paris, 1819, l. 146.

‡ Zonar. ii. 152. Cedren. 552.

Cedren. 630. Zonar. ii. 190. Sym. Mag. 490. Georg. Mon. 589, 589. Karamsin, i. 183.

History. was reduced to the lowest station in this Pentarchy, and Romanus himself was ultimately deposed and exiled to the Island of Prote by the unnatural ambition of his sons. The indignation of the people, however, soon compelled the usurpers to share their Father's banishment. The sole administration to which Constantine was thus restored, was characterised by mildness till after a lapse of fifteen years he was poisoned by Theophrastus, the wife of his son Romanus.

Romanus II. who, profiting by the guilt of his consort, succeeded to the throne, although remarkable for his beauty, strength, and symmetry of form, was feeble in intellect. His reign, however, is signalized by military achievements performed by his Generals. Crete, important on account of its extent, its fertility, its commodious havens, and its position, admirably adapted, when in the power of an enemy, for interrupting the maritime intercourse between Constantinople and the West, was reduced by Nicephorus Phocas. Candia, its metropolis, was stormed after a siege of seven months, and its plunder, the accumulation of a long series of successful piracies, was conveyed triumphantly to Constantinople.* The weakness of the Khalifate, and the dissensions between the various subdivisions into which it now began to be resolved, opened to Nicephorus a more enlarged and splendid field of conquest. He either received, or pretended, a command from Romanus to lead the Imperial forces into Syria, then ruled by Seifeldoulat, the most magnificent and powerful Prince of the Hamadanite dynasty. The Greek Commander ravaged the country far and wide, and after the capture of many towns of less importance, besieged and stormed Aleppo, the Capital, in which, among other spoil, he seized three hundred bags of gold and silver, the hoarded treasure of the Hamadanites.† The Khalifs, whose dominions had been contracted by successive revolts to Bagdad and its immediate vicinity, were pitiable victims of the brutal caprice of their Turkish Guards, and possessed neither spirit nor power to resist the progress of the Greeks.

With the death of Motassem had departed the glory of the Khalifate, and that Prince himself must be regarded the principal agent in its degradation. A standing army is ever a dangerous instrument to the power which wields it, and that which Motassem formed of foreign and barbarous mercenaries, was of all others the most likely to prove mutinous and faithless. Their insolence was fostered during the weak reign of his son Wathek whose debaucheries and deviations from orthodox Islamism have qualified him to serve as hero in a singular Romance which renders his name familiar to readers of the present day. He was succeeded by his brother Motavakel, a weak and dissolute Prince, whose only energy was displayed in the persecution of both Jews and Christians. His son Montasser, one of the objects of many wanton and degrading cruelties perpetrated by this Tyrant, avenged himself fearfully in his Father's blood, and the parricide succeeded to the

throne, which he retained only for six months, distracted by the agonies of remorse. Elmacin relates that the horrors of the Penitent were aggravated by a remarkable incident. He happened to be present at the unrolling of a piece of antique tapestry, which represented a horseman bearing a diadem, round which was a scroll inscribed with Persian characters. Montasser, ignorant of the Language, demanded the meaning of the inscription from an interpreter. The pale looks of the person to whom he applied, expressed his terror while he answered in a faltering tone, that it was merely a trifling legend; but the peremptory mandate of the Khalif compelled him to declare the real meaning of the words, which ran as follows: "I am Siroes, the son of Chosroes, I murdered my father and retained the Royal dignity but six months." This fearful omen of the retribution awaiting his crime, gave a fatal shock to Montasser, who died soon afterwards, either a victim to the terrors of a wounded conscience, or as other accounts represent, to poison.

We hasten over the short reign of Mostain. In that of his successor Motaz a severe blow was inflicted on the Khalifate by the loss of Egypt.

Ahmed, the son of Toulun, was of Turkish descent, and by birth an Arab. Invested with the Government of Egypt and part of Syria, he by his activity, talents, and popular qualities, rapidly acquired power sufficient to enable him, after a few years' possession, to found an independent dynasty. The accounts given by the Arabian Historians of the opulence and splendour of Ahmed, startle the most accommodating credulity. His revenue, we are informed, amounting to three hundred million pieces of gold, was distributed in the relief of misery, or the reward of merit. On one occasion, a million two hundred thousand pieces were sent to Bagdad, and divided amongst the learned and devout. Three hundred thousand pieces were bestowed each month on the indigent. A thousand pieces were daily expended in the purchase of bread, bees, and goats, which, prepared in the kitchens of Ahmed, were spread forth on the pavement of the great court of his Palace. The gates were then thrown open, and a crier proclaimed, "Let all who will, enter and dine;" whilst the Toulunide Prince, seated above at a window, feasted his benevolent disposition with the sight, and returned thanks to God who provided for the wants of his people.‡ We read with more confidence, that he adorned Fostat (as Cairo was at that time named) with magnificent Mosques; replenished its cisterns by means of a deep well and a costly aqueduct; provided for its defence by the construction of fortifications; built alms-houses and hospitals; raised the Pharos of Alexandria to the height of five hundred feet; and guarded the navigation of the Nile with a hundred ships of war; that his zeal and talents enabled him to retain, *verbatim*, all the passages of the *Koran*; that his justice, or his vengeance, gave eighteen thousand individuals to the hands of the executioner. His death, occasioned by a surfeit of buffalo's milk, presents a vestige of the pastoral manners of his ancestors. Feeling his last moments approach, he ordered the Christians and Jews to join the Moslems in prayers for his eternal welfare, and besought God's mercy for a wretch who knew not the extent of his own power.† He left a treasure of ten million pieces of gold

The Greek Empire. The Khalifate.

From A. D. 802. 730. to A. D. 1061. Montasser Khalif. A. D. 861.

Mostain Khalif. A. D. 862.

Toulunide dynasty of Egypt.

The Khalifate from the death of Motassem to the invasion of Nicephorus. Wathek Khalif. A. D. 842.

Motavakel Khalif. A. D. 847.

* Meursius, *Cvet.* 158. Zonar. ii. 196. Cedren. 642, 643. Sym. Mag. 498. *Pagi ad Baron.* a. n. 961. xi.

† He did not engage in this expedition after the death of Romanus, and when he was Emperor, as Gibbon erroneously represents, vol. x. 87, 88. edit. 12 vols. 8vo. *Fide* Zon. ii. 197. Sym. Mag. 498. Cedren. 645. In the summary of Byzantine History, in his XLV. 11th Chapter, Gibbon with greater accuracy intimates, that the success of Nicephorus was achieved under the auspices of Romanus.

‡ Elmacin, 223.

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* Roorda, Abul. Abbas. *et.* 175. Elmacin, 160, 173.

† De Guignes, i. 237. ii. 131. D'Herbelot, v. *Tholom.* Roorda *passim.*

History. His posterity ruled Egypt until A. D. 905, when it was reunited to the Khalifate, to be again severed by the Turkish adventurer Ikschid.

From
A. D.
802.
730.
to
A. D.
1081.
Mothadi
Khalif.
A. D.
869.
Mothamed
Khalif.
A. D.
870.
Soffarides.

Motaz, like his predecessor Mostain and his successor Mothadi, was put to death by the Turkish Guards. In the reign of Mothamed which followed, the Khalifate was deprived of Persia by the revolt of Yacoub Ben Leis, the founder of the powerful but short-lived dynasty of the Soffarides. From the trade of a brazier, the employment of his youth, Yacoub by his dislike of industry and love of adventure was converted into a robber, and his valour, talents, and good fortune soon placed him at the head of an army with which he conquered Persia. He put an end to the dynasty of the Taherites, which since the reign of Mamun had ruled Khorassan; and thus encouraged, he advanced to the siege of Bagdad. The natural death of the invader at a critical moment probably averted the fall of the Khalifate.* His brother Amer received from Mothamed the investiture of those Provinces which he already held by the sword. In the pride of power he ordered each commander of a thousand horse to appear bearing a golden mace, and the number of those officers was found to amount to one hundred. This display of splendour and power was dissipated by the storm of a Turkish invasion. Ismail Samanee, the leader of a powerful Tribe of that race, at the instigation of the Khalif, led twenty thousand horsemen over the Oxus and encountered the cavalry of Amer, four times more numerous. Amer, defeated and made prisoner, was sent in chains to the Khalif, by whom he was put to death. His dominions were bestowed on Ismail, the founder of the Samanides, who ruled the North of Persia until the close of the Xth Century, when their power yielded to the ascendancy of Mahmood of Ghizni.

Caram-
114 as.

But the severest blow of all was inflicted on the Khalifate by a spirit of fanaticism resembling that to which it owed its rise. The origin and name of the Carmathians is generally attributed to Carmath, who in the beginning of the IXth Century was tempted by remembrance of the success of Mohammed, to commence a somewhat similar career of imposture. His less bold and less inventive mind was content, however, with modifying or enlarging the tenets of the Koran. He increased the prescribed number of prayers from five to fifty, but allowed a relaxation from the rigid precepts which forbade wine and the flesh of various animals. One of his leading doctrines inculcated absolute submission to the Imam, or Chief of the Sect, to whom the Faithful were bound to render a fifth of their income. This formidable schism, although successfully restrained by the Khalifate during its vigour, contributed largely to accelerate its decline. The Carmathians, defeated for a while by the valour and conduct of Muffick, the brother and General of the Khalif Mothamed, awaited in their Deserts an opportunity for successful vengeance.

Mothamed
Khalif.

A. D.
892.
to
A. D.
902.

This season occurred in the succeeding reign of Mothaded. The Carmathians appeared in arms to the number of a hundred thousand, and under the command of their Imam Taher, overspread Bahrein, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The great and rich cities, Cufa, Bassora, Racea, and Baalbec were stormed, pillaged, and depopulated. Taher, naturally adventurous, and rendered confident by uninterrupted success, crossed the Tigris,

and at the head of five hundred horsemen made an inroad to the very gates of Bagdad. As the bridges were broken and the bold invaders surrounded by the Khalif's army, the capture of Taher seemed inevitable, unless he adopted the expedient suggested by the respect or fear of the hostile General, that he should save himself by secret flight. "Your master," said he to the messenger, "may number thirty thousand followers, but among them are not to be found three men such as these of mine." At the command which followed this boast, one of his soldiers plunged into the current of the Tigris; another pierced his own bosom with a dagger; a third leaped from a height and was dashed to pieces. "I will spare your life" (Taher proceeded to say to the Envoy) "that you may soon behold a still more wondrous sight, your General chained among my dogs."* In the following night the Khalif's troops, panic-stricken by the desperate onset of the Carmathians, deserted their General, who was taken prisoner and bound among the dogs of Taher, according to this menace. The storm then passed away to the South. Mecca was sacked, thirty thousand of the Moslems were slaughtered, and the Caaba was polluted. The fall of this Sect was as obscure as its rise, but the deep wounds which it inflicted may be regarded among the chief causes of the dissolution of the Khalifate. Yet still although helpless and humbled, the Khalifa by their external splendour continued to excite the amazement and admiration of strangers. In the nominal reign of Mactader, during which the public prayers and the inscriptions on the coins exhibited his name and attested his sovereignty, the Government was virtually in the hands of the Turkish Guards and female minions, whose influence prevailed to so great an extent, that a Woman presided in the Courts of Justice. The Turks twice deposed and twice restored Mactader; but their pride or policy exhibited him to the Nations of the West in the utmost magnificence of an Oriental Court. When he gave audience to the Ambassador of Constantin VII., "the Khalif's whole army both horse and foot was under arms, which together made a Body of one hundred and sixty thousand men. His State officers the favourite slaves stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were seven thousand eunuchs, four thousand of them white, the remainder black. The door-keepers were in number seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were seen swimming upon the Tigris; nor was the Palace itself less splendid, in which were hung up thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred of which were of silk embroidered with gold; the carpets on the floor were twenty-two thousand. A hundred lions were brought out with a keeper to each lion. Among other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury was a tree of gold and silver, spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery effected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony."

Kaher, the successor of Mactader, after a reign of twenty years, was deposed by the Turkish Guards and deposite

The Great
Emper
The Khal
ate

From
A. D.
802.
730
to
A. D.
1081

Mactadi
Khalif

A. D.
902.

Mactader
Khalif

A. D.
906

Splendour
of his
Court

* Elmacin, 169. Abulfid. ii. 253—257. Price, ii. 164. Malcolm, i. 147—152.

* For the Carmathians, see Elmacin, 174. &c. Abulfid. ii. 267. &c. De Guignes, ii. 143, 143. D'Herbelot, v. Carmath. Price, ii. 167—171.

† Gibbon, x. 38. from Abulfid. ii. 329. See also D'Herbelot, v. Mactader.

History. of sight. A striking and pitiable spectacle of fallen greatness, for the rest of his life he begged his bread; stationed every Friday at the door of the great Mosque in which he had formerly recited public prayers, and repeating "Remember him who once your Khalif now implores your alms."* With his successor Radhi terminated the temporal power of the Khalifs, who after his death were regarded merely as the chief Pontiffs of Islam, holding a powerless title at the mercy of the military rulers of Bagdad. The Bowide Sovereigns of Persia had destroyed the power of the Turkish Guards to replace it by their own more systematic and steady tyranny. The Hamadanite dynasty severed Mesopotamia from even the nominal dominion of the Khalifs, which was now restricted to Bagdad and its vicinity; and their names until their final ruin by the Tartars merit notice no further than as they regulate the Canon of Oriental Chronology. Elmacin† describes the state of this once great dominion with the simplicity of truth. "The world was in the hands of rulers who had intruded into the Government, and every one who could seize a Province, or a City, assumed the title of King and waged war against his neighbours."‡ Thus the unstable and contracted Kingdom of the Hamadanites was left almost singly to oppose the vigorous and well-directed invasions of the Byzantine Emperors, to whose History we revert.

Nicephorus II. Pausanias, Emperor. A. D. 963. Theophano, as the guardian of her infant sons, attempted to retain the power which she had nefariously acquired; but finding the Soldiery impatient of female rule, and the Clergy and People loud in expressing their detestation of her crime, she sought a protector by marrying Nicephorus, the conqueror of Crete, who through her intrigues was raised to the Imperial dignity by a tumultuary election of the army.‡ The recollection of his former successes allured him to a fresh career of conquest. He subdued the open country of Cilicia, stormed Mopsuestia, where two hundred thousand Muslims were slaughtered or enslaved, and acquired possession of Tarsus by capitulation. The Hamadanite Princes of Syria, too weak to resist the army of Nicephorus, amounting according to the Oriental Writers to above two hundred thousand men, had sought the aid of the more powerful Ikshidites of Egypt; a fleet of numerous and well-appointed auxiliaries arrived from that Country to witness the delivery of Tarsus to the Christians. A furious storm assailed their armament, and a well-timed attack by the fleet of Nicephorus effected its total destruction. This success was followed by the conquest of Cyprus, and the dominion of the Emperors was extended anew over the Islands of the Western part of the Mediterranean.§ In a rapid expedition, which more resembled a predatory inroad than any steady effort of conquest, Nicephorus widely ravaged Mesopotamia, where a large detachment of his army had been cut off in the defiles of Kurdistan. Antioch was invested on his return; and as he held his march homeward he was surprised by the welcome intelligence that the bold enterprise of a subaltern officer had made him master of that great and opulent Capital. Less happy fortune attended an expedition despatched for the invasion of Sicily;

where the Saracens, encouraged by a prophecy which declared that their subjugation was reserved for the Franks, defeated the Greeks with the loss of above twenty thousand men.* The death of Nicephorus adds another murder to the long list of crimes which shock and disgust us in the Byzantine Annals. Although his personal valour and military skill had extended the boundaries and exalted the glory of the Empire, his severity rendered him unpopular in the Capital, and his moroseness and repulsive appearance excited no other feeling than aversion in the abandoned Theophano. For a while she endured her ill-sorted union with extreme impatience; and in the end turned her affections towards John Zimisce, (*the little*, as this word of Armenian origin is supposed to mean,) an officer who in a small but finely proportioned body, possessed in a high degree the spirit and talents of a statesman and a warrior. Nicephorus, apprehensive of treason, immured himself in a fortress built with the most jealous precaution; but the windows were accessible by ropes, and by their assistance Theophano admitted assassins who despatched her husband.

Zimisce, in possession of the Imperial residence, found no resistance in his assumption of sovereignty, except from the remonstrances of the Patriarch, who, reproaching him with the assassination of his Prince, refused to place the diadem on his brows unless Theophano, divorced and deprived of power, were consigned to penitential retirement. Zimisce readily consented to the removal of a woman whose audacity and wickedness excited both his apprehensions and detestation.† He conciliated the favour of the people by the association of Basil and Constantine, the youthful sons of Romanus, in the Imperial power; by affability, by the profuse distribution of his private wealth, and by an alleviation of the public burthens. The necessities of the State early summoned him to the field. The late Emperor Nicephorus, repeating the error which in the IVth Century led to the dissolution of the Roman Empire, had invited and assisted the Russians to pass the Danube, and those formidable Barbarians quickly made themselves masters of Bulgaria.‡ The union of the subjugated Bulgarians with the Russians, and their confederates the Patzinacæ,§ swelled the Barbarian host to three hundred thousand men. A traitorous Greek, who hoped to ascend the Imperial throne by the assistance of the invaders, conducted them through the intricacies of Mount Hæmus to the walls of Adrianople. There, the Russian Prince Svatoslav gave audience to the Ambassador of Zimisce, who ordered him to repass the Danube, and threatened an immediate attack in case of refusal. The haughty Barbarian replied, "that the Emperor need take no trouble in seeking him out, as he was on his march to Constantinople to drive the Greeks into Asia." That Capital, so often assailed by less formidable and less determined enemies, was now rendered inaccessible by the unwonted energy and valour of its defenders. The protection of Adrianople was intrusted to Bardas Sclerus, who chased the Barbarians over the Hæmus into Bulgaria.¶ That desolated Country

The Greek Empire. The Khalif, etc.

From A. D. 802. 780. to A. D. 1081.

His assassination. John Zimisce,

Basil II., Constantine IX., Emperors. A. D. 969.

* Pag. crit. ad Baron. A. D. 963. xii. Cedren 653. Zonar. ii. 200. St. Marc. Abreg. Chron. ii. 882.
† Zonar. ii. 208, 209. Cedren. 664.
‡ Karaman, i. p. 215, 216. Cedren.
§ This powerful Tribe, the Tav-gissau of the Byzantine Historians, the Petchenegues of Karaman, issuing from Central Siberia, extended their dominion in the Xth Century from the Caspian Sea to the lower part of the Danube. Karaman, i. 179—182.
¶ Zonar. ii. 209. Cedren. 666.

* Elmacin, 200. D'Herbelot, v. Cakher.
† 203.
‡ Cedren. 647, 648. Zonar. ii. 200.
§ Abulfed. Annot. Mosl'm. ii. 483. Elmacin, 224. Zonar. ii. 200, 201. Cedren. 654, 655.

History.

From
A. D.
802.
730.
to
A. D.
1081.

Successes of
Zimisceas
against the
Russians.

and the
Saracens.

Basil II.
Constantine IX.
Emperors.
A. D.
976.

Basil conquers
the Bulgarians,
and treats
them with
unheard of
cruelty.

was still held by Svatoslaf at the head of above a hundred thousand men, against whom Zimisceas advanced leading an army of thirteen thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry, formidable by their discipline and equipments; while a fleet of Greek vessels entered the Danube and cut off the communication of the Russians with its Northern bank. Their vanguard was surprised by the Greeks, who cut in pieces eight thousand men, and pursuing their success stormed Pereyslavetz the Capital, where the garrison perished either by the sword or flames. Svatoslaf, entrenched with sixty thousand men on the Southern bank of the Danube, was attacked at once by the army and fleet of Zimisceas, and after a series of desperate engagements was compelled to surrender on condition of an unmolested retreat. As he in his return ascended the Dnieper, the Petchenegues, tempted by the rich plunder borne off by the Russians, fell upon them; Svatoslaf was slain, and his skull formed into a drinking cup.* The feebleness of the Khalifate, the example of his predecessor, and his own successes, encouraged Zimisceas to form the bold project of once again extending the Empire to its ancient boundaries in the East. He crossed the Euphrates, ravaged Mesopotamia, stormed Samosata, Edessa, and Nisibis, and in hope already grasped the wealth of Bagdad.† But intelligence that those treasures had been already dissipated by the domestic rapine of the Turkish Guards, checked his eagerness to attack a populous and strongly fortified city, against which he must advance through an arid Desert occupied by the brave and active cavalry of Persia and Turkestan. Leaving a Country which he had strength to devastate but not to retain, he retreated to Syria where he extended his conquests Southward, until arrested by the impregnable fortress of Tripolis on the sea-coast of Palestine;‡ As his march homeward lay through the richest lands of the conquered Provinces, he inquired how their revenues had been allocated by those intrusted with the management of the public finances; and when informed that these possessions had been appropriated by the Eunuchs of the Court, he exclaimed indignantly, "Is it for the aggrandizement of such wretches that we have toiled and bled?" This implied resumption of their plunder irritated the powerful Slaves against whom it was directed, and they prevented the fulfilment of the menace by poisoning the Emperor.§

The reign of his joint successors Basil and Constantine is the longest and most obscure in the Byzantine Annals, and indeed affords little worthy of notice except the successful but inhuman warfare of Basil against the Bulgarians. The power of that once mighty People had been broken by the inroads of the Russians and the conquests of Zimisceas, but the death of that Emperor was the signal for revolt, and Santuel the Bulgarian Prince dared to measure arms against Basil. He was defeated in a succession of sanguinary battles, and obliged to fly from Lychinides, his Capital, which was sacked by the Greeks, and among other rich plunder gratified their cupidity by a booty of ten thousand pounds weight of gold. Fifteen thousand Bulgarian soldiers were made prisoners, and Basil, who regarded death as too light a punishment for their assertion of their Country's rights, divided those captives into bands of one hundred, of whom ninety-nine had their eyes torn out,

while to the hundredth a single eye was left by which he might guide his blind companions homeward. The piteous sight of his warriors thus savagely mutilated struck Samuel to the heart and speedily occasioned his death.* The spirit of the People was broken by this terrible example, and Bulgaria submitted to the Greek dominion, under which it acquiesced until the close of the XIIIth Century. The Empire by the late conquests had been restored nearly to its extent in the reign of Heraclius, and comprised Italy South of Mount Gargano; the vast and rich tract bounded on the North by the Danube, on the three other sides by the Adriatic, Mediterranean, and Euxine Seas; the Islands of the Archipelago, together with Cyprus and Crete; Syria North of Libanus; and Asia Minor with Armenia as far as the Euphrates. The obedience of the remoter parts of the Asiatic dominions was precarious and intermittent, and they often served as a field on which the aspirants to the Imperial purple set forth their claims and exercised their powers before they entered on the more conspicuous and perilous arena of Constantinople. During many years of this reign the Asiatic Provinces were involved in an active and widely diffused war, maintained by two rival Generals, Phocas and Sclerus; who laid aside their mutual dissensions whenever the approach of the Imperial armies threatened them with a common danger. Phocas fell in battle as he rushed forward to engage in personal conflict with Basil. Sclerus long evaded or defied the power of his Sovereign, but was at length admitted to an honourable capitulation.‡ The fierce, restless, and enthusiastic disposition of Basil prompted him, even in his sixty-eighth year, to embark in person in an expedition against the Saracens of Sicily; but he died before the sailing of the armament, to the great joy of his unwelcome subjects, whom he had harassed with compulsory levies and financial exactions. His brother Constantine survived him three years, during which he seemed to value the sole possession of Sovereignty merely as it afforded the means of unbounded indulgence in sensuality.

In adjusting the succession, Constantine had determined that his daughter Zoe should be at liberty to select a Patrician, on whom she might confer her hand and the Imperial dignity. With that disregard for morality and decency which so often shocks us in the Byzantine History, she made choice of Romanus, who, already married, declined the proffered honour through conjugal affection. As it was intimated, however, that loss of sight, or even of life would be the penalty of his obstinacy, his wife, the generous Helena, terminated his perilous embarrassment by voluntarily taking monastic vows.§ The Bride whom Romanus was thus compelled to receive, had nearly attained her fiftieth year, yet no less inconstant than impetuous in her choice, she ere long poisoned the husband, upon whom she had forced herself, in order to make room for a successor.||

Michael, who thus ascended both the Imperial couch and throne, was by birth a Paphlagonian, and had originally exercised the trade of money-changer, whence he had risen to the office of Chamberlain to the Empress. His reign was short, and his Crown passed to a Nephew of his own name, whom Zoe was persuaded to adopt.

* Karamzin, i. 240, 241.

† Abulfed. *Annal. Moslem.* ii. 511. Kilmazin, 227.

‡ Elmacini, 233. Zonar. ii. 215. Cedren. 683.

§ Zonar. ii. 215. Cedren. 684.

* Cedren. 707. Zonar. ii. 226.

‡ Zonar. 216—222. Cedren. 685—701.

§ Zonar. ii. 227. Cedren. 719. Pagi in Baron. a. d. 1025, &c.

|| Zonar. ii. 229. Cedren. 722.

|| *Idem.* ii. 233. *Not.* 733.

One of the first acts of the new reign was the merited degradation and exile of that weak and wicked Princess, a measure so resented by the citizens of Constantinople, that they rose tumultuously, and having dethroned Michael, recalled the deposed Empress, who, associated with her sister Theodora, drawn from a Monastery in which she had long resided, was again placed on the throne.* This preposterous reign, after two short months' duration, was terminated by the third nuptials of Zoe, who, at the age of sixty, gave her hand to Constantine Monomachus. This Emperor, sunk in debauchery, heard with indifference that the unprotected Provinces of Asia were a prey to Saracenic invaders. After his death, Theodora resumed the Imperial dignity and appointed as her successor Michael Strategicus, a decrepit veteran, incapable of wielding or retaining the sceptre. By the death of Theodora, the Basilian dynasty became extinct, and in spite of her nomination of Michael, the suffrages of the Soldiery offered the diadem to Isaac, of that family of Comneni whose Government, continued afterwards through several successive generations, gave some degree of dignity to the decline of the Empire. The military electors vindicated their choice in a battle near Nice, where Michael was defeated, and as his insignificance could not excite the apprehensions of the victor, he was permitted, after taking monastic vows, to pass his remaining years unmolested. Isaac, during his short reign, was happily not called either by ambition or the necessities of the State to display those military virtues which had recommended his advancement; but his domestic administration was marked by vigour and wisdom exerted in restoring the financial prosperity and military force of the Empire. Worn with the toils of Government, in declining years he wished to abdicate in favour of his brother John; and on his refusal to accept the arduous dignity, it was transferred to a retainer of the Comnenian House, Constantine Ducas, upon whose acceptance by the People, Isaac retired to a Monastery.†

The character of Constantine Ducas did little credit to the penetration of Isaac. The attention of the new Emperor was engrossed by the pernicious project of establishing his three sons, Michael, Andronicus, and Constantine, in equal dignity as joint Emperors, whilst he allowed the Turks to ravage the Asiatic Provinces with impunity, or impoverished the Imperial Treasury by purchasing their forbearance. On his death, his widow Eudocia was invested with the administration during the minority of her sons, and the parental solicitude of the dying Constantine exacted a written promise that she would never by a second marriage endanger the rights of the young Princes. In spite, however, of this solemn pledge, deposited in the hands of the Patriarch, Eudocia, ere many months were passed, bestowed her hand on a brave soldier, Romanus Diogenes.‡

The impatience with which this warlike Prince viewed the devastation of his Asiatic Provinces, hurried him into a conflict with the Turks, in which he lost both his liberty and throne. The rise and progress of that fierce Tribe which now swayed Asia Westward of the Indus, will briefly occupy us before the close of the Chapter, but we hasten onward for the present in an unbroken course, to complete our assigned period of Byzantine History.

The captivity of Romanus gave uncontrouled Sovereignty to Michael, Andronicus, and Constantine, the sons of Constantine Ducas. They confined Eudocia to a Monastery, and declared the unfortunate Emperor an outlaw and public enemy. His conqueror, indeed, restored to him liberty, and prepared an auxiliary force which might enable him to reascend the throne; but Romanus, after bravely but unsuccessfully contesting two battles, fell into the hands of his enemies, who tore out his eyes with so great barbarity that in a few days he died of the injury.§

The joint reign of Michael, Andronicus, and Constantine presents nothing worth notice, except the event by which it was terminated. Their divided and feeble Government held forth the prospect of impunity, and even of hope, to adventurous ambition, and Nicephorus Botaniates assumed the title of Emperor, and at the head of the Asiatic Legions advanced to terminate both the reign of the Triumvirate and the rivalry of another insurgent, Nicephorus Bryennius. The latter was successful; but it was in advanced age that he obtained the Crown, and his suspicions were soon excited by one who had served him with fidelity, Alexius Comnenus, the third and most illustrious of the sons of that John who had before declined the offered diadem.

Timely warned of the Emperor's intention to deprive him of liberty and perhaps of life, Alexius sought safety in flight, and, compelled in self-defence to rebellion, he returned at the head of an army which with little opposition placed their commander on the throne, from which Nicephorus was transferred unharmed to the retirement of a Monastery.¶

It is here that we may most conveniently notice the early History of that conqueror who overthrew Romanus Diogenes. Of the three great Tartar nations, the Huns, the Mongols, and the Turks, who have spread their devastations and dominion over the largest and most populous portion of the civilized World, the last alone have retained existence as an independent People. Their first appearance in Persian History in the early part of the XIth Century exhibits them as one of the most numerous and formidable of the Pastoral Nations. When that mighty destroyer, Mahmud of Ghizni, had, by his twelve fanatical expeditions to Hindustan, exhausted the energies of his people, the reported bravery and numbers of the Turks who roved over the wastes of Bokharah alarmed the caution of his declining years. Under the guise of friendship, he asked a Turkish Envoy what assistance his Tribe could afford him in case of attack. "Send this," said the Turk, holding forth an arrow, "and fifty thousand horsemen will repair to your standard; add another from my quiver and the number will be doubled; if you need further aid, despatch my bow through our Tribes, and two hundred thousand mounted warriors will obey the summons."‡ Mahmud listened to the answer with deep alarm, but the storm of invasion was averted until his death; after which his son Massoud was utterly defeated at Zendenac, in Khorassan, by Togrul Beg, the Turkish Chief, and this decisive action at once shattered into fragments the colossal Empire of the Ghiznevdes.§ The descendants of Buyah, the Bowides as they are named, had put an

The Greek Empire. The Khalif-ale.

From A. D. 802. 730. to A. D. 1081.

Michael VII., Andronicus I., Constantine XII. Emperors.

A. D. 1071. Nicephorus III. Emperor. A. D. 1078.

Alexius Comnenus Emperor. A. D. 1081.

Rise of the Seljukian Turks.

They destroy the Empire of Ghizni. A. D. 1028.

* Zonar. ii. 246. Cedren. 749—752.

† Idem, ii. 263, 272. Hnd. 792—805.

‡ Zonar. ii. 275—277.

• Zonar. ii. 284, 285.

† Idem, ii. 286—295.

‡ D'Herbelot, v. Seljouk.

§ Abulfid. ii. 111. De Guignes, i. 242. D'Herbelot, v. Theg
ral Beg. Makrolm, i. 199.

History. end to the capricious and brutal tyranny then exercised over the Khalifs by the Turkish Guards,* and under the title of Emir-al-omra, or Chief of the Nobles, ruled Persia, until they themselves sank beneath the power of the Ghiznevides.† The Turkish Prince, as a consequence of his victory, enjoyed the high consideration resulting from the custody of the Khalif, and the possession of Bagdad. Togrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, and the first Sultan of the Seljukian Turks, reigned from Bokhara to Syria, from the vicinity of the Indus to the Black Sea; and at his death, in his seventieth year, bequeathed the vast Empire which he had conquered to his Nephew, Alp Arslan. That great Prince reigned without a rival among the Mohammedans, as The Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt, happy to maintain their independence, sought by obsequious missions the friendship of the warlike potentate, whose double sway, as the ruler of the East and West, was denoted by the formidable symbol of a scimitar girt on each thigh.‡

The founder of the Fatimite dynasty was Obeidallah, who, although he claimed the Khalifat, and the name which attached to his descendants in virtue of an alleged descent from Fatima, the wife of Ali and daughter of the Prophet, is represented to have been the grandson of a Jewish mechanic of Emmaṣ.§ This adventurer conquered the Aglabite Princes of Tripoli, and soon after expelling the Edrisites from Western Africa, reigned from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic.|| His descendant Moez made himself master of Egypt, and forbidding the name of the Abbasside Khalif to be used in the public prayers, himself assumed that title. The suspicious origin of those Princes was a tender point to which their enemies often adverted; and Moez, having been once addressed on the subject of his lineage, drew forth his scimitar, and exclaimed, "Behold my genealogy!" then, throwing handfuls of gold among his soldiers, added, "Those are my family!"¶ He laid out a city, adjoining to Fostat, the existing Capital of Egypt, and gave it the appropriate name of Coherah, (or the victorious,) which the Franks, by an easy corruption, have changed into Cairo. His grandson Hakem was a lunatic, and by a delusion not very rare among such unfortunate persons, imagined himself the Deity, and insisted on the adoration of his subjects. His extravagance has interest for the Christian investigator of the History of that period, since it impelled him to destroy the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, and to obliterate the cave which tradition represented as the receptacle of the body of Christ.** This outrageous act agitated the minds of all Christians with horror and indignation, and first raised that spirit which burst forth so fiercely in the Crusades.

A. D.
1009.

* Price, ii. 155. Malcolm, i. 167. D'Herbelot, v. *Ernak*.

† De Guignes, i. 410. ii. 169. Price, ii. 267.

‡ Malcolm, i. 208. De Guignes, iii. 197, 198.

§ D'Herbelot, v. *Fathemah*.

|| Kilmacn, 187. D'Herbelot, v. *c. i.* See De Guignes, who, however, (i. 363, 366.) cannot be reconciled with himself.

¶ D'Herbelot, v. *Moez*.

** *Bibl. v. Hakem*. Baron. *Annal. ed. a. d.* 1009.

Thus the spiritual preeminence of the Abbasside Khalifs sank before the pretensions of this recent dynasty, whilst their temporal power was lost as it had been gained, by the arbitration of the sword. That sword was now wielded by a bold, a strong, and not unskilful hand. Romanus Diogenes, encouraged by the success of three campaigns, in which he slaughtered or dispersed the numerous armies led against him by the seditionaries or the Generals of Alp Arslan, advanced adventurously at the head of a hundred thousand men to the confines of Media. Alp Arslan, leading forty thousand cavalry, hastened to chastise the invader; but a near view of the strength of his enemy suggested moderation. When his overtures for Peace were met by an insulting demand that he should surrender his Capital as the pledge of his sincerity, the Turkish Sultan arrayed his squadrons on the plain of Konongo, with his own hands equipped his charger, clothed himself in his shroud, and having perfumed his body with musk, according to the fashion of Mohammedan burial, declared his determination, if defeated, to find a grave on the field of battle. The event was such as had been usual whenever infantry met on open ground the cavalry of the Asiatic powers. The rapid evolutions of the Turkish horsemen evaded the onset of the Greeks, whose dense columns were exposed, without hope of retaliation, to the carnage inflicted by the skilful archery of their enemies. Romanus, at the close of a long and hard fought day, in which he had exhibited admirable valour and presence of mind, found himself left almost alone amidst his enemies, by the fall or flight of his troops. He was disarmed and led to the presence of Alp Arslan, who, in the first ungenerous exultation of triumph, is related to have set his foot on the neck of the Emperor. This was but a momentary impulse; he afterwards treated Romanus with considerate kindness, released him on promise of a ransom of a million pieces of gold, and was preparing to assist him in the recovery of his throne, when he received information that the unfortunate Monarch had been put to death by his subjects.* The attention of the Seljukian Sultans was so much engrossed by the conquest of the regions of the South, that Bokhara, their original Country, had escaped from their dominion, and Alp Arslan was on his march to invade it with two hundred thousand men, when he fell by the hand of an assassin.† The Empire of the Seljukian Turks attained its highest pitch of splendour and power in the reign of his son and successor, Malek Shah, on whose death it fell to pieces as rapidly as it had risen. The vast territory was divided between the four principal Seljukian dynasties of Kerman, of Persia, of Syria, and of Roum, and their ruinous dissensions presented a favourable opening for some of the most splendid successes of the CRUSADES.

* Zonar. ii. 282—285. Abulfed. *Annal. Moslem.* iii. 214, 215. De Guignes, iii. 206—211.

† Abulfed. *Annal. Moslem.* iii. 223. De Guignes, iii. 212, 213. D'Herbelot, v. *Alp Arslan*.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXXI.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE Xth AND XIth CENTURIES.

Xth CENTURY.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH.

THE Xth Century is commonly styled the Dark Age or the Iron Age of the Church, and the deplorable state of Christianity is freely acknowledged by the Romanist Historians.* The Christian Religion suffered little from the persecutions of its enemies, but much from the ignorance and vices of its professors. Its external state has been deemed not unprosperous, for Christianity was propagated in this Century, although in a corrupted form, yet with considerable success.

The Nestorians displayed great industry and zeal in the dissemination of their tenets, and they now extended their spiritual conquests beyond Mount Imans. Through them a knowledge of the Gospel was introduced into Tartary, particularly among a most powerful Tribe known by the name of Karit, bordering on the Northern part of China. In Europe, the Christian Religion spread among the uncivilized Tribes of the North with equal rapidity; and when Rollo with his Norwegian band was invested with the Duchy of Normandy, he, together with his followers, embraced the Christian Faith.†

Christianity was introduced into Poland through Dambrocka, daughter of Bolislaus, Duke of Bohemia. She succeeded in persuading her husband Micislaus, Duke of Poland, to renounce Paganism. Her exertions were seconded by the reigning Pontiff John XIII. Egidius, Bishop of Tusculum, with a numerous train of missionaries, was sent into Poland, and the exhortations of these Ecclesiastics were enforced by Regal edicts and penal laws. Two Archbishoprics and seven Suffragan Bishoprics constituted the establishment of the Polish Church.

By similar influence the Faith of Christ also extended itself even into Russia. Wiodemir, Duke of that Country, having married Anne, sister of Basilus II., was persuaded by his consort to embrace the Christian Faith. The Russians, without the terror of penal laws, adopted the Religion of their Prince, and Wiodemir and his Duchess are still placed among the Saints of Russia.

Through the indefatigable zeal of Charlemaigne, the Hungarians and Avari had received some faint notions of Christianity in the preceding Century, but these notions were almost obliterated, until Bolosules and Gylas, two Turkish Chiefs, made a public profession of the true Religion, and were baptized at Constantinople. The former of these powerful Chieftains soon apostatized, but the latter was an active promoter of Christian educa-

tion. Grysa, the Chief of the Hungarians, was an unsteady and lukewarm convert, but his son Stephen founded the Hungarian Church. He stationed Bishops with large revenues in various places of his Kingdom, erected Churches and Schools, and thus induced his subjects almost without exception to renounce the superstitions of their ancestors.

In Denmark, Christianity was in a state of great depression, until Harald its King embraced the Gospel, about the middle of this Century. It is said that his public profession of Christianity was in obedience to the command of his conqueror Otho the Great, but it is probable that his own conviction cooperated with the will of his victor. Upon the conversion of Harald, two missionaries, named Adaldagus and Poppon, employed their ministerial labours among the Cimbrians and Danes, and Poppon, in addition to the ordinary means of conversion, resorted to those which were miraculous. His miracles were indeed of such a kind as evinced them to be the effects of Human art, and not of Divine Power.* While Harald lived, he used the most prudent measures for the propagation of the Gospel among his subjects, but his son and successor Swein apostatized from Christianity, and became its persecutor. Adversity, however, wrought in him a salutary change; he was driven from his Kingdom, and during his exile he sought consolation in the Faith which he had renounced. He was restored to his dominions, and exerted the most ardent zeal in promoting the knowledge of Christianity.

The conversion of Norway also belongs to the Xth Century. Its King Hagen Adelstun had been educated in England, and he employed English missionaries to instruct his subjects. Slow was the progress of Religious light in this barbarous Country, and dim were its rays; yet it was from this source that the Orkney Islands derived their knowledge of Christianity.†

These accessions to the Church were of far less importance than the stability and consistence which it acquired in Germany, under the protection of Otho the Great. That illustrious Prince was constantly employed in supporting or founding establishments for the propagation of the Christian Religion. He erected and endowed the Bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelburg, Meissen, Magdeburg, and Naumburg. His munificence was not always guided by prudence, but this defect must be attributed to the ignorance of the Age, and perhaps to the superstition of Adelaide his Empress.

In no Age were the corruptions of the Clergy greater than in this, and they increased in proportion with the

Ecclesiastical History of the Xth Century.

In Denmark. A. D. 949

In Norway. A. D. 933.

In Germany. Otho the Great.

* *Novum inchoatur seculum, quod auspiciate et boni sterilitate Ferrum; malique exundantis deformitate Plumbum; aliqui scripturam appellare consuevit Obscurum.* Batoniun.

† Rollo at his baptism assumed the name of Robert.

‡ Their government lay on the banks of the Danube.

* Pontoppidan, *Annal. Eccles. Diplom.* tom. i. p. 59.

† Ibid. p. 66. For the conversion of the Orkneys, see Turpin *hist. Rerum Orkad.* lib. i.

RATHEIR.

OB. A. D. 973,

was Bishop of Verona, more fitted for a life of retirement and study than for a public station. His Works, which are yet extant, discover great sagacity as well as learning.

Hist. Lit. de France, tom. vi. p. 339. *Cave, Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 95. *Spanheim, Hist. Christ.* sec. x. sec. 10.

ATTO,

OB. POST A. D. 960,

was Bishop of Vercelli, and the author of a Treatise *De pressuris Ecclesiasticis*, i. e. concerning the sufferings and grievances of the Church.

Hist. Lit. de France, tom. vi. p. 251. *Cave, Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 99.

DUNSTAN.

OB. A. D. 988.

The only Work of Dunstan (whose life has already been amply detailed in our ANGLO-SAXON ANNALS, ch. lxviii. p. 506.) which remains, is a book in favour of Monachism, entitled *De Concordiâ Regularum*, or *The Harmony of the Monastic Rules*. It contains twelve Chapters, and has been placed as an Appendix to Keimer's Work, on the *Antiquity of the Benedictine Order in England*, Douay, 1626.

Cave, Hist. Lit. tom. ii. p. 102. *Collier, Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. *Cent.* 10. p. 181—203. *Warner, Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. book iv. *Cent.* 10. *Godwin, De Præsul.* tom. i.

ÆLFRIC, or ALFRIC.

OB. A. D. 1006.

A successor, though not the immediate one, of Dunstan in the See of Canterbury. He was an Englishman by birth, a disciple of Ethelwolf, Bishop of Winchester, and the successor of this Prelate in the Monastery of Abingdon. There has been a controversy concerning Ælfric; whether there were one or two of this name, or rather whether Ælfric the Monk were Ælfric the Archbishop? The author before us was a man of great learning, and obtained a high reputation in the Anglo-Saxon Church. There is a *Grammar*, and also a *Lexicon* by him; an Anglo-Saxon Translation of the first Books of the Holy Scriptures, a *History of the Church*, and 180 *Sermons*.

Fleury, Hist. Eccl. lib. lviii. *Cave, Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 109.

BURCHARD.

OB. A. D. 1005.

A German by birth, and educated in the Monastic life, but at length Bishop of Worms. His reputation is founded on his compilation, entitled *Decreta*, divided into XX Books, although a part of the merit of this collection is due to Olbert.

Hist. Lit. de France, tom. vii. p. 295. *Cave, Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 105. *VOL. XI.*

ODILO,

OB. A. D. 1002.

Ecclesiastical Writers and Heresies of the Xth Century.

is commonly reputed to have been Archbishop of Lyons, but, according to Fleury, he obstinately refused that eminent station, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties both of Pontiffs and Emperors, choosing to remain Abbot of Clugni. His writings never attained mediocrity, and are now sunk into total oblivion.

Fleury, Eccl. Hist. lib. lviii. *Cave, Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 114.

HERESIES OF THE Xth CENTURY.

The profound ignorance which prevailed in this Age, prevented the rise of heterodox doctrine; but ancient Heresies continued in their former vigour. That branch of the Manicheans, denominated Paulicians, whose origin has been already related, became formidable in Thrace, under the reign of John Zimisceas. A great part of that Sect had been banished thither by the order of Copronymus, so early as the Vth Century, and they carried their turbulence with them. The contests concerning Predestination and the Eucharist, which disturbed the Church in the preceding Century, in the Xth were reduced to silence. The followers of Pelagius lived in peace with those of Augustin; so also did those who believed in the corporal presence, with those who denied it. But the calm of the Church was that of stupidity, not of toleration. The controversies between the Greek and Latin Churches, though not entirely suppressed, were also carried on with less impetuosity than before. The Greeks had divisions among themselves, which diverted their attention from the causes of dissension with the Western Church.

No new Sects in the Xth Century.

State of the ancient Sects.

Xth CENTURY.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH.

The Xth Century, as we have before said, has been styled by Ecclesiastical Writers *Sæculum Obscurum*; the Xth has been distinguished by the title of *Sæculum Hildebrandinum*. It is useless to dispute whether a more appropriate title might not have been found.

With the exception of the Crusades, the History of which is reserved for another place, little was done for the propagation of Christianity among Barbarous Nations, and that little was effected chiefly by the Nestorians. In Tartary, taken in its most comprehensive sense, great numbers were gained to the profession of Christianity. Metropolitan Bishops, with Suffragans under their jurisdiction, were established in the Provinces of Casgar, Nunchata, Turkestan, Gendla, and Tangu; and these were governed by the Nestorian Patriarch who resided in Chaldæa.*

Propagation of Christianity, chiefly by the Nestorians.

On the other hand, Christianity suffered from the usurpations of the Saracens and Turks. Although they had many wars with each other, yet they united in opposing the Christian Religion; the Turks by cruelty towards their Christian subjects, and the Saracens by seducing them to the profession of Mohammedanism.

Persecution of Christianity by the Saracens and Turks.

Connected with the external state of Christianity, is the state of Learning; and the declining condition of the Eastern Empire had a fatal influence on Science and

State of Learning.

* Renaudot, *Antiquæ Relationes des Indes et de la Chine.*

History. Literature. In the West the Arts and Sciences seemed to revive. Schools flourished in Italy during this Century, and the Italian Literature transplanted themselves into France particularly into Normandy. The Normans in their turn were instrumental in restoring Literature in England. William the Conqueror engaged a considerable number of learned men from Normandy to settle in his new dominions.

Increase of
Schools.

The increase of Schools throughout Europe in this Century was great, and they were supplied with able and eminent masters. In the preceding Century there were no Schools, but those which belonged to Monasteries, or Episcopal residences, and there were no other masters than the Benedictine Monks. But in the early part of the XIth Century, in many cities of France and Italy, there were laics of erudition who devoted themselves to the education of youth. They comprehended in their course of instruction more branches of knowledge than the Monastic teachers, and they taught in a better method. They had studied in the Schools of the Saracens, and had improved their own stock of Learning, by a diligent perusal of the Works of the Arabian authors.*

In the greater part of the Schools erected in this Century, the course of instruction comprehended those which were commonly styled the seven Liberal Arts. They consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy. The first three branches were generally known by the name of *Trivium*; by which the student was conducted to the last four, or the *Quadrivium*, this being the summit of literary fame. But the Learning of the Latins was principally confined to the study of Dialectics or Logic,† and the *Quadrivium* was seldom approached. The books of Aristotle had been brought by the Saracens into Spain, and a host of learned men arose, whose labours were exclusively devoted to the illustration of the Works of the Stagyrite.

Trivium
and Quadrivium

Nominalists
and Realists.

The revival of the study of Logic was followed by a schism among its Professors, and they were divided by the appellation of *Nominalists* and *Realists*. The two parties agreed that the object of Logic was the consideration of *Universals* in their various relations, but the grand question on which the Logicians differed was, Whether these Universals were real things or mere denominations? One party maintained, that Universals were Realities, and adduced in behalf of their opinion the authority of Plato; the other party affirmed that Universals were mere words, in which they were supported by Aristotle. The chief of the Sect of Nominalists was John, who, on account of his logical subtilty, was surnamed the Sophist, but whose history is involved in obscurity; the corporeus of the Realists is not so easily settled, though the most considerable of the Sect is Rosellinus‡.

Degeneracy
of the
Clergy.

Whatever praise may be awarded to the patrons of Literature in this Century, little of the merit belongs to the Sacred Order. The degeneracy of the Clergy had now reached its acme, particularly in the Latin Church, and the cause of this decay in Piety and Learning may be found in the augmented power of the Roman Pontiffs. The five Popes who governed the Western

Church, at the commencement of the XIth Century, were not chargeable with those crimes which rendered their successors infamous; but the enormities of Benedict IX., the scandal of his sale of the Papacy, and the disgraceful spectacle of three simultaneous claimants to the Pontificate, are among the foulest pages of the History of the Romish See. After the death of Clement II., Benedict IX., though twice degraded, forced his way to the Papal chair a third time, but in the ensuing year was compelled to resign his power to Damasus II., the nominee of the Emperor. Damasus lived but three and twenty days, and the Emperor appointed Bruno, Bishop of Toul. This Pontiff was known by the name of Leo IX., and his virtues have obtained for him a place in the saintly calendar.

The two Pontiffs who succeeded Leo may be passed over in silence, but Nicholas II. fills a considerable place in the History of the Popes. As soon as he had obtained undisputed possession of his dignity he assembled a Council at Rome, which completely altered the ancient mode of electing the Bishops of that City. Before this time, the Popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the Cardinals,* but by the whole of the Roman Clergy, the Nobility, the Burgesses, and the People. To prevent the tumults incidental on so popular a mode of election, the Council enacted that the Cardinals, whether Presbyters or Bishops, should elect a Pope whenever a vacancy occurred, though without any pretence to the Imperial rights. The consent also of the Clergy, Burgesses, and People was required to complete the election. But as the principal influence in the election devolved on the Cardinals, it led the way to their sole power in this matter, and in the succeeding Century the right of electing to the Apostolic See was altogether transferred to their College.

Although Nicholas had expressly acknowledged and confirmed, in the Edict of the Roman Council, the right of the Emperor to confirm the election of the Popes, yet on his death, the Romans, by the instigation of Hildebrand, then Archdeacon of Rome, presumptuously violated this privilege. They elected Arnulf, Bishop of Lucca, who assumed the title of Alexander II., without consulting the Emperor. Agnes, the mother of the young Emperor Henry IV., no sooner received an account of this transaction, than she assembled a Council at Basil, and, in order to maintain the authority of her son, as yet a minor, she elevated Cadolus, Bishop of Parma, to the Pontificate by the title of Honorius II. But in this contest the Imperial candidate was defeated, and although he never would resign his pretensions, Alexander II. was generally acknowledged as the lawful Pope.

* Cardinals, according to their original institution, were Priests or Deacons, placed in Cathedrals or large Churches, in opposition to those who were attached to small Churches or Churches. In former times, the title was by no means confined to the Priests and Deacons of the Church of Rome, nor to the secular Clergy; but it was in use in all the Latin Churches, and assumed by Abbots, Canons, and Monks. The Edict of Nicholas II. divides into two classes the Cardinals who were to have the right of suffrage in the election of a Pope, viz. Cardinal Bishops and Cardinal Clerks. By the former are meant seven Bishops who belonged to the city and territory of Rome; the Cardinal Clerks comprehended the Priests and Deacons. The name, origin, and rights of Cardinals are enumerated by Fabricius, *Biblioth. Antiquar.* p. 456. But there are two Dissertations which deserve particular notice: one is by Muratori, entitled *De Origine Cardinalatus*, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 156. The other is that of Fred. Spanheim, entitled *Cardinalatus dignitas alicuius Antiquitatis et Sacerdotii natalis*, *Hist. Christ. sæc. xi. sec. 6.*

* Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 985.

† Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, was commonly called the *Dialectician*; Anselm, his successor, was equally versed in the same Science. The Dialogue of Anselm, *De Grammatica*, is to be found in his Works edited by Geruon, tom. i. p. 143.

‡ See p. 579.

The contest was carried on with a far greater degree of violence, when Hildebrand himself succeeded Alexander. This extraordinary man was a Tuscan, of humble parentage,* and educated in the Monastery of Clugni. By various gradations he rose to the dignity of Chancellor of the Church of Rome, and in that station governed the Roman Pontiffs from the time of Leo IX. On the same day in which Alexander was interred, he was raised to the Pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, Monks, and People; this unanimity was obtained by bribing such as could be corrupted, and by poisoning such as could not be bribed. The election was confirmed by Henry IV., King of the Romans, to whom Ambassadors had been sent announcing the choice of the Clergy and the People.

Too soon did the Emperor perceive that, by consenting to the election of Hildebrand, who assumed the title of Gregory VII., he had raised up a powerful rival not only to his own authority, but to the independence of all temporal sovereignty. Seated in the Apostolic chair Gregory aimed at universal empire, and the project which his ambition formed, his dexterity fitted him to execute. He first denounced the terrors of Excommunication against Lay Investitures, though he had received the Confirmation of his own Election from the Emperor. He laboured to dissolve the jurisdiction of temporal Princes over the Clergy, and to exclude them from all share in the management or distribution of Ecclesiastical revenues. But not satisfied with exempting the Clergy from secular authority, he attempted to render all secular Princes tributary to the See of Rome. Whatever temporal privileges were enjoyed by the Popes, were derived from the Princes of France, but Gregory pretended that their Kingdom was tributary to the See of Rome, and commanded his Legates solemnly to demand the payment of an annual tribute. To William the Conqueror he addressed an Epistle, demanding the arrears of Peter-pence,† and homage for his new dominions as a Fief of the Apostolic See. In both these cases he was repulsed; in France the tribute was neither paid nor even acknowledged; in England, the payment was rendered as an ancient custom, but the homage was nobly refused.

Among the less powerful States of Europe the claims of Gregory were received with acquiescence. He pretended that Saxony was a Feudal tenure held in subjection to the See of Rome, to which it had been formerly yielded by Charlemagne. He maintained that the Kingdom of Spain was the property of the Apostolic See from the earliest period of Christianity, although the records were lost.‡ He wrote circular Letters to the most powerful of the Germanic Princes, to Grusa, King of Hungary, and to Suino, King of Denmark, recommending them to make a solemn grant of their Kingdoms to the Prince of the Apostles, and to hold them under the jurisdiction of the successor of St. Peter. The son of Demetrius, King of the Russians, in obe-

dience to an Epistle of Gregory, set out for Rome, in order to obtain as a gift from St. Peter, his hereditary dominions. Suinimer, Duke of Dalmatia, was raised to the Kingly rank by the Legate of Gregory, on condition that he paid an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold, at every Festival of Easter. Basilius II. having assassinated the Bishop of Cracow, was excommunicated by Gregory, his subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and an Edict was issued, prohibiting the Nobles and Clergy of Poland from electing a new Poland. King without the consent of the Roman Pontiff.*

The zeal and activity of Gregory were employed with great success in enriching the patrimony of St. Peter, and in extending the Papal dominions. The splendid inheritance which the Church derived from the Countess Matilda was warmly contested at this time, and was not preserved entire, but a considerable portion still remains to the Ecclesiastical State. A similar power to that which Gregory arrogated over temporal Kingdoms and their Sovereigns, was assumed by him over the Spiritual Governors of the Church. In order to correct the evil of Simony, which had become one of the reigning vices among the European Clergy, the Pontiff not only excommunicated those who were guilty of it, but pronounced an anathema against any one who received the investiture of a Bishopric or Abbacy from the hands of a Layman, as well as against those by whom the Investiture was granted. The Investiture of Bishops and Abbots, so far as it regarded an oath of allegiance, and the performance of homage to temporal Princes, was of ancient date, and was a mode of receiving property similar to that practised by the Lay Feudatories; but the custom of investing Bishops and Abbots with the Ring and Crosier, the ensigns of the sacred function, differed from ordinary Feudal habits, and was not supported by any long prescription.†

By the law which Gregory enacted against Investitures, he raised a formidable opponent against himself in the Emperor Henry IV., and the History of their struggle has been related in our ANNALS OF GERMANY, (ch. lix. p. 535.)

Commensurate with the increase of the Papal power in this Century, was the increase of Monachism, for the Western Monks were remarkable for their attachment to the Roman Pontiffs. Gregory, intent on reducing the privileges and independence of the Bishops, exhorted the Monks to withdraw themselves and their possessions from Episcopal jurisdiction, and to place both under the dominion of St. Peter. The policy of Gregory was adopted by Urban II., and a considerable portion of the Monasteries received immunities both from the temporal authority of their Sovereigns, and from the spiritual jurisdiction of their Bishops.

Of all the Religious Orders the Monks of Clugni made the most rapid advances to opulence and dominion. Towards the conclusion of this Century, they were formed into a separate Society, and no sooner were they established, than they extended their authority on all sides, reducing under their jurisdiction all the Monasteries which had adopted their discipline. Hugo, the sixth

Ecclesiastical History of the XIth Century.

Dalmatia, and

Assumes a power over Bishops.

Difference between the Investiture of Bishops and of Nobles and Knights.

Increase of Monachism.

Monks of Clugni.

* Fabri ferrarii filius. Passo adhuc in officinâ patris, literas nascentes, cum for saxei ex ligni argumentis hoc dictum Davidas: Dominebatur a mari usque ad mare. Cave, Hist. Lat. p. 151.

† Peter-pence were so called, because they were collected on the Festival of St. Peter in Vinculis. They formed a tax of a penny on each house, first granted by Ina, King of the West Saxons, for the support of an English College at Rome.

‡ The Letter of William is to be found in Collier's Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. Appendix.

§ Ep. lib. x. 7. Regnum Hispania ab antiquo propriis juris S. Petri fuisse, et soli Apostolica sedi ex æquo pertinere.

* Numerous are the Historians Civil and Ecclesiastical who have written on the life and exploits of Gregory. Of the Ecclesiastical Historians it is enough to mention Eggenius, Introdec. ad Hist. Eccl. tom. i. who has furnished a Catalogue of these Writers. Spanheim has a chapter entitled Hildebrandi Historia et Dogmata, Hist. Christ. sæc. xi. ch. v.

† The History of Investitures has been written with great learning and impartiality by Cardinal Norria.

History. Abbot of Clugni, was not only in high credit at the Court of Rome, but was patronized by several Princes, and he availed himself of his reputation and influence to extend the privileges of his Order. This celebrated Monastic was the acknowledged head of thirty-two of the principal Religious Houses in France, and many other Societies, although they declined to form a union with the Clugniac Order, regarded the Arch-Abbot of Clugni, as he styled himself, as their spiritual Chief.

The example of the Clugniac Monks excited several pious men to erect similar fraternities, and the consequence was, that the Benedictine Order, which had been hitherto an universal and united body, was divided. To division in discipline succeeded hatred and hostility.

Braanches
of the Bene-
dictine
Order.

The principal of these ramifications from the Benedictine Order were, 1. The Congregation of the Camaldulites founded by Romuald, an Italian fanatic, whose followers were subdivided into two classes, the Cenobites and the Eremites. 2. The followers of Gualbert, a native of Florence, settled at Vallombrosa, in the Apennines. 3. The Cistercians, founded by Robert, Abbot of Molema, in Burgundy.

Besides these Convents which were founded on the principles of the Benedictine Order, several other Monastic Societies were formed, distinguished by a peculiar code of discipline. The most remarkable of these were, 1. The Order of Grandmontains, founded by Stephen de Muret; 2. The Order of Carthusians, whose founder was Bruno, a native of Cologne and a Canon of the Cathedral of Rheims in France; 3. The Order of St. Anthony of Vienne in Dauphine, instituted for the relief and support of such as were afflicted with grievous disorders, and particularly with the malady called St. Anthony's fire.

A more copious account of these Societies will fall with greater propriety into a separate Dissertation on the Rise and Progress of the Military and Religious Orders. What has been now offered is connected with the rise and progress of the Papal power, to which these Orders were eminently subservient, and which they contributed to advance and confirm.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE XIth CENTURY.

THEOPHANES CERAMIOS,*

FLOR. CIRC. A. D. 1040,

was Bishop of Taormenum in Sicily, and the author of sixty-two *Homilies on the Gospels appointed for Sundays and Festivals*. They were published with Prolegomena and Notes, Greek and Latin, fol. Paris, 1644. He likewise wrote two *Homilies for the Sunday before the Exaltation of the Cross*, published in a Collection of Tracts *De Cruce* by Gretser, tom. ii. p. 1207. These Homilies possess the merit of a perspicuous style, and a rational mode of Scriptural interpretation.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 132. Fabric. *Biblioth. Græc.*

NILUS DOXIPATRIUS.

FLOR. A. D. 1043.

It is uncertain when this pillar of the Greek Church was born. He is chiefly remarkable for his knowledge relating to matters of Ecclesiastical polity, and at the

* A. P. The Potter.

request of Roger, King of Sicily, he composed a small Tract entitled *De Majorum Patriarcharum sedibus*. This Tract was afterwards enlarged. Copious extracts from it have been given by Leo Allatius, *de Concord. Eccl. Orient. et Occident.*; and it has been published entire by Stephen Le Moyne, in his *Work Varior. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 211.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 133.

NICETAS PECTORATUS

FLOR. CIRC. A. D. 1050.

This formidable opponent of the Latin Church was a Monk and a Presbyter of Constantinople. His principal Work is entitled *Liber adversus Latinos de Azyms, de Sabbatorum jejuniis, et nuptiis Sacerdotum*. It has been edited by Canisius and Baronius.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 136.

MICHAEL PSELLUS

FLOR. A. D. 1050,

descended from an ancient and noble family at Constantinople, was raised to the highest offices of the State, but in this place he is to be noted only for his proficiency in Literature. Such was that proficiency as to obtain the highest encomiums from his contemporaries, and the important trust of Preceptor to the Emperor Michael Ducas. From the splendour of a Court, Psellus retired to the obscurity of a Monastery. His writings were numerous, and on various subjects, on Philosophy, Mathematics, Medicine, History, and Theology.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 136. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sec. xi. sec. 11.

MICHAEL CERULARIUS.

FLOR. CIRC. A. D. 1051.

Like Nicetas, this author is chiefly known for his hostility to the Latin Church. He was Patriarch of Constantinople, and consequently a natural enemy of the Roman Pontiff. A quarrel between Humbert and Michael was carried on with unexampled bitterness. The Works of this author relate to the matters of controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 133.

JOHANNES XIPHILINUS,

OR. A. D. 1078,

was Patriarch of Constantinople under the Emperor Constantine and Michael Ducas. Although he took an active part in the controversy with the Latin Church, yet his Works are not altogether controversial. He was the author of *Homilies on the Gospels*, and made an *Epitome of the History of Dion Cassius*.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 147. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sec. xi. sec. 11.

THEOPHYLACT.

FLOR. A. D. 1077.

A native of Constantinople, and Primate of Bulgaria. His *Commentaries on the Sacred Writings* were received with universal approbation and esteem. They were edited, Lat. Paris, 1554. Basil, 1570.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 153. Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sec. xi. sec. 11.

FULBERT.

OB. A. D. 1028.

At the head of the catalogue of Latin writers in this Century, is placed Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres. He has obtained a certain degree of reputation for his love of Letters, and his zeal for the education of youth, but his notoriety rests on his extravagant and enthusiastic attachment to the Virgin Mary. He not only built a splendid Church dedicated to her at Chartres, but composed several Hymns in her praise. The Works of this Bishop were collected by Charles Villiers, and published at Paris, 1608.

Hist. Lit. de France, tom. vii. p. 261. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 125.

HUMBERT.

OB. POST A. D. 1061.

This celebrated Cardinal was the corypheus of the Latin Church, in the grand controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches. He was alike distinguished for his vehemence and his learning. His Works consist chiefly of Tracts against Michael Cerularius, and they have been collected in *Biblioth. Patrum*. tom. xviii.

Hist. Lit. de France, tom. vii. p. 527. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 139.

PETRUS DAMIANUS.

OB. A. D. 1072.

This truly learned man, according to the custom of his Age, received a Monastic education, and was Abbot of the Monastery at Avellino. He was promoted by Stephen to the rank of a Cardinal, and to the Bishopric of Ostia, against his inclination. He was employed on various embassies relative to Ecclesiastical affairs, in which he acquitted himself with great credit. His Works are numerous, and have been collected in three volumes folio, Rome, 1606, 1608, 1615.

Du Pin, *Ecl. Hist.* tom. ix. p. 83. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 140.

BERENGER.

OB. A. D. 1088.

With the life of this eminent Theologian is connected the History of the controversy concerning the Corporal Presence. Berenger was a native of France, principal of the Public School at Tours, and afterwards Archdeacon of Angers. He possessed an acute and subtle genius, and was renowned both on account of his extensive learning and the exemplary sanctity of his life.

In the preceding Century the controversy concerning the Corporal Presence was carried on with the greatest freedom, since no Council had given a definitive sentence on this point, so as to restrain discussion and debate. In this spirit, Berenger publicly maintained the doctrine of Johannes Scotus and Bertramu, in opposition to that of Paschasius Radbert—that the bread and wine in the Eucharist are not changed into the body and blood of Christ, but were no more than their figures and external symbols. The doctrine of Berenger was no sooner published than it was opposed by certain Doctors in France and Germany; and Leo IX. attacked it with

the weapons of Pontifical power. In two different Councils, one of which met at Rome, and the other at Vercelli, the doctrine of Berenger was solemnly condemned, and the book of Scotus, whence it was drawn, publicly burned. The example of the Pontiff was followed by Henry I., and in a Council summoned at Paris, an anathema was denounced against Berenger and his adherents. Berenger was deprived of his revenues, and degraded.

Temporal punishments might have shaken the constancy of Berenger, and induced him to retract his opinions; but he was still permitted to enjoy them in the privacy which he sought. On the death of Leo IX. an active persecution against him began, for Victor II. undertook to institute a more severe examination of the Berengerian doctrine. He sent his Legates to two different Councils assembled at Tours for this purpose. In one of these Councils the famous Hildebrand appeared in the Legantine character, and opposed Berenger with his wonted violence. Berenger also was present; and overpowered by threats rather than convinced by argument, he not only abandoned, but, it is said, solemnly abjured his opinions, and thus was reconciled to the Church. The abjuration was soon proved to be an act of fear, not of sincerity, for he continued to teach, although with more circumspection, the opinions for which he had been censured.

When the account of Berenger's perfidy was brought to Nicholas II., the exasperated Pontiff summoned him to a Council at Rome. Berenger was again terrified with threats of punishment, and declared his readiness to subscribe such doctrines as the Council might think fit to decree. Humbert was accordingly appointed to draw up a Confession of Faith for Berenger, who signed it, and confirmed his adherence to his subscription by a solemn oath. The Confession contained the following declaration:—that the bread and wine, after consecration, are not only a Sacrament, but the real body and blood of Jesus Christ, and that this body and blood are handled by the Priests, and partaken by the people, not in a sacramental sense, but really and sensibly.

That the second abjuration of Berenger was equally extorted and insincere with the first, too soon appeared, for when he returned to France, he expressed his utmost detestation of the Confession which he had subscribed at Rome. Alexander II., the successor of Nicholas, employed expostulation and influence to induce him to return from his apostasy, but as he was powerfully supported, and at a distance from Rome, he was deaf to the remonstrances of the Pontiff. Hence the controversy was prolonged during many years, and the followers of Berenger largely increased.

When the chief antagonist of Berenger was elevated to the Papal chair, it might be supposed that he would not neglect a controversy in which he had been so actively engaged. Yet Gregory VII. displayed a different spirit, as a moderator, from that which he had shown as a disputant. He discovered an impartiality and candour which his proceedings on other occasions, and his former course in this very dispute, gave little reason to expect. He appears to have entertained a high personal esteem for Berenger, notwithstanding their difference of opinion. He sent an order to him to repair to Rome, and in a Council which met there, he permitted his old antagonist to restate the opinions which had been embodied by Humbert in a Confession of Faith. Berenger, therefore, made a second declaration

Ecclesiastical Writers of the XIth Century.

It is condemned by a Council at Rome, at Vercelli, and at Paris.

A. D. 1050.

Victor II. institutes a new examination of the Berengerian doctrines.

A. D. 1054.

Berenger abjures his opinions; but afterwards teaches them.

Nicholas II. summons him to Rome.

A. D. 1058.

He signs a Confession of Faith drawn up by Humbert.

He again relates.

Alexander II. endeavours to gain to reclaim him.

Gregory VII. summons him to Rome.

Council at Rome.

A. D. 1078.

History.
Berenger
signs a
fresh de-
claration.

It satisfies
the Pope,
but not his
opponents.

A more de-
finite form
prepared.

He signs
a third Con-
fession of
Faith.

Again re-
tracts.

Lenity of
Gregory
towards
him.

His retire-
ment to the
Isle of St.
Cosme.

His death.
A. D.
1088.

His Works.

confirmed by an oath, that he would adhere to the following propositions: that the bread laid upon the altar becomes, after consecration, the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the Cross, and now sits on the right hand of the Father; and that the wine placed upon the altar becomes, after consecration, the true blood which flowed from the side of Christ.

Although this declaration satisfied Gregory, yet it did not satisfy the enemies of Berenger; they contended that it was ambiguous, and they required that he should be obliged to sign another, expressed in clearer terms. They added another demand, that he should be obliged to prove his sincerity by undergoing the ordeal of fire. Gregory absolutely refused this last demand, and would have refused the first, if he had followed his own judgment.

But the importunate clamours of the enemies of Berenger, prevailed upon the Pontiff to yield, and a new Declaration, or third Confession of Faith was framed. This took a middle course between the first and second, and Berenger, in a Council at Rome, once more performed the ceremony of subscribing, and of confirming his subscription by an oath. By this assent, he professed to believe—that the bread and wine, by consecration, were substantially changed into the true, proper, and vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ.

No sooner had Berenger made this declaration, than he was dismissed by the Pontiff with the most honourable testimonies of liberality and friendship. But scarcely had he quitted Rome before he publicly retracted the declaration which he had subscribed before the Council, and even wrote an elaborate confutation of the doctrines contained in that declaration. The Council importuned Gregory to promulgate Ecclesiastical censures against the relapsed heretic, but the Pontiff seemed neither surprised nor offended at his inconsistency and tergiversation. Berenger had sufficient prudence not to return any answer to the bitter invectives of his adversaries, and tired with polemics, he withdrew from public life. He fixed his abode in the Isle of St. Cosme, in the neighbourhood of Tours, where he passed several years in fasting, prayer, and devotion. His retirement was embittered by a retrospect of his past conduct, and he submitted to a severe course of penance, with a hope of expiating the guilt of his repeated perjuries.

The memory of his failings was obliterated in the minds of his numerous followers,* and they retained only the deep impression of his extraordinary sanctity. The Canons of the Cathedral of Tours long continued to honour his name by a procession to the Isle of St. Cosme, where they performed a solemn service at his tomb.

Of his Works there are extant some *Epistles*; three *Formularies* of his belief concerning the Eucharist; *Disputation* with Lanfranc on the *Corporal Presence*; a *Commentary on the Apocalypse*; and several minor tracts.

Life of Berenger in the Works of Hildebert, Archdeacon of Mons; *Hist. Lit. de France*, tom. viii. p. 197; Spanheim, *Hist. Christ.* sæc. xi. sec. 8; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 130.

* His disciple and biographer, Hildebert, honoured his memory by an epitaph, of which the following lines are the conclusion:

*Vix verè suspens, et parte brastus ab unni;
Qui cœles animi, corpore distul humanum,
Post obitum vivam tecum, tecum requiescam;
Nec fuit melior mors mea, sorte sua.*

LANFRANC.

OB. A. D. 1088.

This antagonist of Berenger was an Italian by birth, and received his education in his native Country; but in early youth he transplanted himself into Normandy. He embraced a Monastic life, but quitted it in consequence of having obtained the favour of Duke William. When this Prince made his successful descent on England, Lanfranc accompanied him, and was the prime adviser of the Conqueror in Ecclesiastical affairs. Before a year was expired from the commencement of the Norman dynasty, there was not an individual remaining in any high station in the Church who was hostile to it; and Stigand having rendered himself particularly obnoxious, was deposed. William had no hesitation in conferring the vacant Primacy on Lanfranc.

The election and consecration of this Italian to the See of Canterbury, were both remarkable and solemn. He was first chosen by the Church of Canterbury, and after this capitular election, the choice was ratified by the Clergy and Nobility at the Royal Court. He was then consecrated at the metropolitan Church, at which ceremony all the Bishops of England attended in person, or if absent excused themselves by letters. Being thus possessed of the highest dignity in the English Church, he wrote a letter to the Pope complaining of the arduous burthen which his office imposed on him, and preferred to his Sovereign a request which he knew would be refused, of being permitted to retire to a Monastery.

The English Bishops cheerfully recognised his authority, with the exception of Thomas the Archbishop of York, who made an ineffectual struggle for independence, if not for precedence. The quarrel between the two Archbishops was compromised for a time, and they set out together for Rome, accompanied by Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln. Lanfranc was received with the highest marks of respect; but the two other Prelates, though their first reception was civil, were deposed on account of some canonical objections. Lanfranc, it is said, made use of his interest in their favour, and having thus obtained a claim on their gratitude, he endeavoured to get the Pope to decide the controversy concerning the canonical obedience due from the See of York to Canterbury. The Pontiff prudently declined to interfere, and it was referred to the judgment of the King of England. On a full hearing of the matter in the presence of most of the Bishops and Abbots, it was determined that the Primacy was rightly vested in the See of Canterbury; that the Archbishops of York should be obliged to make a profession of canonical obedience to it at their consecration; that on the death of an Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York should repair to that City, and in conjunction with the Bishops of the Province should assist at the consecration of the new Archbishop. The Archbishop of York was still to retain his title of Metropolitan, but he and his Suffragans were obliged to attend the Synods convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to be governed by his directions.

The dispute being thus ended, Lanfranc's first Epistles to the Pope were replete with adulation, and he at first joined the Pope in a design of dispossessing the Cathedral Monks and placing secular Canons in their room. Yet he soon altered his policy, and took part with the King against the usurpations of the See of Rome. When Hildebrand ascended the Papal chair, he relied

on the concurrence and cooperation of Lanfranc in his ambitious designs. He sent a confidential messenger to the English Primate, notifying his accession to the Popedom, and communicating some secret counsels. He urged his former friend to come to Rome, but Lanfranc would not leave England; and when solicitation was changed into the language of command, the Archbishop not only refused to go, but accompanied the refusal with a denial of the Papal authority.

When William nobly refused to render fealty to the See of Rome, Gregory, supposing that his repulse was in a great measure owing to the advice of Lanfranc, again issued a peremptory mandate summoning the Archbishop to his Capital. But the English Primate steadily resisted the Roman Pontiff, answering that his Sovereign would not permit him to leave England, and that it was against the laws of the Country for any subject to depart the Kingdom without the Royal permission.

Throughout the reign of William, Lanfranc cooperated in the designs of his master, and appears to have been equally careful of the dignity of the Crown and the rights of the English Church. As soon as the Conqueror perceived the approach of death, he wrote a pressing letter to Lanfranc, earnestly recommending the succession of his second son to the Kingdom which he had gained by his sword. Lanfranc obeyed the last injunction of his master, and had it not been for the influence of the Primate, the English nation would have placed the Crown on the head of Robert, the rightful heir.

The first two years of the reign of William Rufus were employed in subduing the Normans in the interest of his brother. The English who had assisted him expected protection, if not favour, but their hopes were disappointed, and their condition was rendered insupportable. Lanfranc, in terms of respectful firmness, remonstrated with the King on his falsehood and ingratitude; but by his honesty he drew on himself the resentment of the man whom he had raised to supreme power. Rufus, in an angry tone, and with an oath, asked the Primate whether he thought it possible for a King always to keep his faith? From this time Lanfranc was used with distrust and discourtesy, and mortified at the conduct of a Prince whom he had placed over the nation, he shortly died, lamented by both parties.

Although a large portion of the life of Lanfranc was passed in the administration of public affairs, yet his literary attainments were considerable for his Age. He was well acquainted with the ancient Latin Fathers, and with the Canons of the Church. His style is neither figurative nor florid, but plain and expressive, and his materials are well arranged. His two chief Works are a *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul* and a *Treatise on the Corporal Presence* against Berenger. His entire Works were edited by Ducher, folio, Paris, 1648.

Hist. Lit. de France, tom. viii. p. 260. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 147. Godwin, *de Præmiliibus*, vi. Collier, *Eccle. Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 260—263.

HILDEBERT.

OB. A. D. 1132.

was Archbishop of Tours, a Philosopher and Poet, as well as a Divine. He was a man of respectable learning, the

follower of Berenger, and therefore not fairly treated by the Historians of the Romish Church. His Works were edited by the Benedictine Monks at Paris, fol. 1708, with the Notes of Beaugendre.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 161.

GREGORY VII.

OB. A. D. 1088.

The Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers cannot be more properly closed than with that Pontiff from whom the Xth Century is denominated. Of his writings there are extant ten Books of *Epistles*, *Concil.* tom. x. p. 6—306; an *Exposition of the Seven Penitential Psalms*, though this has been ascribed to another Gregory; an *Exposition of the Gospel of St. Matthew*.

Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 151. Vid. Hen. Wharton, *Auct. ad Hist. Dogmat. Cl. Umerii*, p. 105.

HERESIES OF THE Xth CENTURY.

No Sect worthy of notice had its origin in this Century, and the state of the ancient Heresies suffered no material change. The Paulicians, either from a desire of propagating their opinions or of emancipating themselves from the Grecian yoke, now formed settlements in Europe. They first migrated into Italy, whence, in process of time, they sent colonies into many of the European States. Many of them led a wandering life in Germany and France, where they gained the veneration of the multitude. In Italy they were called Paterini and Cathari; in France they had the appellation of Albigenes, from the town of Albig in Upper Languedoc, and of Publicans, that term being a corruption of their first name. The first Religious assembly which the Paulicians formed in Europe, is said to have been discovered at Orleans. An Italian lady was at its head, and twelve Canons of the Cathedral of Orleans were its principal members. The character of these people differed from the other Paulicians, their tenets approaching to Mysticism, and the same observation will apply to another branch of the Paulician Sect, converted from their errors by Gerhard Bishop of Cambray.

In this Century a controversy arose of a subtle and difficult nature, begun by Rosellinus, a Canon of Compiegne. This Theologian maintained that the Father and the Holy Ghost as well as the Son became incarnate; and when it was objected that this doctrine led to Tritheism, he answered that the existence of Three Gods might be asserted with truth, whatever harshness there might be in the mode of expression. He was obliged to retract this tenet by a Council at Soissons, but he resumed it when the Council was dismissed. Persecution drove him to England, where he propagated dangerous tenets of another kind; and when he was banished thence he returned to Paris, where he revived the former Tritheistic dispute. After encountering many persecutions, he retired to Aquitaine, where he gained universal esteem, and passed the conclusion of his days in tranquillity.

* *Hist. Lit. de France*, tom. ix. p. 358.

Heresies of the Xth Century.

No new Sect. Paulicians first settle in Europe.

A. D. 1077.

Controversy of Rosellinus.

He is compelled to retract.

His latter days.

A. D.	ITALY.	FRANCE.	GERMANY, &c.
1106	Henry V. Emperor, and King of Italy.	1106 Louis VI.	1106 Henry V. last Emperor of the House of Franconia.
1115	The Countess Matilda of Tuscany bequeaths her extensive Fiefs to the Papal See.	1115 Makes war against Henry I. of England and Normandy.	1115 Rise of the House of Guelf.
1119	First war between Genoa and Pisa.	1118 Second indecisive war with the same Prince.	1119 The Controversy for Ecclesiastical Investitures terminated by the Concordat of Worms.
1122	Concordat of Worms. Termination of the struggle for Ecclesiastical Investitures.		
1125	Lothaire II., Emperor and King.	1125 New war in Normandy.	1125 Lothaire II. (of Saxony) Emperor.
1137	Ruin of Amalfi by the Pisans.	1137 Louis VII.	1137 IMPERIAL HOUSE OF SWABIA OR Hohenstaufen.
1138	Conrad III., Emperor and King.		1138 Conrad III. (of Swabia) First Emperor of this Family.
1139	The "Two Sicilies" erected into a Kingdom under Roger II., by Papal investiture.		1139 Fall of Henry the Proud, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, chief of the House of Guelf, Origin of the Factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines.
1143	Rome under Arnold of Brescia.		1143 Henry the Lion, son of Henry the Proud, recovers Saxony.
1152	Frederic I. (Barbarossa) Emperor and King.	1152 Louis Quinze by his divorce from Eleanor, heiress of that Duchy.	1152 Frederic I. (Barbarossa)
1155	Oppresses the Lombard Cities.		
1156			1156 Restores Bavaria to Henry the Lion.
1162	And razes Milan to the ground.	1162 War of Louis with Henry II. of England.	1160 Charles Sverkerus, first King of Sweden and the Goths.
1167	League of the Lombard Cities against him.		
1172	Establishment of the Aristocratic Constitution of Venice.	1172 Louis ineffectually supports the sons of Henry in a Rebellion against that Prince.	
1176	Great victory of Legnano, gained by the Lombard League over the Emperor Frederic I.		
1183	The Peace of Constance establishes the independence of the Lombard Republics.	1180 Philip (II.) Augustus.	1178 Fall of Henry the Lion.
1189	Henry, son of the Emperor, succeeds to the Crown of The Sicilies by marriage with Constance its heiress.	1190 Joins the THIRD CRUSADE.	1183 PEACE OF CONSTANCE.
1190	Henry VI. Emperor, and King of Italy and The Sicilies.		1189 Frederic Barbarossa engages in the THIRD CRUSADE in which he dies; and is succeeded by his son.
		1193 After his return, invades the Norman territories of Richard I. of England.	1190 Henry VI. Emperor, and King of Italy and The Sicilies.
1197	Otto IV. Emperor, and King of Italy; and Frederic II., King of the Sicilies.		1192 Imprisons Richard I. of England on his return from the third Crusade.
1198	The Pontificate of Innocent III. commences. Rapid increase of the Papal Power.		1194 And restores to Henry the Lion his Allodial Estates only, which afterwards comprise the two Duchies of Brunswick.
1194	In the FOURTH CRUSADE, Venice acquires a share of the dismembered Empire of the East. The Factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines introduced into Italy by the struggle of the Papal and Imperial Powers. Continual Wars among the Lombard Cities. Rise of Florence.	1194 And by the Conquest of Constantinople establish the Latin Empire of the East.	1197 Death of Henry VI. Double election of Otto (son of Henry the Lion) and Philip of Swabia.
		1195 Philip conquers Normandy from John of England.	1192 Waldemar II., King of Denmark, with extensive dominions.

SPAIN.	ENGLAND.	THE EASTERN AND MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRES.
4 Alfonso I., King of Aragon. 9 And of Castile also by marriage with Urraca his Queen, becoming Alfonso VII. in that Kingdom. 8 Captures from the Saracens Saragosa, thenceforward the Capital of Aragon. 8 Alfonso VIII., King of Leon and Castile. 8 Ramiro II., King of Aragon. 8 Petronilla, Queen of Aragon. Barcelona united with Aragon by her marriage with Raymond V. its Count. 9 Alfonso, Count of Portugal, thenceforth first King of that Country, defeats the Saracens in a great Battle at Ourique. 10 Takes Lisbon from the Saracens.	A. D. I. HOUSE OF NORMANDY. (Continued.) 1100 Henry I., King of England. 1105 Makes his Brother Robert prisoner, and obtains possession of Normandy. 1113 First decisive war with Louis VI. of France. 1118 Confederacy against Henry, headed by the French King, but terminated by a peace. 1120 Shipwreck and death of Prince William, Henry's Son. 1123 New war in Normandy, shortly followed by a pacification. 1126 Stephen, King of England. 1128 The King of Scots invades England, and is defeated in the battle of "The Standard." 1129 Landing in England of the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I., and commencement of Civil War. 1141 Battle of Lincoln. Stephen made prisoner, but in a few months released. 1147 Matilda leaves England. 1150 Her son Henry obtains possession of Normandy, and (1155) of Gascony by marriage. 1153 And concludes a peace with Stephen upon condition of succeeding him. II. HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET. 1154 Henry II., King of England. 1159 War with Louis VII. of France. 1162 Thomas à Becket created Archbishop of Canterbury, and quarrels with the King. 1164 Constitutions of Clarendon. Flight of Becket to France. 1170 The King and Becket are reconciled. Murder of the Archbishop. 1171 Henry invades Ireland, and receives the submission of its Princes. 1173 Conquest of Ireland. 1175 Rebellion of his sons, assisted by Louis VII. of France. 1178 Reconciliation of Henry with those Princes. 1183 Second Rebellion of his Sons. 1189 Richard I., (Cœur de Lion,) King of England. 1190 Undertakes the THIRD CRUSADE. 1192 And is detained prisoner by the Emperor Henry VI. on his return from Palestine. 1193 His Brother John, assisted by Philip II. of France, attempts to seize the Crown. 1194 Ransom and restoration of Richard to his Kingdom. 1199 John, King of England. 1200 Murder of his Nephew, Arthur of Brittany. 1204 Philip II. of France wrests Normandy from John.	A. D. 1098 Commencement of the FIRST CRUSADE. 1099 Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. Foundation of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem under Godfrey of Bouillon. 1100 Baldwin I., King of Jerusalem. 1118 John, (or Calo Johannes,) Emperor of the East. Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem. 1131 Falk of Anjou, King of Jerusalem. 1143 Manuel, Emperor of the East. 1144 Baldwin III., King of Jerusalem. 1145 Rise of Noureddin, Atabec of the Turks, in Syria. 1147 The SECOND CRUSADE. 1169 Almeric, King of Jerusalem. 1167 Egypt conquered by the Latins. 1169 Not wrested from them by Noureddin. 1171 End of the Fatimite Khalifate of Egypt. Rise of Sa'ad. 1173 Baldwin IV., King of Jerusalem. 1180 Alvisius II., Emperor of the East. 1183 Andronicus I., (Comnenus,) Emperor of the East. Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem. 1185 Ismar II., (Angelin,) Emperor of the East. 1186 Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, Arabia, and Syria. 1187 Defeats the Latins in the great Battle of Tiberias, and CAPTURES JERUSALEM. 1190 THE THIRD CRUSADE. 1191 The Crusaders recapture Acre, and (1192) defeat Saladin in the Battle of Arsuf. 1193 Death of Saladin, and division of his Empire. 1195 Alexius III., (Angelin,) Emperor of the East. 1202 THE FOURTH CRUSADE. 1204 Ends in the capture of Constantinople. Baldwin I., Latin Emperor of Constantinople. Theodore Lascaris, Greek Emperor of Nice. 1206 Henry, Latin Emperor of Constantinople.

ITALY.	FRANCE.	GERMANY, &c.
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
1208 Ferrara chooses the Marquis of Este for her Signora.	1208 Crusade against the Albigens.	1208 Otto IV., sole Emperor; excommunicated by Pope Innocent III.,
1214 Frederic II., Emperor, and King of Italy and The Sicilies.	1214 Philip defeats the Emperor Otto IV. at the great Battle of Bouvines.	1214 Defeated at the great Battle of Bouvines by Philip, gusius of France, and deposed. Frederic II. (son of Henry VI.) Emperor.
1216 Death of Pope Innocent III.	1216 His son Louis in England, ineffectually aspires to the Crown.	1216 The Fifth Crusade undertaken by the King of Hungary and German Princes.
	1218 Many French Nobles join the Fifth Crusade.	1220 Henry, son of the Emperor, elected King of the Romans to succeed him.
	1223 Louis VIII.	
1226 Second League of the Lombard Cities, encouraged by the Papacy.	1226 Louis IX. (St. Louis.)	1227 The Emperor excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX. for delaying to engage in a Crusade.
	1229 Acquisition of Languedoc as an Appanage of the Crown.	1228 He embarks for Palestine, obtains the crown of Jerusalem from the Sultan of Egypt.
	1230 First war with Henry III. of England.	1229 Receives the Crown of Palestine at Jerusalem in spite of his wife, and returns to Europe.
1230 Complete establishment of THE INQUISITION.		
1234 Indecisive war of the Lombard League with the Emperor.		1234 War excited against him in Italy by the Papacy.
	1238 The French Nobles join the Sixth Crusade.	1238 His son deposed from the dignity of King of the Romans for rebellion against him.
1239 Frederic excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX.		1239 Frederic again excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX.
	1242 Second war with Henry III. of England.	1241 Rise of the Hanseatic League.
1245 The Council of Lyons under Pope Innocent IV. passes a sentence of excommunication and deposition against Frederic II.	1245 Louis IX. obtains Provence by marriage.	1245 The Council of Lyons, under Pope Innocent IV., passes sentence of excommunication and deposition against him.
	1248 Engages in the SEVENTH CRUSADE.	1248 He completes the dream of pretenders to the Imperial Crown.
1250 Death of Frederic and Interregnum of the Empire. His son Conrad, King of the Sicilies.	1249 Captures Damietta.	1250 Death of Frederic II. GREAT INTERREGNUM IN THE EMPIRE, a period of anarchy for twenty-three years.
1253 Rome under the Senator Brancalione.	1250 But is made prisoner near Cairo with the loss of his army, and ransomed.	1250 Ottocar II. of Bohemia conquers Austria and marries Duchess.
1254 Death of Conrad, King of The Sicilies.	1254 He returns to France.	1254 Death of Conrad, King of the Sicilies. (son of Frederic.)
1257 Milan falls under the tyranny of the Torriani.		1255 Confederacy of the Rhenish Cities for their common protection.
1259 Ferocious naval war of Venice and Genoa.	1259 Restore several conquered Provinces by treaty to Henry III. of England.	
	1261 Burgundy becomes an Appanage of the Crown.	
		1268 Death of Conrad, Grandson of Frederic. EXTINCTION OF THE HOUSE OF Hohenstaufen.
1266 Conquest of The Sicilies by Charles of Anjou, who defeats and puts to death Conradin, son of Conrad. Extinction of the House of Hohenstaufen or Swabian.	1270 Louis IX. undertakes the EIGHTH AND LAST CRUSADE; dies before Tunis; and is succeeded by his son, Philip (III.) the Bold.	
1272 Rodolph of Hapsburg, Emperor, and King of Italy.	1271 The great Pief of Languedoc lapses to the Crown.	1273 Rodolph of Hapsburg, Founder of the House of Austria, Emperor.
1277 The Visconti obtain the government of Milan.		1278 Cedes Romagna to the Papal See. And, after several successful wars against Ottocar of Bohemia, defeats him in a battle, in which that Prince was slain.
1278 The Emperor Rodolph cedes Romagna to the Papal See.		
1292 Revolt of Sicily from Charles of Anjou. Massacre of the "Sicilian Vespers."		1293 Rodolph inherits his son Albert with the Archduchy of Austria.
1294 Great Battle of Meloria, between Genoa and Pisa, which extinguishes the maritime power of the latter Republic.	1295 Philip (IV.) the Fair.	1291 Adolphus of Nassau, Emperor. Commencement of the struggle of the Swiss against the tyranny of Adolf of Austria.

HISTORY.

Commencement, to the Close of the Crusades.

1291.

SPAIN.	ENGLAND.	THE EASTERN AND MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRES.
	A. D. 1207 Quarrel of John with Pope Innocent III., who lays the Kingdom under an interdict. 1209 Excommunicates the King.	A. D.
1212 Signal victory over the Saracens near Tolosa. 1213 James I., King of Aragon. 1214 Henry I., King of Castile.	1212 And issues a sentence of deposition against him. Abjoints submission of John. 1215 Revolt of the English Barons, and SIGMUND OF MAISON CHASTRA by John, who immediately violates it. 1216 The Barons offer the Crown to Prince Louis of France. Death of John, and accession of Henry III. 1217 Louis compelled to abandon his enterprise.	1214 The Tartars, or Moghuls, under Zing a Khan, d China. 1216 THE FIFTH CRUSADE. 1217 Peter de Courtenay, Latin Emperor of Constantinople.
1217 The King of Leon becomes Alfonso X. of Castile by marriage with Berenguela, heiress of Henry I. Final reunion of the two Kingdoms.	1218 Many English Nobles join the FIFTH CRUSADE.	1221 Robert, Latin Emperor of Constantinople. 1222 John Ducas Vatatzes, Greek Emperor of Nice. 1224 Ravage of Persia by Zingis Khan.
1218 Ferdinand III., King of Leon and Castile.	1230 First ineffectual expedition of Henry III. into France for the recovery of his States.	1228 Baldwin II. and John de Brienne, Latin Emperors of Constantinople. 1229 The Emperor Frederic II. of Germany, in Palestine. Recovers Jerusalem by treaty from the Sultan of Egypt. 1231 Jerusalem again seized by the Turks. 1236 THE SIXTH CRUSADE.
1218 James I. of Aragon completes the conquest of the Balearic Isles from the Saracens.	1240 Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the King's Brother, leads the SIXTH CRUSADE, and redeems Jerusalem. 1241 Expedition of Henry III. into France; defeated in the battle of Taillebourg.	1240 Jerusalem redeemed by the Earl of Cornwall. 1242 But finally lost.
1218 Cordova taken from the Saracens by Ferdinand III. of Leon and Castile. 1218 James I. of Aragon conquers Valencia from the Saracens.	1246 The King recovers his power.	1246 THE SEVENTH CRUSADE in Egypt. 1250 Ends in the capture of Louis IX. of France.
1217 Ferdinand III. captures Seville, and	1253 Civil War. 1254 The King takes prisoner at the battle of Lewes. THE COMMONS FIRST summoned to PARLIAMENT. 1255 The battle of Evesham. Defeat and death of Montfort.	1255 Theodore Lascaris II., Greek Emperor of Nice. 1256 The Tartars conquer Persia, and put an end to the Seljukian Power and the nominal Khalifate of Baghdad. 1259 John Lascaris, 1260 Michael Palaiologus, Greek Emperors of Nice. 1261 Recovery of Constantinople from the Latins. Michael Palaiologus, Emperor of the East.
1218 Completes his victorious career by further conquests in Andalusia. 1218 Alfonso XI., King of Leon and Castile.	1270 Prince Edward joins the EIGHTH AND LAST CRUSADE. 1273 Edward I., King of England. 1274 Returns to England from the Crusade.	1270 THE EIGHTH AND LAST CRUSADE. 1273 Conquest of the Seljukian Kingdom of Roum by the Moghuls. 1279 Conquest of China by the Moghuls. 1282 Andronicus the Elder, Emperor of the East.
1218 Pedro III., King of Aragon.	1284 Final Conquest of Wales.	
1218 Acquires the Crown of Sicily.	1291 The Scottish Barons and Prelates formally acknowledge the Sovereignty of Edward.	1291 Fall of Acre, the last Christian possession in Palestine. END OF THE CRUSADES.
1218 Sancho IV., King of Leon and Castile. 1218 Alfonso III. } Kings of Aragon. 1218 James I. }		

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

FROM A. D. 1095 TO A. D. 1099.

History. HAVING followed out the Annals of the Middle Ages to the commencement of those expeditions, in which the martial and fanatical ardour of the European nations was precipitated and exhausted on the shores of Asia and Africa, we approach a new and memorable series of events: the most stupendous which the Universe had witnessed, since the overthrow of the Roman Empire, and the establishment of the Mohammedan Religion and Power. To this interesting Period, on which we are about to enter,—filling in duration just two hundred years,—several properties conspired to give a peculiar and determinate character. It began and ended with the sudden development, and with the slow but total extinction, of a single mighty passion in the rude European mind. It presented the first example of combined and continuous action for a common object among those nations of Barbarian origin, who had founded the modern Monarchies of Europe on the ruins of the Roman dominion. It threw, for the first time since the consolidation of the Gothic and Mohammedan conquests, the powers of the Western and Eastern World into formal and general collision; and it witnessed and tried, on the plains of Syria and Egypt, the embattled cause of Christendom and Islam. Nor is there wanting, in the internal fortunes of each of the European Kingdoms, some remarkable consummation which may be distinctly traced, and is accurately defined, within the limits of the same Period of History. Whatever share of influence we may with different Writers concede or deny to the operation of one common cause, the triumph of Royal authority over Feudalism in France; the secure foundation of the Constitutional System in England; the completion of the Aristocratic and Municipal liberties of the Imperial Germanic body; the victorious extension of the Christian Monarchies of Spain from the Ebro to the Guadalquivir; the rise and growth of commerce and freedom in the Italian Republics; and the gradual elevation of the Papal Power to its meridian grandeur; are all at least strictly contained in the order of time, within the same exact Period of two Centuries, which was filled with the great simultaneous episode of THE CRUSADES.

General causes of those enterprises.

State of Religion.

The predisposing circumstances which led to those famous enterprises, and thereby impressed such singular features on the History of the Period before us, are to be sought rather in the general aspect and feelings of Society during the Ages immediately antecedent, than in the occurrence of any particular events. Amidst the lawless violence which preceded and attended the settlement of the Feudal System, the voice of Religion could seldom be heard above the perpetual din of armed

rapine; and her influence, instead of being habitually exercised over the consciences of men, was felt only with startling remorse in some brief interval of sickness or calamity. Then, the rude and superstitious warrior, with the same untempered energy of passion, was prepared to rush at once from the perpetration of atrocious crime to seek its atonement in exercises of the severest penance. Equally among Churchmen and Laity, the devotional spirit of the times, such as it was, knew no other mode of reconciliation with offended Heaven, than in these acts of mortification. But if many sought to expiate their guilt in the passive austerities of the Cloister, it was more congenial to the restless and enterprising character, which marked the Northern mind, to embrace the encounter with fatigue and peril, as the surest test and the most acceptable tribute of repentant faith. The Romish Clergy, therefore, probably only indulged instead of creating a popular inclination, when, in the VIIIth and IXth Centuries, they began to commute the more ancient penances enjoined by the Canons of the Church, for pilgrimages to Rome, to the shrines of various Saints, and above all to Jerusalem. The desire of visiting the places on which celebrated events have occurred, seems, indeed, a curiosity too deeply implanted in our nature to belong to any particular time or condition of Man; but the associations connected with the hallowed scene of Human Redemption were calculated to sanctify this feeling with peculiar interest, and had rendered journeys to Jerusalem not uncommon in some of the earliest Ages of Christianity. When this practice was communicated to the Gothic nations, the love of pilgrimages gradually became almost a universal passion; and though its objects were deformed by the grossness of superstition, and its course much diverted to Rome itself, and to those shrines in different Countries at which pretended miracles were wrought, especially that of St. James at Compostella,* in Spain, the stream of mistaken yet sincere devotion continued to set steadily towards the shores of Palestine.

But the impulse which, above all others, had a tendency to increase the ardour for pilgrimages, arose from a growing belief, early in the XIth Century, that the end of the World was at hand. It was imagined that the thousand years mentioned in the Apocalypse would speedily be fulfilled; that the reign of Antichrist approached; and that the terrors of the last Judgment

* For some account of the circumstances which gave celebrity to the shrine of St. James at Compostella, vide p. 439 of this vol.—me.

would immediately follow.* In proportion as this erroneous interpretation of Sacred Prophecy gained wider credence, the Western World became violently agitated with fearful forebodings of the destruction which awaited the Earth; every delusive form of propitiation for sin in penance and pilgrimage was eagerly embraced; and as it was concluded that to visit the scenes of Redemption was both a meritorious and a preservative act, multitudes annually flocked to Jerusalem, to revive and recover those hopes of salvation which withered under the remembrance of habitual guilt. When an expedient so quieting to the consciences of men in a state of Society equally fruitful of crime and superstition, had once been discovered, inducements were not wanting for its repetition; and the custom surpassed and survived its original impulse and occasion. Throughout the Xth and XIth Centuries, the passion for pilgrimages was ever on the increase; and it is recorded of a single company which visited the Holy Sepulchre, about the middle of the latter Age, that its numbers were no fewer than seven thousand persons.†

Foremost among the devotees, as among the warriors of the times, were the Normans. That singular and high spirited People, in every respect the most remarkable of the Barbarian races, had no sooner become converts to Christianity, than they strangely infused into their Religious profession the same wild and enthusiastic temper, the same ardour for adventurous enterprise, which had distinguished their Pagan career. The conquest of Southern Italy, which originated entirely in the casual return of their pilgrims from the Holy Land through that theatre of Saracen warfare;‡ is in itself a striking memorial both of their addiction to such Religious journeyings, and of the equal readiness for either devout or martial achievement by which they were animated. Traversing Italy in the route between their own land and the Mediterranean ports which communicated with Palestine, in small but well-armed bands, the Norman pilgrims were prepared alike either to crave hospitality in the blessed name of the Cross, or to force their way at the point of the lance. Their victorious establishment in Italy tended to increase their intercourse with the East; their daring assaults upon the Byzantine Empire, though foreign to our present subject, attest their undiminished thirst of enterprise; and we shall find the sons of the Norman conquerors of the Sicilies and England figuring among the chief promoters and warriors of the First Crusade.

Such a union of Religious and martial ardour, however, was by no means confined to the Normans; and the XIth Century was marked, throughout Western Europe, by the general expansion of a spirit, of which the organized result may be numbered among the most active and powerful causes of the Crusades. This was the institution of CHIVALRY. The rude origin of a state of manners so extraordinary in itself, and so restricted to the descendants of the great Northern Race,‡ is

obviously to be found in those ceremonies which, among their ancestors in the German forests,* attended the assumption of arms by the youthful warrior. In subsequent Ages the same forms of martial investiture, with little addition or variation, were preserved among the conquerors of the Roman Empire, and perpetuated in every Kingdom which they had founded. In the Lombard Annals; in a recorded Act, as well as occasionally in the Capitularies of Charlemagne; and in the Chronicles of our own Saxon Era; are to be found sufficient evidence of a common practice in the ceremonial investiture of Knighthood. We may here overlap the chain of circumstances which, in later connection with Feudal and Social obligations, imparted to the spirit of Chivalry, which in the outset was only essentially martial, its more graceful virtues of loyalty and honour, courtesy and benevolence, generosity to enemies, protection to the feeble and the oppressed, and respectful tenderness to Woman. To trace the growth of these beautiful attributes of Chivalry, as a Moral and Social system, belongs not to our present inquiry; and it will suffice to notice in this place that admixture of Religious ideas and duties with a military institution, which converted it into a ready engine of superstitious excitement, and singularly disposed the public mind of Europe for any enterprise of fanatical warfare.

The exact epoch at which Chivalry acquired a Religious character, it is neither easy, nor is it material, to ascertain. In the Age of Charlemagne, and in his

might seem a work of supererogation to insist on the fact; if an accomplished modern Writer (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 482.) had not, in rather an elaborate passage, cited the Achilles of Homer as a beautiful portraiture of the Chivalric character "in its most general form." On this position it may, in the first place, be remarked as singular, that Mr. Hallam should number "a calm indifference to the cause in which he was engaged" among the qualities of the Homeric hero, as suggesting a parallel with the Knightly character; of which enthusiastic and loyal devotion in enterprise formed the peculiar attributes. In the next place, the resentment of Achilles for the loss of Briseis merely as his captured property, is utterly repugnant to that principle of respectful idleness for the Fair, which every true Knight cherished as an indispensable article in his creed of love and honour. In fact, the most irreconcilable distinction between the manners of the Classical and Gothic Ages rests, as we have before had occasion to remark, on the totally opposite estimation of Woman. Finally, the conduct of Achilles, both in suffering the inferior herd of Greeks to strike the corpse of Hector, and in dragging the lifeless body of his noble ad fallen antagonist at his chariot wheels, would have been held utterly abhorrent from Chivalric ideas of courtesy; and Mr. Hallam, a few pages further on, has quoted a passage from a Chronicle of the XIth Century, which denounces the act of insulting the dead body of an enemy as the lowest depth of infamy. Thus altogether, to say nothing of the absence of that dedication of the sword to the cause of Heaven, which, mistaken as it was, gave a Religious impression to the Knightly character, the portraiture of Achilles is completely destitute of those qualities of loyalty, devotedness to Woman, and courtesy to enemies, which Mr. Hallam himself justly specifies as virtues essential to Chivalry. That lofty energy of the soul, which is inspired by contempt of death and thirst for glory, and displayed in daring and magnanimous achievement, constitutes indeed, the vital essence of Heroism under every form of Society; but into this hesitating of action, common to the Grecian and the Gothic warrior, it was the singular peculiarity of the Chivalric spirit, to infuse the triple incentive and sentiment of Religion, Social, and Amatory obligation; and instead of sustaining the parallel suggested, the Homeric representation, amounting as it does in native sublimity of conception, might, with more propriety, be selected for a sufficient example of the contrast between the Heroic character in the two great Romantic Ages of the Ancient and Modern World.

* Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum*, c. 13.

† Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Langobard.* c. 23, 24. *Vita Ludovici Pi.* ad Ann. 791. Malinbury, lib. ii. c. 2.

* Chron. Guil. Godelli, (in *Recueil des Historiens Français*, vol. x.) p. 262. De Vic et de Vaissette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. ii. p. 86—117, &c.

‡ As Robertson has remarked, (*Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. note 13,) even many of the Charters of the XIth Century have for preamble, "Appropinquante mundi terminus." &c.

§ *Inquisita, Historia*, p. 963, 964.

¶ Leo Ostensis, *Chron. Mon. Cassin.* lib. ii. c. 37. Giannone, *Historia di Napoli*, vol. i. p. 7.

‡ The want of all resemblance to the spirit of Chivalry in the manners and sentiments of Classical Antiquity is so obvious, that it

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History. Empire at least, the form of Knightly investiture was certainly unattended by any vows or Ecclesiastical ceremonies.* But in the Xth Century it had become common to invoke the aid of Religion in the inauguration of the Knight; his sword was laid on the altar, blessed, and even sometimes girded to his side, by the Priest; and his solemn vow dedicated its use to the service of Heaven, in the special defence of the Church, as well as the general protection of the weak and the oppressed. The more complete conversion of the whole process of investiture into a Religious ceremonial; the previous vigils, confession, prayer, and receipt of the Sacrament; the bath and the robe of white linen, as emblems of purification; all those preparations, in short, by which the entrance into the Knightly, was designedly assimilated to that into the Monastic profession, formed the growth of rather later times†. But there is abundant proof of the success of the Church, before the Crusades, in infusing some Religious principle into the martial spirit of Chivalry‡. For this, justice has scarcely been extended to the motives of the Romish Clergy by different classes of Writers, who, whether from indignation at the real corruptions of that Church, or from hostility to the cause of Christianity itself, can discover only unmingled evil in the Ecclesiastical policy of the Middle Ages. But apart from the lower and more interested purpose, in itself surely not unjustifiable, of converting the martial temper of lawless communities into a means of defence for the Church; the Clergy of the Xth Century appear to have laboured with a zeal and sincerity above suspicion, in mitigating a spirit which they could not subdue. Their efforts to soften the ferocity and harmonize the feelings of the times by their reprobation of private wars, and judicial combats, have been already observed;§ and there seems no reason to doubt that, in covering the ceremonies of Chivalry with the sanction of Religion, their policy was originally animated by a principle equally praiseworthy. In the same Knightly vows which they demanded or registered at the Altar, engagements to abstain from secret perfidy and open wrong, to shield the oppressed, and to do justice to all Christian men, were at least mingled with the obligation of fidelity and protection to the Church itself. The ultimate extension of these pledges into the imaginary duty of warring to the utterance against all Infidels, was indeed as incompatible with the generally peaceful designs of the Clergy, as it was repugnant to every genuine precept of the Gospel. But in a Period so turbulent that even the ordinary social virtues could be no better exercised and protected than at the sword's point, a warlike and ignorant race passed, by an easy and obvious transition, into the monstrous error of believing, that the sincerity of their Faith and the cause of Divine Truth were to be proven and upheld by the same carnal weapon.

Progress of
fanatical
enthusiasm.

This doctrine was too congenial both to the fierce manners and superstitious feelings of the Laity to need the suggestions of the Ecclesiastical Order for its excitement; and it may well be questioned whether the Clergy directed or merely shared and obeyed the impulse of the times. They who can see nothing in the pilgrimizing

and Crusading madness of the Xth and XIth Centuries but the influence of a crafty system of Ecclesiastical policy, attribute to the Clergy a far greater superiority of intellect over the spirit of their Age than they apparently possessed, only to fix the deeper stigma upon the abuse of their power. It is not only more probable in itself, but more consistent with Historical evidence, to conclude that they were fervently imbued with the fanaticism which they are accused of having coolly excited; a vast number of Prelates and inferior Ecclesiastics shared in the toils and dangers of pilgrimages and Crusades; and the sincerity of the preachers and the warriors of those expeditions must in general be tried by the same standard of mistaken enthusiasm. In every sense, indeed, it was the union of Religious and martial principles, first effected in the Chivalric institutions, which prepared and prolonged the fanatical madness of Europe: the profession of arms became hallowed by its presumed dedication to the service of Heaven; and we may therefore enlarge on the definition of a celebrated Writer, in pronouncing Chivalry to have been at one both a principal cause and an enduring consequence of the Crusades.*

Such, then, through the united influence of martial enthusiasm and superstitious feelings, were the circumstances which predisposed the nations of Western Europe for any enterprise of fanatical warfare. The immediate occasion of the Crusades must be related in retrospect to the fall of Jerusalem, and the affairs of both the Byzantine and the Muhammedan Empires. During a long interval of above four Centuries, between its capture by Omar, and by the Seljukian Turks, Jerusalem had shared the vicissitudes of Saracen revolution; and the treatment both of its Christian inhabitants and of the pilgrims who thronged to its sacred places, was variously affected by the temper of its Musulman Lords. After the fierce spirit of intolerance, which animated the Saracens in their early career of proselyting conquest, had subsided, and during the more tranquil period of the Khalifate, no obstacle was opposed either to the exercise of worship by residents, or to the resort of devout strangers. The spot which tradition had assigned to the Holy Sepulchre, together with the Church of the Resurrection originally built by Constantine the Great,† were left in possession of the Christians; and satisfied with the exaction of a small tribute from every inhabitant and pilgrim, the Saracen Governors even encouraged the periodical increase of population which swelled their revenues. The reign of Haroun Al Raschid was especially marked as a Period of undisturbed communication between the Latin world and Jerusalem; and the transmission of the keys of the city to Charlemagne by that Khalif, though assuredly not designed as a surrender of its sovereignty, was an elegant expression of esteem for the Emperor of the Western Christians, and a pledge of secure access for his subjects‡.

When, in the Xth Century, Jerusalem fell under the dominion of the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt, the resort of pilgrims to Jerusalem was equally protected by the first two Princes of that Dynasty, who were not insensible to the benefits of the commercial intercourse of the same fleets which conveyed these devout passengers.

* Vita Lucie. Pri. ubi suprà.

† Du Cange, Glossarium in v. Arma, Miles, &c.

‡ Du Cange, in v. Miles. Muratori, Antiq. Med. Ævi. Diss. lvi.

§ Vide p. 276 of this volume.

* Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c. vol. xi. p. 41.

† Eusebius, in *Vita Constantini*. lib. iii. c. 25.

‡ Eginhart *Vita Caroli Magni*, p. 80—81. Willermus Tyrensis *Archiepiscopus, (Gesta Dei per Francos)*, p. 639.

But when the phrensy of Hakem, the third Fatimite Khalif, as we have already observed,* instigated him to destroy, or at least greatly to injure, the Church of the Resurrection and the rock of the Sepulchre, the horrors of a Persecution which he at the same time inflicted on the Christians of Jerusalem interrupted the devotional visits of their Western brethren; and the report of his sacrilegious tyranny first excited that indignation of the Latin World at the possession and profanation of the Holy Sepulchre by Infidels, which afterwards burst into action with an energy so tremendous. Before the institutions of Chivalry were sufficiently matured to feed this kindling spirit, the death of Hakem, and the return of his successors to a more tolerant policy, again opened the shores of Palestine to the devotion of Europe; the Church of the Resurrection rose from its ruins; the Holy Sepulchre was repaired; and the custom of pilgrimage, stimulated by its temporary repression, was renewed with tenfold ardour. An immense tide of population flowed from every Western Country towards Jerusalem; and, in the language of a contemporary Chronicler, the innumerable multitude of pilgrims comprehended the lowest and middle orders of the people, Counts, Princes, and dignified Prelates, and even women, as well of noble as of poorer condition.†

During the remaining period of the Fatimite dominion in Palestine, these pious visitants continued to experience from the Mussulman tyrants of the land, in the alternations of policy and caprice, just sufficient protection to encourage their concourse, with abundant injuries to exasperate that desire of vengeance which they communicated to the whole Western World. Precisely when this feeling, nourished by the general pre-dispositions in the social state of Europe to which we have referred, had acquired full strength, it was forced into impetuous action by one of those sudden and violent vicissitudes of revolution, to which Asia in every Age of her History has been subject. In their rapid career of conquest, the Seljukian Turks, in an uncertain year towards the close of the XIth Century, became the masters of Palestine.‡ Those recent and fierce converts to Islamism, appearing as the champions of the Abassidian Khalifs of Bagdad, were animated with equal hatred against the Fatimite possessors and the Christian tributaries of Palestine; and their entrance into Jerusalem was marked by an indiscriminate massacre. The fanatical cruelty of a race of barbarians, with the sanguinary precepts of the Koran freshly engrafted on their native ferocity, was untempered, like that of the more civilized Saracens, by any motives of toleration; the Christian Clergy in Jerusalem were frequently tortured and imprisoned in mere wanton fury, or for the sake of the ransom which their sufferings wrung from their brethren; and the Latin pilgrims, who, in defiance of danger, were still urged by pious impulses to visit the Holy Land, were exposed in their journey through it, and in their devotions at the Sepulchre, to every variety of insult and spoliation from the savage and greedy Turks. The reports which they circulated on their return, both of the afflictions of the Church of Jerusalem and of their own endured wrongs, agitated all Christendom with an universal sentiment of mingled horror, shame, and vengeance, at the profanation of the holy places of Jerusalem,

the imaginary disgrace of suffering the scenes of Human Redemption to remain in the hands of sacrilegious Infidels, and the conviction that the punishment of their impious atrocities was a duty enjoined equally by Religion and by Honour.*

While these feelings were shared with deep sincerity alike by the great body of the Clergy and Laity of Western Europe, events had arisen in the state of the Byzantine Empire, which gave the Papal See an immediate motive of political interest in directing the strong impulse of the Age to a Religious war. When the victorious career of the Seljukian Turks under Alp Arslan,† began to threaten the safety of Constantinople itself, the Emperor Michael VII., in the extremity of his distress and terror, grasped at a faint hope of succour by addressing himself to the Ruler of the Latin Church. Through a mission to Pope Gregory VII., he exposed the common danger of Christendom from the new growth of the Mohammedan Power, declared his reverence for the Papal authority, and implored its exercise for his aid among the Princes of the West. Such an application, which seemed to promise the submission of the Greek Church to the Papacy, opened views of aggrandizement, too congenial to the towering ambition and adventurous spirit of Gregory to be received with indifference; and he strenuously exhorted the Sovereigns of Europe by encyclical epistles to arm against the Infidels. In these letters the principal recommendation was the union of the two Churches of Christendom for a general armament against the Turks; but in a single passage announcing that fifty thousand warriors had already declared their willingness to be led to the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre, is first; plainly shadowed out the great subsequent design of the Crusades.§

The proposal of Gregory VII. was not yet, however, directed with sufficient singleness of purpose to the shores of Palestine to inflame the kindling enthusiasm of the West; and the opportunity of maturing his daring project was reserved for his successor and imitator Urban II. A renewal of the supplication which had been addressed to Gregory, was produced by the increasing distress of the Eastern Empire; and the subsequent connection of its affairs with the First Crusade requires that we should here briefly resume the thread of the Byzantine Annals, which we dropped in the last Chapter with the accession of Alexius Comnenus. That Prince, at the outset of his reign, found his dominions assailed simultaneously on opposite extremities by the arms of the Normans of Italy and the Seljukian Turks. The invasion of Greece by Robert Guiscard, the first Norman Duke of Calabria, with the magnificent design of conquering the Eastern Empire, demanded the earliest care of Alexius; and though his resistance was gallant and vigorous, his defeat by the Norman in the great battle of Durazzo, shook the tottering fabric of Byzantine Power to its centre. The distraction of an Italian war arrested Guiscard in the subjugation of Greece, and

The First Crusade.
From
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.

II. Distress of the Byzantine Empire from the Turkish conquests.
Supplication of the Emperor Michael VII. to the Papacy for aid.

Scheme of Pope Gregory VII.

Reign of Alexius I. (Comnenus.) Kinship of the East.
A. D.
1081.

* Willermus Tyr. p. 634.

† Vide *supra*, p. 370.

‡ It is usual to infer that the first design of a Crusade was contained in an encyclical letter of Pope Sylvester II. at the commencement of the XIth Century. But the object of his epistle (*Recurd de Hist. Francia*, vol. x. p. 425.) does not appear to have gone beyond the obtaining of some pecuniary succour from Christendom for the distressed Church of Jerusalem.

§ *Epistole Greg. VII. lib. i. c. 8. (in Labbé, Concilia, vol. x.)*

* Vide p. 570 of this volume.

† Glaber, lib. iv. in *Recueil des Hist. Françaises*, vol. x. p. 50.

‡ Willermus Tyr. p. 633.

History.

From
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.

Cession of
Asia Minor
to the
Turks.

A. D.
1054.

The Selju-
kian King-
dom of
Roum in-
vades the
Empire.

perhaps saved Constantinople from his assaults;* but his enterprise had favoured the progress of the Turks in the Eastern Provinces of the Empire; and Alexius was compelled to purchase their forbearance by the formal cession of Asia Minor. The establishment, in that wealthy region, of the subordinate Seljukian Kingdom of Roum, or of the Romans,—a title in itself insulting to the proud pretensions, and fallen majesty, of the successors of Constantine—contracted the Eastern frontiers of their Empire to the shores of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. The residence of Solymán, the Sultan of Roum, was fixed at Nice in Bithynia, within a hundred miles of Constantinople; and the Turkish outposts were separated only by the strait from the Imperial Capital. A hollow pacification did not prevent Solymán from meditating the passage of that channel; and his preparation of a naval armament filled Alexius with reasonable alarm for the safety of the European remnant of his dominions.† Following the example of Michael VII., he addressed the most earnest entreaties for succour to the Pope and the temporal Princes of Western Christendom.‡ The independent partitions of the Seljukian conquests on the death of Malek Shah, and the decline of the Turkish Power through intestine dissensions, relieved the pressure on the Byzantine Empire; and Alexius was enabled even to recover some portion of Asia Minor from the successor of Solymán: but his envoys were yet resident at the Papal Court, when by an instrument apparently far more powerless, that spark was struck into the enthusiasm of Europe, which threw its combustible elements into one general conflagration of Religious warfare.

III. Peter
the Hermit.

The name and story of the extraordinary individual who lit up this unquenchable flame of fanaticism, must be familiar to every reader. Peter the Hermit was a poor gentleman of Picardy, who after following in arms his Feudal Lord, Eustace de Bouillon, and vainly attempting to improve his fortunes by an alliance with a lady of noble family, had, in some moment either of disappointed ambition, or of awakened remorse for deeper guilt, escaped from a profitless service and a distasteful marriage, to the refuge of the Cloister. But the restless fervour of spirit, which afterwards produced effects so memorable, led him shortly to desert the Monastic profession for a life of absolute solitude; and to the character of an anchorite, he next superadded that of a pilgrim to the Holy Land. The scenes which he witnessed, the sufferings which he endured, in this expedition, were of a nature to confirm the mental distemper, which had been nourished in his cell. At Jerusalem his indignation was excited by the cruelties of the Turks to the Christian residents and pilgrims: his piety was shocked at the profanations with which the Holy Sepulchre was insulted by those barbarian Infidels. He fancied himself inspired by Heaven to effect its deliverance from their hands; and in a conversation with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, he declared his purpose to rouse the Princes and People of the West to avenge the disgrace of Christendom.§ He possessed

many qualities which, notwithstanding an unpromising exterior, peculiarly fitted him for the task to which he thoroughly devoted himself. He was inspired with the genuine spirit of enthusiasm: regardless of bodily privation and fatigue, steadfast in purpose, ardent in imagination, and, above all, animated by that admixture of pious intentions with personal vanity, which has deluded the Fanatic of every Age. When he first emerged from obscurity, and burst upon the World as the preacher of a Religious war, he is described as emaciated by self-inflicted austerities and wayfaring toil; diminutive in stature; mean in appearance; and clad in those coarse weeds of a Solitary, from whence he derived his surname of the Hermit. But his eye beamed with fire and intelligence; he was fluent in speech; and the vehement sincerity of his feelings supplied him with the only eloquence which would have been intelligible to the popular passions of his times.*

Having obtained from the Patriarch of Jerusalem letters of credence and supplication for the cause which he had undertaken, Peter on his return to Europe repaired at once to the Papal Court, and found in Urban II. an astonished but ready listener to his magnanimous project. The Pope recognised, and perhaps sincerely credited, the Divine authority of his mission; but the views of Gregory VII. were not forgotten by his successor; and motives of ambition, sufficiently strong to induce his assent, must have been suggested by the embassy of Alexius, and the desire of extending the authority of the Papal See over the Churches of the East. The probability that schemes of more worldly policy were at least mingled with the Religious impressions of Urban II. is increased by the assertion of a well-informed Writer of his times,† that he had recourse to a temporal counsellor, who had in his own person proved the weakness of the Byzantine Empire. This was Boemond, natural son of Robert Guiscard, who had attended his father in his daring invasion of Greece, and whose ambitious spirit was now impatiently restrained within the narrow limits of a Neapolitan Fief. The Norman Prince, whose selfish and wily character strikingly developed itself in the subsequent events of the Crusade, was little influenced by the devotional fervour of the Age; and if his advice determined Urban to direct the enthusiasm of Europe to the shores of Palestine, we may readily believe the Chronicler that it was founded more upon Political than Religious considerations;‡

However this may have been, the Hermit of Picardy, who had just quitted the Papal Court strengthened by the approbation and the promises of the spiritual Chief of Christendom; and travelling over Italy and France, he everywhere proclaimed the sacred duty of delivering the Sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the Infidels. Unless we bear in mind the prodigious influence of those superstitious and martial feelings which together absorbed the passions of a fierce and ignorant Age, it is difficult to conceive the recorded effects of the Hermit's preaching; and language has been exhausted in de-

* Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, lib. iii.—v. &c. Galfridus Malaterra, *Hist.* (in Muratori, *Scorp. Rer. Ital.* vol. v.) lib. iii. c. 24—39.

† For the History of the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor, &c. vide De Guignes, vol. i. p. 244, vol. ii. p. 1—12. Also the original account of William of Tyre, lib. i. c. 9, 10.

‡ Guibert Abbat. *Hist. Hierosol.* p. 475, 476. (*Gesta Dei per Francos*.)

§ Willemus Tyr. lib. i. c. 11. Guibert Abbat. p. 482.

* Willemus Tyr. *ubi supra*, p. 637. The Archbishop's lively portrait of the Fanatic has often been quoted. *Erat autem hereticus staturus paullus, et quantum ad exteriorem hominem, persona contemptibilis. Sed major in cigno regnabat corpore virtus. Facies enim ingenui erat, et oculum habens perspicacem; gravisque, et sponte fluens et non deceptus eloquium.*

† Malmesbury, p. 407.

‡ Paschal. Fisanus, *Vita Urbani II.* (in *Script. Rerum Ital.* vol. ii.) n. 352. Willemus Tyr. p. 638. Malmesbury, *ubi supra*.

History. scribing after contemporary authorities, the innumerable
From crowds of all ranks which thronged cities and hamlets,
A. D. churches and highways, at his voice; the tears, the sighs,
1095. the indignation excited in these multitudes by his
to picture of the wrongs of their Christian brethren and
A. D. the sacrilegious defilement of the Holy Sepulchre; the
1099. shame and remorse which followed his reproaches at the
guilty supineness that had abandoned the blessed scenes
of Redemption to the insults of Infidels; the eager reception
of his injunctions to every sinner to seek reconciliation
with Heaven by devotion to its cause; and the rapture
which his denunciations of vengeance against the Saracen
enemies of God awakened in the stern hearts of congregated warriors.
The fanatical austerity of the preacher, which was proclaimed in his withered
form, his squalid attire, and his abstemious diet; the voluntary
poverty which distributed to the indigent the alms vainly
designed for its own relief; the rude eloquence of speech
and gesture, which flowed from impassioned sincerity, were
all in deep unison with the Religious sentiments of his
hearers: the appeal to arms roused with irresistible strength
that double excitement of devotion and valour which animated,
as with a blended and inseparable principle, the Christian Chivalry
of Europe.*

The Pope had dismissed the Hermit with the assurance
that he would strenuously support his great design; and the
enthusiasm which Peter had awakened by his preaching was
restrained from bursting into action only by eager expectation
of the fulfilment of the pledge. At Piacenza, Urban first
convoked the Prelates of Italy and the neighbouring regions;
four thousand inferior Clergy and thirty thousand Lay persons
were computed to have flocked to the scene; and the Legates
of the Eastern Emperor having been admitted into the assembly
to expose the dangers which menaced their Country and all
Christendom from the progress of the Turks, and to implore
the aid of the Nations of the West against the Infidels, it was
resolved to promote the demand, and to mature the design of
a Holy War, by the authority of a more general Council.†
Urban was directed in his choice of a place for its assembly
by the partialities of birth, by the predominant martial and
Religious spirit of his native Country, France, and by the special
invitation of Raymond, Count of Thoulouse. Clermont, the
Capital of Auvergne, was appointed for the seat of the Council,
at which the Pope in person presided, and an immense multitude
of Clergy and Laity of all ranks, from France, Italy, and Germany,
gave their attendance. During the first week after the opening
of the Council, its deliberations were chiefly engaged in the
enactment of some general provisions for the improvement of
morals and the repression of private war: but on the ninth
morning of the Session, the Pope himself ascended an elevated
pulpit in the open air, and preached the sacred duty of
redeeming the Sepulchre of Christ from the Infidels, and the
certain propitiation for sin by devotion to this meritorious
service. His fervent exhortations were addressed to a multitude
already deeply imbued with fanatical purpose; his inference
of a Divine Command for the Holy War was interrupted by
one universal and tumultuous cry of "It is the Will of God;"
and the slightly varied accla-

mations of *Deus vult, Deus cl vult, and Deus lo vult*,
expressed the common enthusiasm of the Clergy and the People,
while it marks the pure retention of the Latin Tongue in the
familiar speech of Ecclesiastics, and the popular corruptions
which it had undergone into the two great Northern and
Provençal dialects of France. At the instant when their cries
resounded throughout the vast assembly, the figurative
injunction of Scripture to the sinner, to take up the Cross
of Christ, suggested to Urban the idea that all who embraced
the sacred enterprise, should bear on their shoulder or breast
that symbol of salvation. The proposal was eagerly adopted;
the Bishop of Puy first solicited the Pope to affix the holy
sign in red cloth* on his shoulder; and the example being
immediately followed, the Cross became the invariable badge
of the profession, while it gave an enduring title to the warfare
of the *Croisé*, or Crusader. The first temporal Prince who
assumed the Cross was the Count of Thoulouse, and his
offers, through his Ambassadors, to devote his powerful
resources, as well as his person, to the cause, were hailed
with admiration. Before the Council broke up, Adhemar,
the Bishop of Puy, was invested by Urban with full authority
as Papal Legate for the conduct of the expedition; and the
following Spring was appointed for the period of its
departure to the East.†

The decision of the Council of Clermont was welcomed
throughout the Latin World with joyful assent; and Europe
echoed with the clang of warlike preparation for the sacred
enterprise. France, Italy, and Germany were inspired with
a common ardour; the same spirit was communicated to the
British Islands, and penetrated the remoter region of
Scandinavia;‡ and if Spain did not equally respond to the
call, it was only because the Christian Chivalry of Castle
and Aragon were already occupied, on a nearer theatre of
Religious hostility, in the long contest with their Saracen
enemies.§ In every Country, and among all ranks and
conditions of men, the master passions of fanatical and
its incentives.

The First Crusade.
From A. D. 1095. to A. D. 1099.

The Redemption of the Holy Sepulchre resolved upon.

Universal enthusiasm of Europe.

Its incentives.

* It has been observed by Gibbon, after Du Cange, that although in the First Crusade red was the general colour of the Cross, different hues were subsequently adopted as national distinctions: red by the French, green by the Flemings, *auri white* by the English. Yet the red cross of St. George was early our national emblem, and still proudly floats on that banner which,—"a thousand years has braved the battle and the breeze."

† Willermus Tyr p. 639—641. Guibert, p. 478—480. Fulcher, p. 392. Baldricus Arch. [also in *Gesta Dei*,] p. 79—88. Labbé, *Concilia*, vol. x.

‡ Malmsbury whimsically involves his picture of the universal extent of the Crusading ardour, in an allusion to national habits: "The Welshman forsook his hunting; the Scot his companionship with vermin; the Dane his carouse; and the Norwegian his raw fish." p. 416. Among the distinguished personages who joined the first Crusade from our own Island, were Stephen the English-Norman Earl of Albemarle, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, (*Dugdale, Baronage*, vol. i. p. 23. 61.) and perhaps (*L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, vol. i. p. 642.) a son of Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland.

§ The sacred and meritorious character of the warfare against the Spanish Saracens had been already recognised by the Popes. In the conquest of Toledo, (A. D. 1085,) Alfonso VI. had been assisted by many foreign Knights; and we have seen (p. 554 of this volume) that, when pressed in the following year by the African Saracens, he was rescued by the Chivalry of France. It has even been contended (Mauilly, *Esprit des Croisades*, vol. ii. p. 91.) that their auxiliary expedition should be numbered as the first of the Crusades; and there is no doubt that it was considered as a holy war, and must have familiarized the French Nobles with the idea of such enterprises; though its memory has been eclipsed by the superior importance of the subsequent design for the redemption of the Sepulchre.

* Willermus Tyr p. 638. Guibert, p. 482. Fulcherius Caruensis, (*Gesta Dei per Francos*,) p. 381.

† P. Pisan, *Vita Urban*, p. 353. Labbé, *Concilia*, vol. x. p. 499, &c.

History.

From
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.

Promise of
plenary In-
dulgence
for sin, the
most power-
ful motive.
Mingled, in
the Nobil-
ity,

with tem-
poral views
of ambition
and glory.

Secondary
impulses
of the Clergy.

and People.

Prodigious
efforts
of this uni-
versal pas-
sion of Eu-
rope

martial zeal were fed by various impulses of action. The chief inducement beyond doubt was a Canon of the Council of Clermont, by which the performance of the Crusading vow was accepted as a full equivalent for all Ecclesiastical penances. This decree is memorable in itself as having first suggested, or at least rapidly extended, the idea of granting plenary Indulgences: the sale of which for money was afterwards converted by the cupidity of the Popes into so profitable an expedient for replenishing their coffers, and became the most scandalous practical corruption of the Romish Church.*

To the Feudal Nobility and their followers, the commutation of penances for a military enterprise was peculiarly grateful. The anathemas of the Church against private wars, the enforcement of the Truce of God, and the prohibition to bear arms, or to mount on horseback, which the Clergy often employed as a form of penance, were all grievous to an Order, in whom the love of arms and rapine struggled with the terrors of superstition. An injunction to Religious warfare, which relieved their fears, while it promised free indulgence to their favourite pursuits, was gladly embraced as the very easiest mode of reconciling their usual course of life with expiation for its disorders; and so admirable, in the judgment of the Age, appeared this discovery of a mode of atoning for its prevalent crimes by their very repetition, that a Chronicler emphatically enlarges it as a new kind of salvation.† Nor were there wanting the worldly incentives of avarice, ambition, and renown, still further to animate the mistaken sense of Religious duty. The exaggerated tales of pilgrims and traders were filled with pictures of oriental wealth; the subjugation of Asia seemed an easy and glorious achievement; and the Chivalry of Europe already shared in imagination the countless treasures and fertile Provinces of the gorgeous East;‡

By the remaining classes of Society the same mingled influence of spiritual and temporal motives was equally felt. While numbers of the Clergy sincerely shared the general fanaticism, the conquest of Asia opened prospects of wealthy establishments to the higher order of Ecclesiastics; the Monks found at least a meritorious occasion of escape from the irksome restraint of the Cloister; and the Peasantry from Feudal bondage to the soil. Under the pretence of a holy purpose which it was decreed sinful to prevent, debtors were protected both from the present demands of their creditors and the accumulation of interest during their absence; criminals were permitted to elude the pursuit of justice; and offenders of every degree, under the special safeguard which the Church threw over the performance of their vows, were enabled to defy the vengeance of the secular law.§ Lastly, even the speculations of an infant commerce assisted the general excitement; and the merchants of Italy, in particular, engaged with avidity in enterprises from which, in effect, they alone, by the establishment and extension of a lucrative maritime trade, derived any solid and durable advantage.

Yet all these were but the secondary motives of that one mighty impulse, under which all the ordinary considerations of life, all the ties which bind men to home

and Country, to kindred and possessions, were alike disregarded. To obtain funds for so distant and expensive an enterprise, Princes and high Nobles mortgaged, or even alienated their vast domains; warriors of inferior rank either wholly abandoned their Feudal estates and obligations, or prepared to follow their Lords in voluntary service; lands were every where converted into money; horses, arms, and means of transport were collected at exorbitant prices; and valuable property of all kinds was recklessly sacrificed on the most inadequate terms to colder or craftier dealers. Yet even among such, the irresistible force of example often prevailed; the awakening conviction of duty, the thirst of glory, or the dread of reproach, was gradually imparted to every bosom not wholly insensible to Religion and Honour; and the prudent or designing purchaser in one hour was himself the deluded seller in the next. Nor was the contagion of fanatical adventure confined to the Chivalric order. Not only Ecclesiastics deserted their benefices, and Monastic recluses their cells, but mechanics and rustics forsook their occupations, and exchanged their implements of industry for weapons of offence; and women of all ranks, with an abandonment of the more timid and becoming virtues of their sex, which produced equal misery and scandal, either left their husbands behind them, or with their children swelled and encumbered the unwieldy masses of helpless pilgrims.¶ Moreover, the superstitious confidence of atonement for past crimes, and the expectation of license for future enormities, equally attracted the vilest portion of mankind. Robbers, murderers, and other criminals of the deepest dye, professed their design to wash out their guilt in the blood of the enemies of God.† The aggregate of the immense multitudes who thus assumed the Cross could scarcely be accurately computed, in an Age so unfavourable for collecting the details of statistical calculation. By one Chronicler it is vaguely estimated at six millions of persons;‡ by a less credulous contemporary it is decried that all the Kingdoms of the West could supply so vast a host;§ but even the exaggeration proves that the original design of enthusiasm would have totally depopulated Europe; and after making every deduction for the influence of delay, returning reason, and the accidents of life, in cooling the first burst of fanatical fervour, the numbers which actually fulfilled their purpose justify the assertion that whole Nations, rather than the mere armies of Western Christendom, were precipitated upon Mohammedan Asia.

Long before the season, the end of Spring, fixed by the Pope for the departure of the Crusaders, had expired, the impatience of the ruder multitudes of people grew too violent for restraint. Soon after the commencement of the new year, an immense concourse of pilgrims

* Guibert, p. 481. Albertus Aquensis, (*Gesta Dei per Francos*) p. 185. Guibert has a passage which too curiously illustrates the madness of the prevalent fanaticism to be passed without notice in this place. Deluded rustics yoked their oxen, shod the horses, to carts, in which they placed their families and goods to perform the sacred journey; and it was *plene joco apertissimum*, to hear the children inquiring, as they approached any city, whether that were Jerusalem, p. 482.

† Willernus Tyr. p. 641. Albertus Aquensis, *ubi supra*.

‡ Fulcherius Carnot. p. 386.

§ Guibert, p. 556.

¶ And not the "Feast of the Assumption in August," as Gibbon has stated. See the interesting version of the speech of Urban in the Council of Clermont, as given by William of Malmesbury, (p. 410—415.)

* Labbé, *Concilio*, vol. x. p. 507. Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist. Cent.*

xii. P. 2. c. 3. Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Aevi*, Diss. lxxvii.

† "*Novum salutis genus*," Guibert, p. 471.

‡ *Idem*, p. 554, 555.

§ See Du Cange, on *c. Cruces Privilegium*, and the authorities there cited.

History. chiefly of the lowest orders, had thronged around Peter the Hermit on the Western frontiers of France, and urged him, as the original Preacher of the sacred enterprise, to assume its conduct. Apparently unconscious of his utter unfitness for command, the Fanatic rashly accepted the perilous charge; and under his guidance, the accumulating torrent began to sweep over Germany.* Its immense tide overflowed the ordinary channels of communication; and devastation marked its course. The roads were obstructed by the multitude of passengers; the country through which they moved was oppressed by their excesses; the means of subsistence were exhausted by their wants; and Peter was compelled to exhort them to separate into smaller masses. Under the command of Gualtier, or Walter, a Burgundian Knight, whose poverty procured for him the surname of *Sans-Avoir*, or the Pennyless, and who accepted the office of Lieutenant to the Hermit, a body of twenty thousand pilgrims preceded the march of the main host through Hungary and Bulgaria towards Constantinople. The wretched quality of the adventurers who composed this advanced guard is sufficiently indicated by the fact that there were only eight horsemen in the whole number; and their conduct was as reckless as their condition was deplorable. Through Hungary, they were indebted for a safe though toilsome passage to the friendly disposition of its King, Carloman, and a Christian People; but on their entrance into the still wilder regions of Bulgaria, which were governed by a Lieutenant of the Byzantine Empire, they encountered every possible obstacle, both from the treacherous policy of the Imperial officers who forbade the supply of their necessities, and from the ferocious temper of the natives. Hunger compelled the Crusaders to resort to violence; the Bulgarians flew to arms; and the route of Walter and his followers was tracked in blood and flames. But in every day's march, the natives cut off hundreds of the miserable rabble; and the destruction of the whole host, before it reached the Southern confines of Bulgaria, was so complete, that only Walter and a few survivors succeeded, by a flight through the forests, in reaching the Court of Constantinople.†

Their destruction in Bulgaria.

* Before we accompany the disorderly march of the mob which thus commenced the First Crusade, it behoves us to specify our principal guides throughout the expedition. These are the original authorities contained in the great collection of Bongarsius, which he printed at Hanover, in two folio volumes, in 1611, under the general title of *Gesta Dei per Francos*; a designation which Jortin pitifully proposed to change into *Gesta Drolab*, &c. The actual eye-witnesses of the First Crusade, whose relations are to be found in the collection of Bongarsius, were, 1. Robert the Monk; (*Hist. Hierosolymitana*); 2. Raymond de Agiles, Chaplain to the Count of Toulouse, during the Crusade; (*Hist. Francorum*); and 3. Fulcher, also a Chaplain, who accompanied the Count of Chartres, and afterwards attached himself to Baldwin, brother of the great Godfrey, and second King of Jerusalem; (*Gesta Peregrinantium Francorum*); 4. next in the order of testimony is the work of an Archbishop, Balduic, (*Hist. Hierosolym.*) who assisted at the Council of Clermont, and whose relation, although he did not himself accompany the expedition, is declared to have been revised by an Abbot who did so; 5. Albert of Aix, (*Hist. Hierosol. Expeditionis*); and 6. Guibert, (the title of whose Chronicle, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, it was that Bongarsius adopted for the whole collection,) were contemporaries; and the latter was a keen observer and lively narrator; 7. and lastly, William, Archbishop of Tyre, already so often quoted, whose History, although he was not contemporary with the First Crusade, is, perhaps from the materials of information to which he had access, and the judgment with which he compiled them, the most valuable document in the whole collection.

† Fulcher, p. 384. Albert Aqueensis, p. 185. Guibert, p. 483. Willermus Tyr. p. 642.

The second division of the Crusading mob, under Peter the Hermit himself, amounting to forty thousand men, women, and children, followed on the traces of the first body. Aided by the good offices of the Hungarian King, their march through his Country was abundantly supplied and tranquilly pursued, until they reached Malleville, the modern Zemlin, on its Southern confines: where the triumphant exhibition on the walls of the spoils of some of their precursors who had been slain in an affray with the inhabitants, roused them to a furious vengeance. The ramparts of the city were scaled; thousands of its people were slaughtered; and for several days the survivors were exposed to all the horrors of violation and rapine. The approach of Carloman with a large army to punish their perfidious ingratitude, accelerated the departure of the Crusaders; and their hasty and disorderly passage of the Save exposed them to a heavy loss from the attacks of the savage hordes, who awaited their landing on the Bulgarian bank of that river. Though they finally repelled these new enemies, they found Bulgaria a wasted solitude. The natives had retreated to their fastnesses and strong holds; the fortified towns were closed against them; and the purchase of provisions for their march, under the walls of these places, was the only intercourse which the Imperial officers would permit the inhabitants to hold with them. Their excesses again provoked a more open and fatal hostility. Enraged at some outrages, the people of Nissa pursued and unassisted their rearguard: the efforts of Peter could not dissuade the whole host from returning to avenge this quarrel; and in an ineffectual attempt to renew the same scenes as at Zemlin, the assailants were repulsed from the walls with immense slaughter. The triumphant garrison and inhabitants issued forth upon them; a general and total rout ensued; and in the onset, the sally, and the pursuit, above ten thousand of the Crusaders perished. Their camp was abandoned and plundered; and despoiled of their baggage, of their money, and of their arms, the wretched herd of fugitives continued its journey towards Constantinople.*

When they had ceased to be formidable, their helpless misery extorted some compassion; Alexius interposed his protection; and their remains at length reached his Capital, where they were reunited to Walter and the survivors of the first division. But they were no sooner refreshed, than they repaid their hospitable benefactor by new acts of insolence, licentiousness, and pillage; and Alexius gladly acceded to their desire to be transported across the Bosphorus. Under the conduct of Peter and his Lieutenant, Walter, they were landed in Asia Minor: but here neither the exhortations of the Hermit could restrain their outrages against the Religion and property of the subjects of Alexius; nor the advice of the Emperor himself to await the arrival of the more disciplined Chivalry of Europe, prevent their headlong advance. Peter finding himself totally unable to control them, used a decent pretext for escaping back to Constantinople: but Walter, whose more martial spirit was really associated with qualities for command deserving of a better fate, was compelled to yield to their clamorous demand to be led against the Infidels. Despite of his prudent warnings, they divided their forces to plunder the Turkish Provinces; and reunited only on a report artfully

* Albert, Aqueensis, p. 186—188. Guibert, p. 484. Willermus Tyr. p. 643—645.

The First Crusade.

From A. D. 1095, to A. D. 1099. Second division under Peter the Hermit.

Their excesses and losses in Bulgaria.

Arrival at Constantinople;

landing in Asia Minor;

History.

From
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.

and de-
struction by
the Turks
in the plain
of Nice.

Third divi-
sion of the
mob,

massacred
by the Hun-
garians.

Fourth and
last divi-
sion.

Their
shocking
superstition,

circulated by the Sultan of Roum, that Nice, his Capital, had fallen into the hands of an advanced body of their associates. Allured by the prospect of sharing in its spoils, they blindly rushed into the heart of a hostile Country: but when they descended into the plain of Nice, instead of being welcomed by the sight of the Christian banners on its walls, they found themselves surrounded by the Turkish cavalry. In the first onset, Walter fell bravely, covered with wounds, while vainly discharging, by intelligence and example, the twofold duties of the leader and the warrior. The disorderly multitude of his followers was immediately overwhelmed and slaughtered; a remnant, no more than three thousand, escaped the general destruction by flight to the nearest Byzantine fortress; and a huge mound, into which the savage victors piled the bones of the slain, formed an ominous monument of disaster for succeeding hosts of Crusaders.*

The disorders and destruction of these first two divisions of the Crusading rabble were indeed but a prelude to more atrocious scenes of guilt, and more enormous waste of human life. Stimulated by the example of Peter, a German Monk, named Godeschal, preached the Crusade through the villages of his native land with so much effect, that he allured about fifteen thousand of the peasantry to follow him to the East. This third division took the same route as the two preceding: but on their arrival in Hungary they experienced a far different reception from its Sovereign, who was justly exasperated at the outrages with which his hospitality had been repaid. At first he prudently supplied them with the means of accelerating their passage through his Kingdom: but their march was attended with an aggravated repetition of the worst crimes which had been perpetrated by the followers of the Hermit; the whole population of Hungary rose in arms against them; and Carloman was at length provoked to deliver them over to the vengeance of his subjects. For this purpose he had recourse to a cruel act of perfidy, which deeply sullied the merit of his earlier forbearance. Before the walls of Belgrade, his promise of forgiveness and protection induced them to lay down their arms; and this act of submission was immediately followed by their ruthless massacre.†

But the numbers, the gross superstition, the licentious wickedness, and the miserable extirpation of these fanatical hordes, all sink into insignificance before the features displayed in the composition and conduct of the fourth and last division of the rabble of Europe. From France, from the Rhenish Provinces and Flanders, and from the British Islands, there gathered on the Eastern confines of Germany one huge mass of the vile refuse of all these Nations, amounting to no less than two hundred thousand persons. Some bands of Nobles, with their mounted followers, were not ashamed to accompany their march, and share their prey: but their leaders are undistinguishable; and the most authentic contemporary records of their proceedings compel us to repeat the incredible assertion that their motions were guided by a goat and a goose, which were believed to be divinely inspired. If we impatiently dismiss a circumstance so revolting to every pious mind, and so degrading to the pride of human intellect, we find their actions as detest-

able as their superstition was blind and unholy. The unhappy Jews in the Episcopal Cities of the Rhine and Moselle were the first victims of their ferocity. Under the protection of the Ecclesiastical Lords of these commercial places, colonies of that outcast race had long enjoyed toleration and accumulated wealth. Their riches tempted the cupidity of Fanatics, who professed a zeal for the pure Religion of the Gospel only that they might violate its most sacred precepts of mercy and love. Under the pretence of commencing their holy war by extirpating the enemies of God in Europe, they sought the blood and spoils of a helpless and unoffending people. To the honour of the Romish Church, the Bishops of Mayence, Spire, and other cities, courageously endeavoured to shield the Jews from their fury and rapine: but their humane efforts were only partially successful; and thousands were either barbarously massacred, or, to escape the outrages and disappoint the cupidity of their enemies, cast themselves, their women and children, and their precious effects, into the waters or the flames. Sated with murder and spoliation, the ruffian host pursued its march from the Rhine to the Danube; and the continued indulgence of its brutal sensuality attested that it needed not the impulse of fanaticism for the commission of every atrocity. But it was at length overtaken by the vengeance of God and Man. In the hour of danger, the unruly and wicked multitude proved as dastardly against an armed enemy as it had been ferocious towards the defenceless Jews. It effected the passage of the Danube only to encounter a tremendous defeat from the Hungarian army, which had collected for the national defence; some sudden and inexplicable panic produced a general flight, and unresisted slaughter; and so dreadful was the carnage, that the course of the Danube was choked with the bodies, and its waters dyed with the blood of the slain. The contemporary Chronicler, who was apparently best informed of their execrable crimes and well-merited fate, asserts that very few of the immense Crusading multitude escaped death from the swords of the Hungarians or the rapid current of the river; and it is certain that whatever remnant survived, saved their lives only by flight and dispersion.*

Before twelve months had expired since the spirit of Crusading was roused into action by the Council of Clermont, and before a single advantage had been gained over the Infidels, the fanatical enthusiasm of Europe had already cost the lives, at the lowest computation, of two hundred and fifty thousand of its people.† But such were the stupid ignorance and headlong folly which misguided these wretched multitudes, and still more, so dark and grovelling was their superstition, so cruel and demoniacal their fanaticism, and so flagitious their licentiousness, that all pity for their fate is lost in the disgust and horror with which we recoil from the contemplation of brutality and guilt. The picture is relieved by no exhibition of dignified purpose or heroic achievement; the myriads who had perished in Hungary, in Bulgaria, and in Asia Minor, were animated by none of the loftier sentiments of the Age; they were composed chiefly of the coarser rabble of every Country; and in their destruction we behold only the offscouring of the popular ferocity of Europe. But while the first disasters of the

* Albert, p. 189—193. Baldricus Archiepiscopus, p. 89. Guibert, p. 485. Willermus Tyr. p. 645—647. Anna Comnenus, p. 226, 227.

† Albert, p. 194. Willermus Tyr. p. 648.

* Albert, Apennis, p. 195, 196. Fulcher, p. 386. Willermus Tyr. p. 649, 650.

† Milis, *History of the Crusades*, vol. i. p. 81.

The First
Crusade
from
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.
and the
capture of
Jerusalem
by the
Crusaders.

The total
defeat and
destruction
of the
Crusaders
in this
expedition.

Referred
to the
last
division
of the
rabble.

Crusade were sweeping this mass of corruption from the surface of Society, the genuine spirit of Religious and martial enthusiasm was more slowly and powerfully evolved. With maturer preparation, and with steeper resolve than the half-armed and irregular rabble, the mailed and organized Chivalry of Europe was arraying itself for the mighty contest; and a far different, a splendid and interesting spectacle, opens to our view. In the characters, the motives, and the conduct of the Princely and Noble leaders who achieved the design of the First Crusade, we are no longer presented with the revolting sameness of a mere brutal ferocity. Their zeal, although mingled with superstition, and not unstained by cruelty, was also elevated by the generous pursuit of martial fame; their resolves were inspired by the twofold incentive of spiritual duty and temporal honour; and their fanaticism was regulated by foresight and prudence. In entering on their purpose, they had indeed been more or less infected with the general madness of the Age; but in the guidance of the Holy War many of them proved themselves as politic in counsel, as skilful in expedients, and as patient and constant under difficulties, as they were adventurous in danger and courageous in combat. The wildness of their enterprise is condemned by our calmer reason, the justice of their cause may be impeached on every true principle of divine and human law; but from the magnanimous devotion of their spirit, and the fearless heroism of their exploits, it is impossible to withhold our sympathy and admiration.

It has been deemed worthy of remark that none of the principal Sovereigns of Europe engaged in the First Crusade; but their absence was determined by the accidents of individual character and position. Pope Urban II. declined the personal command of the expedition, on the plea of his engrossing functions in the general government of the Church, and his duty of repressing the schism created by the Anti-pope Clement; or perhaps on the more reasonable excuse of his age and infirmities;* but he deputed his spiritual authority to his Legate Adhemar, the Bishop of Puy. The Emperor Henry IV., the personal enemy of Urban, and protector of the Anti-pope, of course refused to recognise the authority by which the Crusade was preached. Philip I. of France was absorbed in sensual indulgence; and to renew the excommunication already passed upon him was, as we have seen,† one of the acts of Urban at the very Council of Clermont. The crafty and irreligious character of William II. of England also led him rather to minister to his brother's reckless enthusiasm, by purchasing the mortgage of Duke Robert's Norman dominions, than to join himself in the Holy War. But the cause rejected by these Monarchs was eagerly embraced by the most distinguished Feudal Princes of the second order: by Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of the Lower Lorraine or Brabant, with his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin, and a kinsman also of the latter name; Hugh, styled the Great Count of Vermandois, and Robert, Duke of Normandy, brothers of the French and English Kings; Robert, Stephen, and Raymond, Counts of Flanders, Chartres, and Thoulouse; and the Norman Boemond, son of the Guiscard, Prince of Tarento, with his cousin Tancred, whom History and Romance have equally delighted to exhibit as the brightest exemplar of knightly virtue.

In dignity and character, however, in the conduct and the results of the Crusade, the highest place of honour must be conceded to the Duke of Brabant. Godfrey of Bouillon was descended through females from Charlemagne; and ranked, alike by his great possessions and personal qualities, among the most powerful Feudatories of the German Empire. His reputation for wisdom in counsel and prowess in arms was deservedly high; and during the war between the Empire and Papacy, in which he adhered to Henry IV., he had specially distinguished himself, both at the battle of Merseburg* and the siege of Rome. His political importance was increased by the position of his States on the frontiers of France and Germany; and his consequent familiarity with the popular dialects of both Countries, as well as his acquisition of the Latin, the customary language of the Church, facilitated his intercourse, and promoted his personal influence, among the principal Nations of Europe. But the severe integrity of his character disdained the selfish exercise of these advantages; and amidst the gross and violent disorders of the times, his life was regulated by the strictest principles of Morality and Religion. His manners were gentle, pure, and benignant; his conduct was just and disinterested; and his piety, though mistaken, was sincere and fervent. These virtues might have qualified him rather for the Cloister than the Camp, if they had not been associated with energies capable of the loftiest designs: with a head to conceive and a hand to execute the most arduous enterprises which his conscience approved; with resolution, tempered by reflection and judgment, which no difficulties could shake; and with valour, calmed only by moderation, which no perils could deter. Since the siege of Rome his frame had been consumed by a slow fever; his illness dictated the renewal of an early purpose of performing the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and he no sooner heard of the projected Crusade, than, as if inspired with new life, he suddenly shook off disease from his limbs, and sprang with renovated health and youth from a sick couch to engage in so glorious and meritorious a work.†

The transcendent merits and accomplishments which adorned the principal Hero of the First Crusade have demanded an especial portraiture: the few features in the characters of the remaining leaders, which varied their general resemblance in devout zeal and warlike excellence, may be more briefly sketched. In Hugh of France these qualities, though supported by other attributes not unworthy of his Royal birth, were destitute of the Religious humility and modest demeanour of Godfrey; and the Great Count of Vermandois was remarkable chiefly for an arrogant and haughty deportment.‡ Robert of Normandy was generous and merciful, eloquent in debate, and well skilled in military expedients; but profuse in expense, dissolute in morals, and equally rash and unsteady in resolve. Although, therefore, his conduct during the Crusade was thought in some measure to atone for the irregularities of his earlier life, and his exploits often attracted the general admiration, his instability of mind prevented his maintaining the respect of his more illustrious compeers.§ His namesake of Robert of Flanders.

The First Crusade.
From
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.
Godfrey of Bouillon.

* See p. 537.

† Malmesbury, p. 448. Guibert, p. 485. Willermus Tyr. p. 651.

‡ Anna Comnena, p. 227. Robertus Monachus, p. 34. Guibert, p. 485.

§ A well-known instance of Robert's careless spirit was the above-mentioned mortgage of his Duchy to his brother William for five years,

* *Belli Sacri Hist.* (by an anonymous Chronicler, in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. i.) p. 135.

† See p. 530 of this Volume.

History. Flanders resembled him in headlong valour, without sharing any portion even of his abortive talents. The Count of Chartres, one of the wealthiest and most potent Feudal Princes of France, was also deemed the most learned in all the literate and practical knowledge of the Age, experienced and wise in his suggestions, clear and persuasive in discourse. These intellectual acquirements peculiarly fitted him for directing the general design of the war; and he was accordingly chosen to preside in the Council of its leaders. In the field, the superiority of his tactical skill was equally recognised; but he was deficient in vigorous enterprise; and in the eyes of the fiery champions of the Cross, his fame was tainted by the questionable quality of his valour.

Raymond of Thoulouse. The veteran and sagacious Count of Thoulouse,* whose youth had been habitually exercised in arms against his Saracen neighbours in Spain, had brought from that warfare a deadly hatred of the Musulman name, and was more fiercely animated than the other Crusading Princes by the spirit of Religious intolerance. His master passion was unmitigated fanaticism; and the devotion of his old age, the abandonment of his extensive dominions, and the appropriation of his great riches, to the service of the Crusade, might have protected his motives from the suspicion of worldly ambition and avarice: if their sincerity had not been attended by a cold and selfish nature, a proud and vindictive temper, which denied him the friendship of his noble confederates, and alienated the affections of his own native followers. To the purely fanatical zeal which predominated in the character of the Provençal Prince, may be opposed the unscrupulous ambition and deep hypocrisy of the Norman Boemond, the Ulysses of the war. To him alone, perhaps, of all the movers and warriors of the Crusade, may be attributed a systematic design of rendering the popular enthusiasm of Europe subservient to views of mere personal interest. If his versatile and unprincipled genius enabled him to feel or to feign,† some share in the prevalent sentiment of his time, the whole recorded tenour of his conduct betrays the settled and absorbing pursuit of temporal aggrandizement. Familiar with all the arts of dissimulation, and no less rapacious than perfidious, he exhibits among the Heroes of the Holy War, the singular spectacle of a cool and crafty Politician. His vices were odiously contrasted with the generous qualities of his youthful cousin Tancred;‡ whose frank and courteous bearing,

and Tancred.

at the inadequate price of ten thousand marks, to equip himself for the Crusade. *Chron. Sax.* p. 204. Will. Gemeticensis, p. 673.

* The history of this Prince is very obscure. His original title was Count of St. Gilles in Languedoc; whence Anna Comnena corrupted his name into *Songolier*, and under that appellation exaggerates his rank as if he had been the principal personage of the Crusade. In what manner he had acquired the extensive fields of Thoulouse and Provence, and arrogated the title of Duke of Narbonne, which he also bore, seems undetermined. *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, vol. ii. p. 289—294, &c.

† Boemond pretended to receive with surprise and admiration the news of the design of Urban, which it is more than probable (*vide supra*, p. 588.) that he had secretly prompted. At the siege of Amalfi, he embraced the Crusade in an apparent transport of zeal; excited the fanatical ardour of his confederates and followers by an eloquent harangue; and while their enthusiasm was at its height, rent his own robe into pieces in the shape of crosses for the soldiery. This curious and characteristic anecdote is told by Guibert, p. 485.

‡ Tancred was the son of Matilda, sister of Robert the Guiscard, and therefore the cousin of Boemond, (Radulphus Cadomensis, de *Gesta Tancredi*, c. 1.) and not either his brother or nephew, as

no less than his love of glory and high-minded disdain of wrong and perfidy, rendered him the mirror of European Chivalry.*

Such were the leaders, under whom the warlike array of the Western Nations was marshalled for the First Crusade. Their confederated powers were collected, according to the local convenience or preference of the Chieftains, into four great divisions. The first Body, composed of the Nobility of the Rhenish Provinces and the more Northern parts of Germany, ranged themselves under the standard of Godfrey of Bouillon. That Prince was accompanied by the two Baldwins, and many other powerful Feudal Lords, whose forces numbered no less than ten thousand cavalry and eighty thousand foot. In the second division, under the Counts of Vermandois and Chartres, the two Roberts, and Eustace, Count of Boulogne, (brother of Godfrey,) were assembled the Chivalry of Central and Northern France, the British Isles,† Normandy, and Flanders; and their formidable muster can be estimated only loosely from the estimate of a contemporary, that the number of lesser Bann alone exceeded that of the Grecian warriors at the siege of Troy.‡ The third host, in the order of departure, was composed of Southern Italians under Boemond and Tancred, and formed an array of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. The last division, which assembled under the Count of Thoulouse in the South of France, was originally formed chiefly of his own vassals and native confederates of Languedoc, Gascony, and Arles, comprehended under the general appellation of Provençals;§ with a small admixture of the Christian Knighthood of the Pyrenean regions of Spain: but in his route through Lombardy, his army was swollen by so great numbers of Northern Italians, that the combined host which marched under his banners amounted to one hundred thousand persons of all arms and conditions. Besides several Feudal Chieftains of distinction, Raymond was accompanied by three Prelates of high rank: the Papal Legate Adhemar of Pay, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Bishop of Orange.||

Of all the principal leaders of the Crusade, the preparations of Godfrey of Bouillon were earliest completed; and his march from the banks of the Moselle was conducted with admirable prudence and order by the same route which had proved so disastrous to the preceding rabble. When he reached the Northern frontiers of Hungary, he demanded of its King by his envoys an explanation of the circumstances which had provoked their destruction. The reply of Carloman

some of the writers in the *Gesta Dei*, less correctly informed than the biographer of the Hero, and Gibbon and Murton after them, supposed. The father of Tancred was an Italian Marquis, (Ab. Ralph of Caen was the personal friend and companion of Tancred in Palestine after the Crusade.

O più bel di maniere e di sembianti
O più receto ed interposto di core, &c.

La Gerusalemme Liberata, can. i. 43.

But the Poet has here only echoed the praises which the qualities of Tancred extorted even from the Greek Princess, never unwilling to detract from the virtues of a Latin, above all a Norman name. Anna Comnena, p. 277.

† For "neither surely," says old Fuller, "did the Irishmen feel stick in their bogs;" (*Hist. of Holy War*, lib. i. c. 13.) So also sings Tasso,

Questi dall'altre selve irruti mandati
La divina dal mondo ultima Irlanda.

‡ Guibert, p. 486.

§ Raymond des Agiles, p. 144.

|| Willermus Tyr. p. 660.

History.
From
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.

distance
noted by
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his

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his position

exposed the crimes by which the vengeance of his People had been roused; and his just and amicable representations compelled the upright judgment of Godfrey to admit, that the wickedness of the Crusading mob had merited its fate. He accepted a friendly invitation from the Hungarian King; treated with him for a safe passage through his dominions with supplies of provisions on equitable terms; and left his own brother Baldwin and his family as hostages for the good faith and forbearance which he enforced on his followers. The noble sincerity of Godfrey won the confidence of the Hungarian Monarch, and disarmed the suspicion and hostility of his People. Carloman himself attended the movements of the Crusaders with a numerous cavalry, both to observe their behaviour and to protect their march; the whole of his Kingdom was traversed without a single act of offence on either side; and, when the Latin host had passed its Southern confines, the hostages were courteously dismissed with a friendly adieu. When the Crusaders entered the Byzantine Provinces, their virtuous and able leader still succeeded in maintaining the same strict discipline; the Emperor Alexius assisted and rewarded his efforts by liberally supplying the wants of his army in its toilsome passage through the desolate forests of Bulgaria; and the first division of the European Chivalry peaceably accomplished its entrance into the fertile plains of Thrace.*

But for the friendly succour of the Byzantine Monarch, it is acknowledged that the hosts of Godfrey must have perished in their route through Provinces imperfectly cultivated, and already exhausted by the feuds of their barbarous natives. The alacrity with which Alexius at first facilitated the approach of his Latin allies, was succeeded by illusions of a more dubious policy; and in the report of their Chroniclers, the conduct of the Emperor is branded with the reproach of deliberate perfidy and systematic hostility. In weighing the justice of these charges, some reduction from their truth must be made for the bigoted prejudice of the Latins against a schismatic Monarch and Nation; and a still larger share of extenuation for the suspicious conduct of the Emperor may be claimed for the difficulties and peril of his position. Instead of the reasonable aid which he had solicited from the Pope and the temporal Sovereigns of the West, he found his dominions overwhelmed, and his throne shaken from its foundations, by the deluge of European fanaticism. His hospitable reception of the first disorderly masses of pilgrims had been requited by the ravage of his territories and the spoliation of his subjects; the very numbers and formidable array of the better disciplined Chivalry of Europe might alone have justified a prudent apprehension of their power and disposition, which their fierce promptitude in resentment was by no means calculated to allay. Of the personal characters and real designs of most of their leaders he was utterly ignorant; and their alliance in the same enterprise with his ancient and dangerous enemy, Boemond, was at least an ominous conjuncture. The plea of delivering the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Turks, might easily cover a design of subjugating the whole Eastern World to the spiritual dominion of the Latin Church; the same pretext of fanatical zeal might be readily employed against the infidel Mohammedans and heretical Greeks; and to the confident valour and the

envious cupidity of the Western warriors, thus animated by Religious hatred and temporal ambition, the rich spoils of Constantinople* and its Provinces might offer a more accessible and tempting prey, than the distant relief of Jerusalem and plunder of Syria. Moreover, the recent distraction and rapid decay of the Seljukian Power had terminated the alarm with which Alexius formerly anticipated the entire ruin of his Empire; and the subsiding of the Turkish energies had removed the immediate danger which induced him to implore the approach, and might have reconciled him to the presence of auxiliaries, in Greek estimation scarcely more civilized, and only less to be dreaded, than the Mohammedan enemy.

Under these critical circumstances, for the double purpose of averting the ruin with which he was menaced, and of obtaining the advantages which he might yet hope to extract from the oppressive aid of the Western Nations, the Emperor appears to have had recourse to the timid and tortuous policy habitual in the Byzantine Court. While he welcomed the approach of the army of Godfrey, his fleets in the Adriatic were prepared to dispute the passage of the French and Norman Crusaders from the Italian to the Grecian ports. That second grand division of the European Chivalry, led by Hugh of Vermandois, the two Roberts, and the Count of Chartres, had traversed France and Italy for the purpose of embarkation. At Lucca, where these Chiefs, prostrating themselves at the feet of the Pope, piously received his benediction, Urban II. committed the standard of St. Peter into the hands of the Great Count of France;† and here the arrogance of that Prince furnished Alexius with a first occasion of offence. Twenty-four Knights, in armour gorgeously inlaid with gold, were despatched by Hugh to Durazzo, with a haughty intimation to Alexius himself of the approach, and a command to the Imperial Lieutenant to make Royal preparation for the arrival, of the brother of the King of Kings, and standard-bearer of the Pope.‡ The terms of the letter and the message were resented as an insult; and the Governor of Durazzo, instead of offering the desired reception, stationed his navy to prevent the egress of the Great Count and his followers from the Italian harbours. The Duke of Normandy and the Counts of Flanders and Chartres, with their followers, after consuming the Autumn in luxurious pleasure, resolved to defer their departure from Italy until the return of Spring; but Hugh, regardless alike of the dangers of a wintry passage and the ambiguous dispo-

The First
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* Of the astonishment and envy with which the splendour of Constantinople struck the rude Latins, we may form a lively idea from the burst of admiration which the remembrance of its magnificence recalls to the mind of one of their Chroniclers, the chaplain and companion of the Count of Chartres: "*O quanta civitas nobilis et decorata! quæ monstratur quinquæ palatii, in eis, opere miro fabricata! quæ trium platorum vix in vicis operæ, ad spectandum mirabilis! Tardius est quidem magnam recturæ quantæ ut dicitur opulentiæ honorum omnium, mris et argenti.*" &c. Fulcherius, p. 386. The emotions excited by the contemplation of such wealth, however innocent in the breast of the good chaplain, were likely to prompt dangerous wishes and designs to the bold and unscrupulous imaginations of fierce and rapacious warriors.

† Fulcherius, p. 384. Robertus Monachus, p. 35.
‡ Anna Comnena, p. 228. Du Gange, with the true complacent vanity of a Frenchman, has amused himself by proving (*Dissert. sur Jeanville*, xxvii, and note ad *Alexand.* p. 352.) that the title of King of Kings thus arrogated by Hugh for his brother, was conceded through the respect of Europe during the Middle Ages *par excellence* to the Monarchs of France.

* Albert. p. 198, 199. Willermus Tyr. p. 652.

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and makes
prisoner of
the Count
of Vermandois.
Indignation
of Godfrey's
army.

Reprimand;

continued
disputes;

and open
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Crusaders
against
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sition of the Greeks, impatiently put to sea. His fleet was dispersed in a storm; his own vessel was wrecked on the hostile shore; and in lieu of the magnificent descent which he had announced, he entered Durazzo as a suppliant, and found himself a captive. He was indeed treated with outward demonstrations of respect; but his person was for some time detained, until the commands of Alexius were received for his removal to Constantinople.*

When intelligence of the captivity of the Count of Vermandois reached the camp of Godfrey in Thrace, it roused the violent anger of the Crusaders; and after an ineffectual demand for his release, the Duke of Brabant was compelled to gratify the eager desire which was felt by his followers to punish the Imperial perfidy with the ravage of the fine Province in which they were quartered. This severe retaliation speedily produced the submission of Alexius. He had already soothed the captivity, and seduced the pride and vanity of the French Prince, by his pompous reception at the Imperial Court; and Hugh was induced to despatch two of his own attendants to Godfrey with the assurance that, on the Duke's arrival at Constantinople, he would find their master not a captive, but a guest. This message produced a cessation of hostilities; but the awakened suspicions of the Crusaders prepared them to fly to arms on the slightest provocation; the Greeks were equally distrustful; and the mutual contempt and hatred of two races, so dissimilar in manners and spirit, inflamed every misunderstanding. On the near approach of Godfrey and his host to the Byzantine Capital, the refusal of the Duke and his fellow Chieftains to trust their persons unattended within the Imperial walls, provoked Alexius to forbid all intercourse between his subjects and the Crusaders. The Latin camp was immediately straitened for provisions; and Godfrey was again compelled to indulge the rapine of his followers, and the Emperor to arrest the sufferings of his People by conciliatory measures. A third and more dangerous quarrel was produced by the belief of the Crusaders in a perfidious design of the Emperor to blockade and starve them in their camp, which was enclosed by the waters of the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, and the river Barbyses. To anticipate this suspected treachery, the troops of Godfrey possessed themselves, by an impetuous attack, of the bridge of the Blachernæ, the only outlet and key of their communication with Constantinople and the open country. The hostile seizure of this important post disappointed the intentions of the Greeks; or it more probably excited their apprehension against the ulterior purpose of the Crusaders themselves. The Imperial troops issued from the gates of Constantinople to dispute the passage of the bridge; after a bloody conflict they were repulsed and pursued to the City; and the Crusaders, inflamed with success and resentment, even attempted a headlong assault upon the walls. But the ramparts of Constantinople were strong and lofty; the Latins were unprovided with any battering engines; and the Greek archers, securely directing an unerring aim, galled them with an incessant flight of arrows. An indecisive contest was maintained until the close of day; but at nightfall the assailants, after setting fire to the suburbs, withdrew from the walls.†

To a state of hostility so inconclusive in its objects

and injurious to both parties, a stop was now put by the mediation of the Count of Vermandois. If Alexius had ever really meditated the destruction of the Crusaders, experience had shown the fruitlessness of his efforts; and his desire of an accommodation might be increased by the approach of Boemond and his army. Renouncing, therefore, his earlier designs, or more probably only shifting the jealous expedients of a policy which had prompted him in self-defence to restrict, not to ruin the dreaded power of the Crusaders, he proposed to their Chiefs as a condition of his friendship that they should take an oath of fealty to himself; and swear either to restore to the Empire, or to hold in Feudal dependence,* such of its ancient Provinces as they might recover from the Infidels. Upon these terms, he engaged vigorously to support the Crusade with the Imperial forces and wealth; and he had prepared the way for their acceptance by inducing the brother of the French King to offer an influential precedent.‡

So overcome was that vain and inconstant Prince by the blandishments and presents of Alexius, that he not only stooped to the performance of the desired homage himself, but undertook to obtain the same submission from his confederates. The proposal was at first received in the Latin camp with the indignation natural to the free and fiery spirit of high-born warriors, who spurned the idea of all allegiance or subjection to a foreign Lord. Godfrey himself reproached the baseness of Hugh in having consented to a degradation alike unworthy of his haughty pretensions and real dignity, of his ostentatious bearing and Royal birth. But the Count of Vermandois excused his own compliance, and enforced its propriety on Godfrey, by arguments best adapted to the disinterested principles of that single-minded and pious Prince: such as the paramount obligation of their sacred vows; the difficulty of reducing Alexius to more becoming terms; the impossibility of prosecuting the holy enterprise without the Imperial aid; the probable ruin of the cause by delay and warring hostility; and the very sinfulness of a contest with a Christian People. The reason of Godfrey was no sooner convinced, than all sentiments of worldly pride and honour yielded to the humbler dictates of Religious duty; and no subsequent persuasions, with which he was addressed by the messengers of Boemond and the Count of Thoulouse, to await their arrival, and chastise in arms the insulting demand of Alexius, could shake the sincerity of his purpose. He declared his resolution to take the required oaths of fealty; and the example of his self-denial secured the acquiescence of his compeers. To remove their lingering suspicions of treachery, Alexius delivered his son as a hostage for their safe return; and Godfrey and his principal companions repairing to Constantinople, prostrated themselves in homage before the Imperial throne. Their humiliation was relieved by a reception of studied honour; and in return for the vows of fidelity which he

* Anna Comnena, p. 235. The very circumstance of this proposal being made in a proof, which perhaps deserves more attention than it has usually attracted, that the idea of the Feudal relation, whencesoever received, was at this Epoch familiar to the Eastern Emperor. It is still more observable that the ceremonies with which the Latin Princes subsequently took the oaths of fealty to Alexius were also strictly Feudal; and though their ready adoption on this occasion in the Byzantine Court, need not shake our belief in the exclusive Barbarian and not Roman origin and essence of the System from which they were borrowed, yet the whole fact is curious.

† Anna Comnena, p. 229.

* Anna Comnena, p. 228, 229.

† Albertus Aquensis, p. 300—202. Balthicus Arch. p. 91. Willermus Tyr. p. 653, 654. Anna Comnena, p. 232—234.

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sions.

repeated on his knees with clasped hands, Alexius distinguished the virtue and dignity of Godfrey by the ceremonies of filial adoption, and investiture in Imperial robes.* But these empty recognitions faintly conceal the real triumph of Greek pride and policy; and it was no fanciful degradation which converted the brave and Chivalric Princes and Nobles of Western Europe into the vassals and liegemen of a Byzantine Despot.†

After this ceremony, Alexius urged his adopted son, and his new dependents, to exchange their threatening position near his Capital for more eligible and abundant quarters on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; and their passage of that strait was apparently hastened through his dread of their being reinforced, while still under the walls of Constantinople, by the other divisions of the Crusading hosts. Before the departure of Godfrey, the Count of Flanders and his followers had already reached the Byzantine Capital from Italy; and their arrival was speedily succeeded, at short intervals, by that of the Duke of Normandy, the Count of Chartres, and the scattered residue of the great army which had originally assembled under Hugh of Vermandois. By the dexterous application of flatteries; and bribes, each of these potent Chiefs was persuaded in his turn to perform the same homage as his precursors, and was then hurried off to join them on the Asiatic shore.‡ The embarkation from the Apulian ports of the third grand division, under Boemond and Tancred; their passage of the Adriatic into Greece; and their march through that Country; were all regulated by those able leaders with

higher martial conduct and discipline. Large bodies of the Imperial troops, with dubious intentions, hovered over their route, and sometimes even attempted to obstruct their passage, and cut off their detachments; but the skilful dispositions of Boemond frustrated their attempts; and the impetuous valour of Tancred more than once punished the secret perfidy, or open aggression of a pusillanimous enemy. The whole march to the vicinity of Constantinople was triumphantly completed; and here Boemond, being met by Godfrey himself with persuasions to satisfy the Imperial demand of fealty, left his army in charge of his gallant kinsman, and with a small train proceeded to the Capital of Alexius.*

The belief of that Monarch's duplicity in his reception of the other Latin Princes is increased by the equal cordiality with which he welcomed this hateful enemy. He alluded to Boemond's earlier invasion of his Empire only to extol the valour which he had displayed in that enterprise, and to express his own satisfaction at the pacific union which now effaced every feeling of enmity. With as consummate hypocrisy, Boemond on his part professed his self-reproach at the injustice of his former hostility, and his desire to prove his gratitude for so gracious an oblivion of injuries. But Alexius, as well aware of his ambitious and greedy character, as of his habitual faithlessness, designed to secure his allegiance, by the only motives of selfish interest which could be binding on a nature so sordid. After causing him to be lodged and entertained in the most magnificent style in one of the Imperial palaces, the cunning Monarch ordered the door of a chamber filled with heaps of gold and jewels to be left, as if accidentally, open while he passed. The Norman was ravished with delight and envy as he gazed at the glittering hoards; and his ruling impulses were betrayed in the involuntary exclamation, that, to the possessor of such treasures, the conquest of a Kingdom might be an easy achievement. He was immediately informed that the gift of the Emperor made them his own; and after a slight hesitation, his avarice swallowed the bait. His performance of homage to Alexius was succeeded by dreams of ambition, which perhaps aspired to the Imperial throne itself; and his expressions of devotion to its service were accompanied by a proposal that he should be invested with the office of Great Domestic of the East, or General of the Byzantine armies in Asia. A pre-emptive compliance with this audacious demand, which shocked the pride, and might well startle the suspicions of Alexius, was prudently avoided with hollow assurances that the highest dignities of the Empire should be the reward of future services; and the baffled or sanguine adventurer was persuaded to join the Asiatic camp of his confederates. The opposite conduct of his high-minded relative had meanwhile excited equal alarm. Disdaining, on his arrival at Constantinople, to imitate the baseness of Boemond, Tancred had quitted the Capital unobserved, and crossed the Bosphorus in disguise. By this flight he had only designed to escape the degradation of owning himself the vassal of a foreign Prince; but the suspicion and resentment of the Emperor were not allayed until Boemond unscrupulously pledged himself by oath for the homage and allegiance of his cousin.†

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Transac-
tions of
Alexius
with Bo-
mond;

* Anna Comnena, p. 235—238. Albert p. 203. Willermus Tyr. p. 656, 657.

† That the humiliation was keenly felt may be inferred from the sullen brevity with which the Latin Chroniclers dismiss the transaction; but the daughter of Alexius has related an anecdote, which more plainly marks the struggling emotions of the proud warriors, while it amusingly illustrates the manners of Western Europe. During the ceremony of performing homage, a private French Baron, conjectured by Du Cange, with great probability, to have been Robert of Paris, was so little disposed to repress his disgust at the pride of the Greek Despot, and the compliance to which Religious or Political motives had induced the more responsible leaders of the Crusade to submit, that he audaciously seated himself beside Alexius on the Imperial Throne. When the brother of Duke Godfrey attempted to remove him for this rude disrespect, he coolly retorted his contempt; and the Emperor was so astonished by his insolence, that he could only demand through an interpreter his name and condition. "I am a Frenchman," was the reply, "and of noble birth; and I care only to know that in the neighbourhood from which I come there is a church, whither they who design to prove their valour repair to pray until an adversary be found to answer their defiance. There have I often worshipped, without finding that man who dared to accept my challenge." Alexius, because he well knew, says his daughter, the fierce spirit of the Latins, dissembled his resentment; and rather treated it in an ironical caution, that if the Frenchman still desired to maintain the same boast with safety in his Crusading warfare, he would do well to keep beyond reach of the Turkish arrows, by remaining in the centre of the Christian host. His taunt and his advice were alike thrown away; and his daughter betrays some satisfaction in proceeding to record that the insolent Barbarian fell in the foremost ranks of the Crusaders at the battle of Dorylaeum. Anna Comnena, *ubi supra*.

‡ Even the politic Count of Chartres was deluded by the arts of Alexius, who contrived to make each of the Latin Princes in turn believe himself preferred to all his confederates. There is extant a curious and apparently authentic epistle from Stephen to his Countess, in which he unconsciously shows how completely he was duped by the wily Greek. The Emperor had inquired how many were his children; spoken much of the love he bore towards him and his unknown Home; pretended that the Count must send for one of his sons to be educated at the Byzantine Court; and laud him reckon on his Imperial favour to provide for the youth; in all which the wise Count religiously confided. Mahillon, *Man. Ind.* vol. i. p. 237. § Baldric, p. 92. Albert p. 204. Willermus Tyr. p. 656—660.

* Robertus Monachus, p. 36, 37. Baldricus Archiepiscopus, p. 92. Guibert, p. 489. Willermus Tyr. p. 658.

† Baldric, p. 92—94. Albertus Aquensis, p. 204. Guibert, p. 491.

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louse.

The arrival of the last army of Crusaders under the Count of Thoulouse, exhausted the artifices of the Imperial policy. After traversing Northern Italy, that skilful and veteran commander had led his forces into the Byzantine Provinces, through the wild passes of Dalmatia. His march, though distressed by the noxious climate and rugged obstacles of that mountainous region, and successively harassed by the savage Dalmatians, and by the no less hostile Greeks, had been prosecuted with so much energy and vigilance, that his host, after exercising a passing vengeance on their treacherous assailants, reached the shores of the Bosphorus in unimpaired strength and discipline; and the news of his formidable approach at the head of one hundred thousand Provençals and Italians, revived the liveliest apprehensions in the Imperial Court. At some distance from Constantinople, the army was met by messengers both from Alexius and from Godfrey and his associates, with a united request to the Count of Thoulouse to repair to the Capital. Raymond complied with the invitation; but on his arrival neither the arts of the Emperor, nor the solicitations of his confederates, could induce him to kneel before the Imperial Throne. Once more is the Emperor accused, on his failure in this negotiation, of having directed a treacherous surprise of the Provençal camp: and whatever was its origin, a furious collision ensued between the troops of Raymond and of Alexius. The Greeks were defeated with signal carnage; and in the first suggestions of vengeance, the Count of Thoulouse was with difficulty restrained from vowing war to the utterance against so perfidious a race. He repelled with contempt the menaces both of Alexius and of Boemond, who now ostentatiously avowing himself the most faithful champion of the Empire, proclaimed his resolution to turn his arms in its succour even against his reculant confederate. To the milder expostulations of Godfrey, the aged Count so far yielded as to tender an oath that he would abstain from all enterprises against the life and dignity of Alexius: but beyond this concession his cold and stubborn pride was equally impenetrable to threats and entreaties. He declared that he had quitted his native dominions to devote the residue of his life to the service of God alone, not to submit himself to any earthly master; and Alexius, either awed into personal respect by the firmness of his spirit, or desirous of conciliating so powerful a Chief, suddenly changed his whole demeanour, loaded him with assiduous attentions, and treated him with such real or affected confidence as to impart his secret hatred and suspicion of Boemond. The old Provençal Prince listened with pleasure to these complaints of a rival whose interference had already irritated his jealous and vindictive temper; and his heated passions unguarding the usual wariness of his politic judgment, made him an easy dupe to the superior craft of the wily Greek. Alexius so completely gained the ascendancy over his mind, that he lingered at Constantinople after the departure of the other Chieftains; and the Count of Thoulouse, who had been loud in his denunciations against the perfidy of the Byzantine Court, was among the last to quit its seductive hospitalities for the Asiatic camp of the Crusaders.*

Before the arrival of the Provençal forces, all the

Willermus Tyr. p. 659. Anna Comæna, p. 238—241. Radulphus Cadomensis, de *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 289, 290.

* Raymond de Agiles, p. 140, 141. Robert, p. 38. Guibert, p. 490. Willermus Tyr. p. 660—662. Anna Comæna p. 241.

other great divisions of the Crusading levies had already completed their junction on the plains of Asia Minor; and their wants rather than their strength had been increased by the wretched remnants of the preceding mob who, with Peter the Hermit himself, had, in recovered confidence, found their way from various places of refuge to the general muster. The enormous numbers of the congregated hosts of Christendom can be estimated with little hope of precision: either from the tumid metaphors of the Grecian Princess, who has described their desolating course; or from the positive assertions of the Latin writers, whose ignorance of military affairs might easily mislead their computations, and whose astonishment at the view of so prodigious an array, was sure to be vented in exaggeration. If we were to credit some of our usual authorities, six or even seven hundred thousand warriors were present in arms: besides an innumerable multitude of ecclesiastics, women, and children.† But the report of the same parties in other places,‡ and every evidence of reason and probability, are alike inconsistent with this conclusion; it may be suspected that the leaders of the war were themselves unable to ascertain the real numbers of a disorderly herd of irregular infantry; and we can rely with safety only on the statement of the most judicious Chronicler of the Crusade, that the mailed cavalry, which, according to the rude tactics of the Middle Ages, formed the nerve of armies, amounted to one hundred thousand men:‡ This superb body of heavy horse was composed of the flower of the European Chivalry: Knights, Esquires, and their attendant Men at arms, completely equipped with the helmet and shield, the coat and boots of chain and scale armour, the lance and the sword, the battle axe and the ponderous mace of iron. The crowd of footmen fought principally with the long and cross bow, and were used indifferently as occasion required for archers, scouts, and pioneers: but their half-armed and motley condition formed a miserable contrast to the splendour of the Chivalric array, which glittered in the blazonry of embroidered and armed surcoats, shields and headpieces inlaid with gems and gold, and banners and pennons distinguishing the princely and noble rank of Chieftains and Knights.§

From their first camp on the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus, the advance of the Christian hosts, in bold disregard of minor objects of attack, was immediately directed against Nice, the Capital of the Sultan of Roum, situated in a fertile plain on the direct route to Jerusalem. Resting on the waters of the lake Ascanus, the defensive capabilities of that City had been sedulously improved by art. It was surrounded by a double wall of stupendous height and thickness, provided with a deep ditch, and flanked at intervals by no less than three hundred and seventy towers; its garrison was numerous and brave; and the Sultan Solyman, (or Kilidge Arslan,¶) who had retired to the neighbouring mountains with his Turkish cavalry, preserving his communication with the place by the lake, might with equal facility reinforce its defenders, and harass the quarters

* Fuleher, p. 387. Willermus Tyr. p. 664.

† Willermus Tyr. p. 693, &c.

‡ Guibert, p. 491.

§ Albert, Aquisensis, p. 103, 212, 241, 392, &c. This writer fondly dwells on the splendid array of the Crusading hosts, and affords more information than any of the other Chroniclers on the armament, composition, &c. of the troops.

¶ De Guignes, vol. i. p. 215.

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of the besiegers. Nothing deterred by these difficulties, the Crusaders, on their arrival before the City, undertook the siege with an energy suitable to the obstinacy which was anticipated in the defence. Notwithstanding their numbers, the immense circumference of the walls prevented a complete investment; but each independent leader, successively encamping on the first quarter which he found unoccupied, from thence directed and prosecuted his attacks. Contrary to the impression which later Historians have sometimes given, that a chief authority over the Crusading hosts was conceded to Duke Godfrey, it is here observable that no traces of such a recognition of supremacy can be discovered in the narrative of contemporary Chroniclers. The general plan of operations was sometimes debated and determined in a Council of Princes; but the details and choice of execution were abandoned to the uncontrollable will of the different Chieftains and their respective followers; who were alike too proud of personal rank, and too jealous of national distinctions, to brook any submission to a foreign command. But the same feelings, which were repugnant to all subordination and unity of action, in a great degree supplied their want with a generous emulation of glory; and in the leaguer of Nice, the Latin Princes contended with rival valour and industry who should be foremost in urging his approaches to the walls. On the Northern side were encamped Duke Godfrey and his Rhenish and German division; Eastward extended the quarters of the Counts of Vermandois and Chartres and the two Roberts, with the French, Norman, English, and Flemish Crusaders; on the same front the Provençal and Italian host of the Count of Thoulouse took up a continued alignment; and towards the South the City was enclosed by the troops of Boemond and Tancred. Two thousand men who had attended the march of the Crusaders, under Taticeus, as Imperial Lieutenant, were the only Byzantine forces in the confederate camp.*

From their respective quarters each of these divisions pushed forward its attacks, with all the mechanical expedients which the Middle Ages had imperfectly preserved out of the martial science of classical antiquity. Among the principal machines of the besiegers were lofty wooden towers of several stories, termed *belfreys*,† or *belfrois*, which were moved forward on rollers or wheels; protected against conflagration by coverings of boiled hides; filled with archers to dislodge the defenders from the ramparts; and supplied with drawbridges, which on a nearer approach, being let down upon the walls, afforded a passage for the Knights and their followers to rush to the assault. The advance of these *belfrois* was sometimes preceded, the road levelled, and the ditch of a fortress filled up, by means of a movable gallery or shed of similar materials, but lower structure, called indifferently a fox or cat;‡ or *chat-chatil* when surmounted also by a tower. Under cover of these galleries, the walls could either be undermined by the slow operation of the sap, or breached by the violent blows of the battering ram. Balistic engines of various sizes and denominations for hurling masses of rock, beams of timber, stones, and darts, composed the ordinary artillery both of the assailants and besieged; and

the most effectual means of defence were afforded by the use of the Greek fire in destroying the hostile machines.*

The mechanical operations of the Crusaders were for a while arrested by the gallant efforts of the Sultan of Roum, who, descending from the mountains which overhang the plain of Nice with a swarm of fifty thousand horse, endeavoured by a sudden and impetuous attack, with the assistance of the garrison, to overpower the Eastern camp of the Christians. But his hope of surprising their quarters was frustrated by the capture of the messengers who were intrusted to convey his purpose to the City; he every where encountered a determined resistance and a bloody repulse; and his first experience of the valour of the Western Christians compelled him to abandon Nice to its fate. The defence of the City was not the less resolutely maintained; and the attempts of the besiegers to breach the walls were repeatedly foiled, their projectile engines disabled, and their towers and galleries crushed by fragments of rock, or burned by the Greek fire. Some weeks had already been consumed in fruitless labour and slaughter, when the position of the City on the lake Ascanius suggested to the besiegers a more successful expedient. At their desire, Alexius caused a number of small vessels to be prepared in his arsenals, transported over land, and launched upon the lake. This flotilla, manned by seamen and archers in the Imperial pay, ensured the command of the lake, alarmed the City on that side with desultory attacks, and intercepting all its communication by water with the exterior country, completed the investment of the place.†

Meanwhile the besiegers continued their works with renewed spirit. The veteran Count of Thoulouse, whose approaches had been conducted with most skill and pertinacity, at length succeeded, by the science of a Lombard engineer, in attaching with safety a *chat-chatil*, or castellated gallery, to one of the towers of the City, which had been injured in a former siege and was bent forward from its base. The inners of the besiegers propped the superincumbent mass with strong timbers while they loosened the foundations; and the supports being then fired, the whole fell with a tremendous crash, and left a yawning breach. But instead of seizing the first moment of consternation by which the garrison were paralyzed, the Provençals imprudently delayed the assault until the following morning; and an artful Greek contrived in the interval to rob them of the fruits of success. The wife and sister of the Sultan, whom he had left in the City until this moment, endeavoured on the first alarm to escape over the lake; they were captured by the Imperial flotilla; and Botonite its commander immediately offered, not only their honourable release, but protection to the people of Nice against the fury of the Latins, if the City were surrendered to his master. The now despairing inhabitants accepted his terms; the troops of the flotilla disembarking were admitted into the City; and when the Crusaders with returning day were prepared to mount the breach of the fallen tower, the first spectacle which they beheld was the Imperial banner floating on the walls. In their wounded pride and disappointed cupidity at being thus cheated of the honour and spoils of victory, the first

* Robert. Mon. p. 39, 40. Albert. Aquevis, p. 204, 205. Willelmus Tyr. p. 666. Anna Comnena, p. 247.

† Du Cange, v. *Belfredus*.
‡ Idem, v. *Cutus*, *Fuipra*, &c.

* Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi*, Diss. xvi.

† Albert. p. 205, 206. Willelmus Tyr. p. 667. Anna Comnena, p. 245.

History. peeted discovery of these qualities in an Asiatic Nation is evinced in the assertion, that they alone of all Eastern people were worthy of contending in arms with the Christian Chivalry, and of sharing with the warriors of the West a common superiority in martial virtues over the despotic Greeks. The conduct of the Sultan of Roum after the battle of Dorylaeum afforded a more unequivocal testimony of the respect and fear with which the prowess of the Crusaders had impressed the Infidels themselves. Abandoning all further hope of successful resistance to the conquerors, Solyman hastily evacuated his Kingdom with the wreck of his army, every where ravaging the land in his flight; and the Crusaders were left without opposition to continue their advance through a desolated and deserted Country. Their march over the wasted plains of Asia Minor skirted the base of the great mountain range which stretches across that celebrated region from the sea of Marmora to the Syrian Gates; and their route may be traced on the modern map by the Cities of Kara Hissar, Aksheer, Konieh, and Erckli.

The horrors which attended the passage of so unwieldy a host, undisciplined and unprovided by any of the arrangements which are familiar to the military science and economy of our own times, admit but of imperfect description, and may only faintly be imagined. The towns had been swept both of their inhabitants and stores, the cultivated districts converted into a scathed and hungry solitude; and the more natural Deserts which frequently intervened were parched with sand and destitute of water. Of the poorer and worse provided among the Crusaders, hundreds died on every day's march, of want and fatigue, of raging thirst or its fatal gratification: war-horses, baggage-animals, and hounds and hawks—the indispensable incumbrances of a Chivalric camp—perished alike from the scarcity of water; and of the splendid cavalry of the Princes, Nobles, and their followers, which on the field of Nice had mustered one hundred thousand lances, nearly thirty thousand were dismounted before their arrival under the walls of Antioch. In a word, so completely exhausted and disorganized was the whole host before its approach to the Syrian frontiers that, in the tremendous pass of Mount Taurus, even a small band of resolute men might have successfully maintained the steep and narrow defile against the armed but feeble multitudes who, staggering under the oppression of toil, heat, and intolerable thirst, slowly wound in a lengthened and disorderly train through the mountain chain which here bars the Southern route. But the panic-stricken Turks, in the precipitation of their flight, neglected the opportunity of defence; the Crusading host was suffered, unassailed, to complete the most toilsome and dangerous portion of their march; and every natural obstacle of the Country and the climate being gradually surmounted, their straggling divisions were safely reunited in the same encampment on the Syrian soil.*

While the main army of the Crusaders prepared to penetrate through the Tauridian pass, two bodies of their cavalry had been separately detached in advance under Tancred and Baldwin, the brother of Duke Godfrey, to explore the neighbouring regions, and make a diversion against the Turkish power. After both had wandered in some uncertainty among the mountains, the

division of Tancred first succeeded in effecting a passage, and continued its Southern descent into the coasts of Cilicia. The young Chieftain had already arrived before Tarsus, and granted a capitulation to the Turkish garrison, when the troops of Baldwin, who had reached the same vicinity by another route, unexpectedly made their appearance; and the jealous artifice of their leader succeeded, by opening an intrigue with the Infidel and Christian inhabitants, in obtaining possession of the City. The generous Italian, repressing his indignation, abandoned the place to his rival; and turning Eastward, pursued a new course of enterprise with so much rapidity, that several important towns submitted to his arms. But his forbearing temper was outraged beyond endurance when he learned that, after his departure from Tarsus, the selfish refusal of Baldwin to receive a party of his followers within the protection of the walls, had exposed them to be massacred by the retreating Infidels; and the Rhensish Chieftain, leaving a garrison in Tarsus, no sooner came up with his division, than Tancred, yielding to the natural impulse of resentment which he shared with his enraged soldiers, led them to a furious assault upon the forces of their treacherous confederate. After a bloody encounter, the Italians were repulsed by superiority of numbers; but feelings of mutual compunction at so irreligious a feud between brethren of the Cross having succeeded to their first emotions of anger, an accommodation was effected; and the two detachments together rejoined the grand army just before it reached the Syrian frontier.*

This quarrel of Baldwin and Tancred had one important consequence. The guilt of the original aggression lay so clearly with the former that, when the circumstances of his conduct became known in the Crusading camp, he justly incurred the execrations of the whole host; and respect for the virtues of his brother Godfrey alone saved him from condign punishment. A consciousness of the aversion in which he was held by his confederates, did not tend to lessen his selfish disregard for the general interests of the Crusade; and he gladly availed himself of the first advantageous opening to separate from the main army, and pursue an independent career of ambition. He learned that the Christian Cities of Armenia and Mesopotamia endured with impatience the Musulman yoke; and that the Turkish garrisons were few and feeble; and that the inhabitants were ripe for revolt against their oppression. At the instance of a fugitive Armenian Noble, and at the head of only two hundred of his own lances, and a more considerable body of infantry, he quitted the Crusading camp; boldly directed his march Eastward; and victoriously overran the whole country as far as the Euphrates. Encouraged by the sight of the banners of the Cross, the Christian population everywhere rose in arms; opened the gates of their Cities on his approach; and assisted him in expelling the common Infidel enemy. After a slight and ineffectual opposition, the Turkish Emirs either fled or submitted to his arms; the fame of his successful exploits soon spread beyond the Euphrates; and the people of Edessa, the most considerable City of Mesopotamia, who though still governed by a native Prince had long groaned under the exactions of Turkish tribute, obliged their aged Duke to implore his aid in delivering them from subjection to the Infidels. Baldwin

The First Crusade.

From A. D. 1095. to A. D. 1099

Conquests of Baldwin, brother of Godfrey.

* Albert. p. 215. Guibert, p. 495. Fulcher. Caroot. p. 389. Baldricus Arch. p. 99. Willermus Tyr. p. 675.

* Albert. Apensia, p. 214—219. Radulphus Cadomensis, p. 297—301. Willermus Tyr. p. 677—689.

History.

From
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.

FOUND-
ATION
OF THE LATIN
PRINCIPALITY
OF
EDESSA.

Continued
advance of
the main
Crusading
host.

eagerly accepted the invitation; he was received with enthusiasm by the Edessenes; and though his disposable Latin forces were now reduced to eighty horse and a small band of foot, he was so vigorously aided by these new allies, that he found no difficulty in establishing the independence of their State. The means by which he next possessed himself of its Government are variously related: but under their most favourable construction, the event may justify the darkest suspicions of his guilty ambition. Excited by the dread that their deliverer would forsake them, the people of Edessa first compelled their Duke to adopt* him as his son and successor; and the old Prince was then murdered in a popular insurrection. If Baldwin was really innocent of his death, he profited not the less by the catastrophe. He received the Ducal Crown on the following day; and thus became the founder of the first Latin Principality in the East. Under his able and vigorous Government, his new subjects soon discovered that they had chosen a severe and absolute master, as well as a formidable champion: but he at least completed their emancipation from the hated tyranny of the Infidels; extended the limits of their State by his conquests from the Turks of the intermediate territory between their City and Antioch; and rendered the PRINCIPALITY OF EDESSA, by its position beyond the Euphrates, for above fifty years one of the most important outworks of the Christian power in the East.†

While Baldwin was engaged in establishing his power on the banks of the Euphrates, the main host of the Crusaders had advanced to Antioch, and undertaken the siege of that ancient Capital of Syria. The City, which still presented the appearance of pristine grandeur, and contained a numerous Christian population, was possessed by Baghasian, a Prince of Seljukian lineage; whose power was maintained by a Turkish garrison of about ten thousand horse and twice as many infantry; and whose courage and energy were worthy of his station. After some brave but ineffectual efforts to impede the approach of the invaders, he retired within the walls; and the iron gates of the bridge over the Orontes, which commanded the access to the City from the North, having been forced by the advanced guard of the Crusaders under the Duke of Normandy, their whole host passed the river and overspread the adjacent plain. At this epoch, Antioch, occupying an irregular site of precipice and valley, was embraced, within a circumference of about four miles, by a strong wall, which, wherever the natural obstacles of the ground did not afford a sufficient defence, rose to the height of sixty feet. Part of the circuit was covered by the river and a morass which received the torrents from the neighbouring hills; and the remainder by a deep and wide ditch. The formidable aspect of these works at first dispirited the leaders of the Crusade; the lateness of the season—for the Summer and Autumn had been already consumed

in the passage of Asia Minor—was unfavourable for the commencement of an arduous siege; and a proposal to defer the enterprise until the return of Spring was only rejected in their Council through the energetic remonstrances of the Count of Thoulouse against the dangers of delay and inaction.*

As soon as the exhortations of that Prince renovated the ardour of his confederates, the City was invested and operations against it were commenced: but, of the five gates in its circumference, three only were blockaded; and by some unexplained negligence or necessity, the communication of the garrison with the exterior country through the other two was left open. From these the resolute and active Baghasian harassed the rear of the besiegers with perpetual sallies, frequently cut off their supplies, and burned the materials which were with difficulty collected for their operations. The want of all warlike stores for the siege, the consequent tardiness of the approaches, and the unskillful attempts to which the Crusaders were reduced, all betray the extent of their obligations at the preceding siege of Nice to the aid of Alexius and his Greek engines and artificers. The few battering and projectile machines were now used without effect; and the single movable tower, which they were enabled to construct with assistance from some Italian vessels lately arrived on the coast, was no sooner advanced to the walls, than the Turks, suddenly issuing from one of the uninvested gates, set it on fire, and reduced it to ashes. While this and other partial successes raised the courage of the garrison, and their intercourse with the country secured the constant renewal of their supplies, the besiegers themselves were beginning to suffer the most grievous distresses from want and disease. At first they had found abundant food in the fertile district which was commanded by their camp; and their whole host had ranted in plenty: but the improvident waste and wanton destruction both of provisions and forage speedily exhausted the means of support in the vicinity; and when the approach of Winter increased the difficulty and expense of transporting distant supplies, the more indigent of the Crusading multitude fell a prey to all the horrors of famine. Even the rich were glad to purchase the most disgusting fare at exorbitant prices; and their horses were either starved or killed for food in so great numbers, that of the seventy thousand cavalry with which they commenced the siege, before its third month was completed not more than two thousand remained. The ravages of hunger were, as usual, followed by those of pestilence. The plain of Antioch was deluged with the wintry rains, and the putrifying effect of moisture in an Asiatic climate upon the filthy condition of the Christian camp, produced a contagious disease, which swept off thousands of its squalid population.†

From this scene of accumulated misery, numbers of warriors of inferior rank fled to the establishments of Baldwin in Mesopotamia, and to the delivered Christian towns in Cilicia: but the shame of their desertion was exceeded by that of some of the leaders themselves. The Duke of Normandy having withdrawn to the coast, re-

* For the particulars of the singular ceremony by which this adoption was declared, we are indebted to the lively narrative of Guibert. In full assembly of the people, Baldwin was first made to enter in a state of nudity under the same shirt with his new father, who then folded him to his breast and gave him the filial kiss. He was next obliged to submit to precisely the same forms of adoption by the wife of the Duke of Edessa. Guibert, p. 496. It is supposed that the Emperor Alexius, in honouring the homage of Godfrey with the filial relation, had also received him between the shirt and the skin. But see Du Cange, *Hist. nor. Joazeffii*, xxii.

† Fulcherius Carnotensis, p. 389, 390. Albert, Aquisensis, p. 220—222. Guibert, p. 496, 497. Willermus Tyr. p. 682, 683.

* Albert, p. 225, 226. Radulph, Cœd. p. 303. Raymond des Agiles, p. 142. Baldric, Arch. p. 101. Guibert, p. 498. Willermus Tyr. p. 684—689.

† Robertus Monachus, p. 45, 46. Albert, p. 227—232. Radulph, Cœd. p. 304, 305. Raymond des Agiles, p. 143—145. Baldric, Arch. p. 101. Fulcher, Carnot. p. 390. Guibert, p. 499, 500. Willermus Tyr. p. 690—693.

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A. J.
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history.

Form of
proposals
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Desertion
of inferior
rank.

History.
From
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1093,
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quired several citations and a threat of excommunication to induce his return; and the Count of Chartres at a later period, under the excuse of illness, confirmed the suspicion of his cowardice by retiring from the camp with his division to Alexandretta. But the sacred cause was still more deeply disgraced by the flight of the valiant Viscount of Melun,* together with the great fanatic Peter the Hermit, who, after exciting the warriors of Europe to devote themselves to the imaginary service of Heaven, was foremost in attempting to abscond from the privations of the enterprise. The dangerous effect of this example was prevented by the activity of Tancred, who intercepted the escape both of the Hermit and his companion, and their desertion was only pardoned in the Council of the indignant Princes upon their swearing never to abandon the holy expedition. The retreat of Tatcius, the Imperial Lieutenant, with the small body of Greek auxiliaries which he commanded, was permitted with mingled emotions of hope and contempt. He could scarcely obtain full credit for the assertion that his motive was to impress Alexius, by his personal influence, with the necessity of forwarding immediate supplies of provisions for the Syrian war; though he offered the pledge of his oath that he would himself return with the convoys: but if the Princes were not deluded by this shallow pretext, they prudently dissembled their suspicions and dismissed him in peace.†

Renewal of
the Siege.
A. D.
1098.

With the return of Spring the sufferings of the Crusaders were in some degree mitigated by the arrival on the coast of supplies from Europe: but the activity of the Turks in harassing their convoys was undiminished; and the continued freedom of intercourse between the garrison of Antioch and their Syrian confederates, perpetually exposed the besiegers to desultory attacks in front and rear. On one occasion, early in February, an army of twenty thousand men, under the three Emirs of Aleppo, Cæsarea, and Emis, was intercepted in an attempt to enter the City, and defeated with signal slaughter by Count Raymond and Boemond. But, in the following month, the same Crusading leaders, while escorting a supply of provisions and military stores from the coast, were suddenly assailed and routed by an ambuscade of the Infidels. Godfrey, who had lately risen from a sick couch, was compelled to fly to their succour with the remains of the Latin Chivalry; and the ever-enterprising Baghasian, seizing the occasion of this absence of the best troops of the Crusaders from the beleaguering, made an impetuous sally from the walls and forced the Christian lines. The bravery and conduct of the Duke of Brabant were never more vigorously displayed than on this occasion. He retraced his march to the camp with so great celerity, and posted his forces with so much ability, as to intercept the retreat of Baghasian; and a furious conflict ensued under the walls of Antioch.

feat of
Turks.

* This Worthy was surnamed the Carpenter: not because he followed that mechanical occupation; but, as the Chroniclers are careful to tell us, by reason of the weighty strokes with which his battle-axe hammered the heads of his antagonists. Robert, p. 47. Guibert, p. 501.

† Robert, p. 47, 48. Raymond, p. 146. Balric, p. 103. Guibert, p. 501, 502. Willermus Tyr. p. 694. Anna Comæna, p. 252. The Grecian Princes, indeed, refers the flight of Tatcius to the arts of Boemond, who fearing interruption on the part of the Imperial Lieutenant in his scheme for acquiring the Sovereignty of Antioch, terrified him into a belief that the Latin Princes designed to massacre him and his troops on some suspicion that Alexius had betrayed them to the Turks. But all the Latin Writers agree in giving the account copied in the text.

The Infidels fought with desperation, but their courage was unequally opposed to the heroic spirit and sinewy force of the Christian Knighthood, animated by the individual prowess of its leaders: among whom the two Dukes, Godfrey, and Robert of Normandy, and the gallant Tancred, are recorded to have performed the most incredible feats of corporeal strength and valour.* Of the infidels, a son of Baghasian, many other Emirs, and two thousand warriors of inferior degree, fell in this sanguinary flight; of the Christians, not more than half that number were slain; and encouraged by their victory, they formed and successfully accomplished the design of barring the egress of the garrison from the two gates which had hitherto been left unblockaded, by the construction of a fortified mound or intrenchment opposite to each. Tancred and the Count of Thoulouse severally undertook the honourable duty of guarding the new posts; the garrison of Antioch was thenceforth effectually confined within the walls; the supplies of provisions which their brethren had hitherto introduced by these gates were cut off and diverted to the refreshment of the Latins; and the whole surrounding Country being now in unmoleted possession of the besiegers, abundance again reigned in their camp †

The First
Crusade.
From
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Still, little or no impression had been made upon the Project of Boemond! defences of the City; seven months had already been ineffectually consumed in the siege; and the Council of Princes was disturbed by intelligence that the Sultan of Persia was collecting a large army for the relief of the garrison. At this dangerous crisis, the alliance of an apostate and a traitor served the cause of the Crusaders more beneficially than their arms. Among the Christian population of Antioch, was a man of noble birth, but unprincipled and sordid character, named Phirouz, who, abjuring his Religion, had been received into the Turkish ranks, and intrusted with the command of three towers. Stimulated by avarice or disaffection from the service which he had embraced, he opened a secret correspondence with Boemond; and consented, on the promise of a large reward, to betray his post to the besiegers. The Norman made the use of

* Thus, we are gravely informed how Godfrey, with a single blow of his falchion, cleave a Turk in twain from shoulder to hip. The upper half of the miscreant fell into the Orontes; the legs kept their seat, and were borne by their good steed into the city. Nor was this the only feat of the hero. At one stroke of his sword, he slit an infidel down from the top of the head to the saddle, and even cut through both that and the back-bone of the horse. Again, after the capture of Jerusalem, he satisfied the incredulity of a noble Saracen, who had heard of his prowess, by sweeping off the head of a camel with his sword in a trice. The unbeliever still ascribing more virtue to the temper of the blade than to the strength of the arm which wielded it, Godfrey, to convince him, borrowed his own weapon, and with that in like manner decapitated a second camel. These stories are not related by some one obscure fabler only, but are avouched, the first two with minute particularity, by the Monk Robert, (p. 50.) and by Ralph of Caen; (p. 401.) and all confirmed by so dignified an authority as the Archbishop of Tyre. (p. 701, 770.) And Malinaluy, who made a careful collection of the feats of Godfrey, adds to the number, (p. 418.) the slaying of a lion in single combat near Antioch. The Chroniclers are eager in ascribing to Godfrey as great a superiority in bodily strength as in intellectual virtues over the other Chiefs of the war. But of some of these leaders, exploits scarcely less astounding are recorded. The Duke of Normandy, for instance, cut through the head and shoulders of a Turk at a blow; and Ralph of Caen was prevented from detailing the stupendous deeds of Tancred only by the silence which the modesty of that hero had imposed on his Esquire.

† Robert, p. 49—51. Raymond, p. 147. Balric, 104—107. Albert, p. 237—243. Guibert, p. 503—506. Willermus Tyr. p. 693—703.

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this opening, which was to be expected from his selfish and intriguing spirit: he declared to the Council of his compeers his possession of a plan for the surprise of the place; but, before he would reveal its nature, claimed the Principality of Antioch for himself as the just recompense of his successful merit. The ungenerous preference of his own interest to the common cause of the Crusade, which was apparent through this reservation, disgusted those among his confederates who were actuated by loftier motives of conduct;* but it especially excited less dignified and splanetic feelings in the breast of the Count of Thoulouse, who entertained views similar to his own, and regarded his pretensions with the hatred of a rival. His stipulation was, therefore, at first indignantly rejected; but the increasing urgency of the danger with which the army was menaced by the approach of the Turkish succours, and the necessity of either acquiring possession of the City, or of suspending the siege before their arrival, prevailed over the reluctance of the Council to comply with the extortionate demand. The Count of Thoulouse was compelled by his brother Chieftains to stifle his jealousy and abandon his opposition; and Boemond received the solemn pledge of all the Princes that, if Antioch were gained by his means, he should be invested with its sovereignty.†

Surprise
and capture
of Antioch.

Upon this promise, the crafty Norman disclosed his project, and prepared its accomplishment. In the dead of night, he led his own troops to the base of the towers, where Phirouz held his watch; by the traitor and some associates of his plot, rope-ladders were lowered; and the future Prince of Antioch, to encourage his wavering followers, was himself the first man who ascended the walls. The escalade was effected in safety; the Turkish guards of several neighbouring towers were slain before they could give the alarm; and the gates of the City were opened to the whole Crusading host. A horrid and indiscriminate slaughter of the Infidel garrison and the Christian inhabitants ensued; until the Crusaders had exhausted the first burst of savage fury, roused by the remembrance of their own sufferings in the siege, and the obstinacy of the lengthened defence. The remains of the Christian population were then protected from further outrage; but the massacre of the Turks was still pursued with relentless vengeance; and the fugitives who escaped beyond the walls were immediately intercepted and slaughtered by the Latin detach-

ments and Syrian Christians who held the surrounding plains. Such was the fate of the gallant veteran Baghasion himself: but numbers of the garrison effected their retreat into the citadel; and closing its gates before the victors bethought themselves of completing their success, the refugees there desperately maintained a protracted resistance.‡

The divided state of the Mohammedan world had hitherto favoured the progress of the Crusade. The dismemberment of the dominions of Malek Shah had fatally weakened the general power of the Turkish Empire. The Monarchs of Persia remained the nominal Chiefs of the Seljinkian race; but the Sultan of Roum had been unassisted in his struggle to arrest the invasion of the Latins by any succour from that kindred Dynasty; the numerous Emirs of Syria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia were disunited among themselves, and agreed only in the effort to throw off their dependence on the Court of Isphahan; and the Fatimite or Ommidan Princes of Egypt were the natural enemies of the whole Turkish nation, as the disciples, protectors, and tyrants of their fallen rivals, the Abbasidian Khalifs of Bagdad. Before the arrival of the Crusaders in Asia, the Khalif of Egypt, availing himself of the distractions of the Seljinkian Empire to recover the ancient possessions of his House, had already despatched an army into Palestine, and succeeded in wresting Jerusalem itself and other places from their Turkish conquerors. When, therefore, the strange rumour reached Cairo, of the Christian invasion of Asia, the overthrow of the Sultan of Roum, and the advance of the Crusading myriads into Syria, the Khalif endeavoured, by sending an embassy to their camp before Antioch, to discover their further designs, to ascertain their force, and perhaps to cultivate their alliance against a common enemy. It is not improbable that the news of their previous successes, as tending to precipitate the fall of the Turkish power, was grateful to the Egyptian Prince; and he is said, by one authority, to have encouraged their prosecution of the siege of Antioch, and even to have offered his cooperation. His envoys also expressed his readiness to admit the Christian pilgrims to worship in peace at Jerusalem: but this proposal was haughtily rejected by the leaders of the Crusade, who replied that the Holy Sepulchre was the lawful heritage of Christendom alone, and declared their resolution, by the Divine aid, to recover and preserve it from further profanation by the hands of whatever race. So bold and unreserved an avowal of their hostile purpose was not calculated to secure the friendship, or to allay the jealousy of the Khalif. The negotiations which he had opened were not indeed broken off, and he accepted an embassy from the Crusaders; but his conduct in the vicissitudes of the siege alternately betrayed his enmity and his fears. When he heard of the destruction with which the besiegers were threatened by famine and pestilence, he imprisoned their envoys; when their Princes despatched the heads of the slaughtered Turkish Emirs to Cairo as the trophies of victory, he released the Ambassadors, and loaded them with presents for the principal leaders of the Crusade.§

The report of the danger of Antioch was received with

* Even the good Godfrey himself, usually so ready to sacrifice his own interests and feelings to the advancement of the sacred cause, could not escape a collision with the selfish meanness of Boemond; nor was his own magnanimity always proof against the sense of a petty injury. This is amusingly shown in a story related by Albert of Aix. (p. 242.) A superb Turkish pavilion, which the Prince of Edessa had captured and sent as a present to his brother Godfrey, was intercepted by an Armenian Chieftain, and despatched as his own gift to Boemond. Godfrey, accompanied by his friend, the Count of Flanders, paid an angry visit to the quarters of Boemond to demand the restitution of the tent. The covetous Norman refused compliance; and Godfrey complained to the Council of Princes. Boemond was at last compelled to deliver up the disputed property: but not before, as Mr. Mills has publicly observed, (*Hist. of the Crusades*, vol. I. p. 129) a "piece of silk excited the passions of thousands of men who had despised all worldly regards, and had left Europe in order to die in Asia." The whole scene may recall to the reader's mind some of the squabbles of the Homeric heroes; but the impatience of Godfrey in endangering the harmony of the camp for so frivolous a cause, is at variance with the dignified forbearance of his general conduct.

† Robert, p. 54. Albert, p. 241. Radulph, p. 303. 309. Baldric, p. 108, 109. Guibert, p. 503, 510. Willermus Tyr. p. 704-707.

§ Robert, p. 55. Albert, p. 245-247. Radulph, p. 305, 309. Baldric, 109-112. Guibert, p. 511. Willermus Tyr. p. 709-712.

† The *Guignee*, vol. i. p. 249.

‡ Robert, p. 49-52. Albert, p. 236, 237. Kayumard, p. 146. Willermus Tyr. p. 696.

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History. other emotions by the Sultan of Persia; and the alarming progress of the Christian arms had the effect of exciting the Turkish States into a transient union against the invaders. From the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, twenty-eight powerful Emirs with their swarms of cavalry obeyed the summons of the Sultan to range themselves under the standard of their Prophet, and to avenge the cause of their Faith and Nation. The supreme command was assigned to Kerboga, Prince of Mosul on the Tigris, as the Lieutenant of the Persian Monarch; he was joined by Kilidge Arslan, the Sultan of Roum, with the remains of his forces; and the whole host, which some of the Latin writers are contented to describe as innumerable,* is estimated by others at two, three, or even four hundred thousand cavalry.† The first operations of this overwhelming multitude were directed against the new Christian Principality beyond the Euphrates: but the undaunted heroism with which Baldwin defended his Capital, delayed their advance until the fall of Antioch; and the startling intelligence of that disastrous event roused Kerboga to break up from the unsuccessful siege of Edessa and hasten his march to the relief of the Syrian citadel.‡

On the approach of his host towards Antioch, the leaders of the Crusade withdrew their diminished forces within the defences of the City: and the Turkish cavalry, filling all the surrounding plains, reinforced the garrison of the citadel, enclosed the Latins in their position, and cut off all their communications with the sea-coast, and exterior country. By these measures, the Crusaders, now besieged in their turn, were immediately subjected to a second and far more grievous famine than that which they had endured in the preceding Winter. A repetition of the same narrative of distress, with many aggravated horrors, would be equally revolting and profane; and the reader will gladly be spared the shocking and loathsome details of misery which reduced a famishing host to satiate the cravings of hunger with leaves and weeds, with the hides of animals, and the old leather of belts and harness, to devour greedily the vilest offal of slaughter-houses and sewers, and even to prey upon human flesh. For five and twenty days, the ravening and perishing multitudes suffered every frightful extremity of want which Language may paint, or imagination conceive; the princely, the noble, and the fair, were exposed to privations only less horrid in their intensity than those of the inferior herd of soldiery and camp followers; and the whole host was stricken with one universal sentiment of weakness and despondency. Desertions again became numerous; and the fugitives, who, letting themselves down by ropes at night from the walls, were fortunate enough to escape the scimitars of the Turks, spread their dismal tale of the impending ruin of the Crusading cause throughout the few Christian establishments on the sea-coasts and in the interior, in which they could find refuge. Among these apostates to their vows were many persons of distinction, including that Lord of Melun, William the Carpenter, who had lately so publicly renewed his devotional oaths; and the numerous companions of his shame are consigned to indignant oblivion by one Historian, only under

the conviction that their unworthy names were eternally blotted from the Book of Life.*

The conduct of the fugitives was indeed calculated to extinguish the faint gleam of hope which the Crusaders might have felt in the knowledge, that the Byzantine Emperor was now on his march with a large army through Asia Minor to support their operations, and claim the paramount sovereignty of their conquests. The pusillanimous Count of Chartres, who had hitherto lingered at Alexandretta, was so terrified by the wretched aspect and more deplorable report of the deserters who had reached his quarters, that he immediately continued his retreat; and meeting Alexius in Phrygia, communicated the panic to that Monarch. Though the Emperor had been joined, in addition to his own forces, by numerous squadrons of fresh Crusaders from Europe who were still eager to advance to the relief of their confederates at Antioch, the suggestions of his selfish policy, or the baser influence of fear, made him resolve not to risk his resources or the safety of his person for the deliverance of his Latin allies; and abandoning them to their fate, in despite of the remonstrances and reproaches of their Countrymen in his camp, he enforced a general retreat upon Constantinople.‡ The evil tidings of his retrograde movement were not slow in reaching the Crusaders at Antioch: and the first burst of fury at his treacherous or cowardly desertion of his engagements was succeeded by a general apathy of hopeless resignation or sullen despair. Neither the dread of the enemy, nor the threat of punishment, could rouse the soldiery to the requisite exertions for the common defence; they shut themselves up in gloomy expectation of death; and in one quarter of Antioch it was necessary to fire the houses over their heads before they could be driven out to man the ramparts.‡

Amidst this prostration of mental and corporeal energies, which levelled the proud distinctions of spirit between the gallant Chivalry and the meaner multitude of the Crusading host; the names of five only of the leaders of the war deserved the honourable record of its Chroniclers, by their unshaken constancy and courage: Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Thoulouse, the Papal Legate Adhemar of Puy, Boemond, and Tancred. The fortitude of Godfrey was sustained by the purest strength of a Religious mind; that of the Count and the Bishop might be inspired by the fiercer confidence of fanatical zeal; the vaulting ambition and cupidity of Boemond were unextinguishable save with life; and in the generous soul of Tancred, the love of glory still shone through the darkest adversity with a steady and unflinching light. But the example, the exhortations, and the valorous resolves of these master spirits of their cause, would have proved alike ineffectual to reanimate the hopes and efforts of their desponding confederates and followers, if they had not invoked the all-powerful aid of superstition. When every prospect of earthly succour aided by heroic constancy of some of their leaders, had vanished, it required the belief of a special interposition of Heaven in their behalf to rekindle the expiring fanaticism of the multitude; and the character of the Count of Thoulouse, as well as his share in promoting the popular delusion, may indifferently justify the pre-

The First Crusade.

From A. D. 1095, to A. D. 1099.

The Greek Emperor abandons their relief.

Their consequent despair.

Heroic constancy of some of their leaders.

aided by superstition.

* Robert, p. 56. Fulcher, p. 392. Guibert, p. 512. Willermus Tyr. p. 714.

† Albert, p. 242. and Radulphus, p. 319. give the lowest and highest estimate in the text.

‡ Albert, p. 243. Baldric, p. 112. Guibert, p. 502. VOL. XI.

* Robert, p. 57—59. Albert, p. 248—251. Raymond, p. 163. Baldric, p. 113—117. Guibert, p. 512—517. Willermus Tyr. p. 714—717.

† Robert, p. 60. Albert, p. 253. Baldric, p. 119. Anna Comnena, p. 255—257. Willermus Tyr. p. 716—720.

‡ Albert, p. 253. Guibert, p. 517. Willermus Tyr. p. 720. 41

History. assumption that he was the original mover, or the willing dupe of a pretended revelation.

From In the Provencal division of the Crusaders, was a
A. D. Priest of Marseilles, Peter Barthelemy by name, who
1095. presenting himself before the Council of Princes, declared how St. Andrew had shown him in a vision, that the steel head of the very Lance which had pierced the side of the Crucified Redeemer, might be found buried beneath the High Altar in the Church of St. Peter at Antioch; that the Count of Thoulouse was appointed to bear the sacred weapon against the Infidel enemy; and that its mystic presence in the battle should penetrate the hearts of the Unbelievers, and ensure a complete victory to the People of God. The minds of the Crusaders had been prepared for the reception of this tale, and perhaps the expedient itself had been suggested, by rumours of several previous apparitions of the Saints both to clerical and lay individuals in the army, all leading to the expectation that some visible act of Almighty favour for their deliverance was at hand. If the Count of Thoulouse was not privy to the original imposture, he at least eagerly lent his countenance to its success; the policy or conviction of the other Chiefs gladly accepted the tale; and Raymond himself, with his chaplain and ten select companions, were appointed to search for the sacred relic. Two days of solemn preparation were spent by the whole army in Religious exercises: and early on the third the Princes, attended by the Clergy and lay multitude, went in procession to the Church of St. Peter. The doors were closed against the impatient crowd; and relays of workmen dug until nightfall to the depth of twelve feet under the High Altar, without discovering the promised instrument of victory. But as soon as the increasing darkness favoured the deception, Peter Barthelemy himself descended into the pit, and, after a plausible delay, exclaimed that he had found the precious object of their search. The steel head of a Lance was then brought up from the excavation, and reverently displayed in a web of cloth of gold to the enraptured gaze of the multitude. All previous incredulity was drowned in a general burst of superstitious enthusiasm; and the devout and firm assurance of approaching victory succeeded with wonderful rapidity to the abject despair with which the starving host had previously been overwhelmed.*

Its success. The first measure, by which the leaders of the Crusade showed the sincerity of their renovated hopes, affords a curious picture of fanatical confidence. It was charitably resolved to offer the Infidels one opportunity of escape from the destruction to which they were otherwise doomed, in the alternative of withdrawing altogether from the sacred land of Syria, or declaring their conversion to the Christian Faith. The Ambassador selected to convey these proposals to the camp of Kerboga was Peter the Hermit; and the astonishment, rage, and contempt, which their nature provoked, were if possible increased by the arrogant deportment and language of the fanatic. The ebullition of furious indignation which prompted the reply of the Emir will excite less of our surprise, than the forbearance which enabled a Turkish Barbarian to respect the character of an Ambassador, and to dismiss in safety the bearer of a message so insulting to his pride and Faith. The de-

Renovated spirit of the Crusaders.

stance of the Christians was hurled back upon them; and the Hermit was fiercely admonished that there remained for them the choice only between submission to the Law of Mohammed, or servitude and death.*

On this reply, the Crusaders entertained no further doubt that the vengeance of Heaven had delivered the whole obstinate host of the Infidels into their hands. But the Latin Chieftains, with that admixture of politic wisdom which generally tempered their fanaticism, spared no exertion to excite the Religious ardour, and refresh the physical strength of their followers for the approaching combat. The horses of their cavalry, now reduced from seventy thousand to no more than two hundred in number, were carefully fed on the last remains of their provender; the leaders and soldiery freely shared with each other their last meal; their rusted arms were whetted anew with grim desperation, and the whole army betook themselves to prayer, made confession of their sins, and received the absolution of the Sacrament. Thus nerved in body and mind the host was arrayed, in honour of the Apostolic number, twelve divisions; the dawn of the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul was chosen for the reopening of the gates of Antioch; and preceded by a body of the Clergy chanting a Psalm, the army issued from the city and formed in order of battle on the plain. It is singular that the Count of Thoulouse, the destined bearer of the Holy Lance, was left within the walls with a detachment of his Provencals to watch the citadel: but his place was supplied by the martial Legate who, in complete armour, bore aloft the sacred weapon at the head of one division, and accompanied its display to the eyes of the whole host with the thrilling exhortation to fight that day as became the chosen champions of Heaven. Of the other eleven divisions one, the vanguard, was led by the Count of Vermandois, as bearer of the Papal standard; one respectively by Godfrey, the two Roberts, Tancred and other Chieftains of renown; and the reserve was intrusted to Boemond.

The distress and consequent weakness of the Christians had been so well known in the Turkish camp, that Kerboga, notwithstanding their late haughty embassy, was lulled into a delusive security that their necessities must compel them to a speedy submission; and he was so little prepared for their assault, that the foremost corps of his army was cut to pieces before the main body could hasten to support it. But as soon as the Turks recovered from their consternation, they fell impetuously upon the advancing line of the Christians; and the brave Sultan of Nice wheeling round his flank, gained the rear of the reserve under Boemond, and began to inflict a bloody vengeance for the rout of Doryleum. Thus enveloped in a cloud of Tartar cavalry, the extrication of the Crusading army from imminent peril is as usual marvellously referred to personal prowess of its Chiefs; and eulogies of their valour supply the place of more intelligible details. In the confused pictures of the Chroniclers, and perhaps in the disorderly tactics of the Age, it is a hopeless attempt to follow the fluctuating tide of battle, or discern the real causes of victory. Yet, with every allowance for stupendous deeds of heroism in the Europeans, and enormous exaggeration in the reported numbers of the Asiatics, for the desperation of one army and the surprise of the other, the astonishing issue of the struggle

* Robert. p. 60—62. Albert. p. 253, 254. Raymond, p. 150, 151. Radulphus, p. 316, 317. Baldric. p. 119. Fulcher. p. 291—293. Guibert, p. 517—520. Willermus Tyr. p. 721.

* Robert. p. 62. Guibert, p. 520. Willermus Tyr. p. 722.

History. can only be explained by the supposition of some gross misconduct or fatal dissension among the Moslem leaders. If we are to believe the narrative of their own Chroniclers, two hundred Latin horsemen, supported by the unwieldy array of dismounted Knights and men at arms, charged, routed, and put to flight the myriads of Turkish cavalry; the pursuit was as sanguinary as the combat had been obstinate; and the whole immense host, which had been permitted for twenty-five days to hold the Crusaders besieged in famine and despair within the walls of Antioch, was suddenly destroyed or dissipated in a single morning. While the victory yet hung in suspense, the fanatical ardour of the Crusaders was assisted by a new accident or stratagem. Several figures of horsemen in bright armour became visible on the adjacent hills; and the Papal Legate pointing them out as the holy Martyrs St. George, St. Maurice, and St. Theodore, bade the army, with a loud voice, behold the promised succour of Heaven. Responsive shouts of "It is the will of God," burst from the Crusading ranks; and the last triumphant charge was inspired by the imaginary presence and aid of these celestial champions.*

The defeat and dispersion of the host of Kerboga was immediately followed by the capitulation of the citadel of Antioch. By the recovered command of the surrounding territory, the Crusaders were enabled for a time to relieve their wants with plentiful supplies of provisions; and the captured horses of the Turks served to mount the cavalry of the victors. The general joy was interrupted only by the obstinate ambition and quarrelsome temper of the Count of Thoulouse; who still prosecuting his rivalry against the stipulated claims of Boemond to the sovereignty of Antioch, availed himself of the absence of that Prince and the duty with which he had been intrusted of watching the citadel, to hoist his own standard on the walls. He was again compelled by the other confederate Chieftains to forego his pretensions; and Boemond was formally installed in his new Principality; but the rankling jealousy of the Provençal continued not the less to disturb the harmony of the common cause, and to embarrass the ulterior operations of

the Crusade. In the Council of Princes, discord, desertion, and the selfish pursuit of private interests now succeeded to the unity of purpose, which was originally produced by devotional feelings and had been supported by the pressure of imminent danger. The resentment which the Crusaders cherished towards the Greek Emperor for his failure of succour in their hour of need, was vented in an embassy of remonstrance and reproach; and the Great Count of Vermandois being selected for this mission, took advantage of the opportunity, on his arrival at Constantinople, to escape the further perils and privations of the Crusade, by returning to France.* Baldwin and Boemond were wholly engrossed in securing the establishment and extension of their new States of Edessa and Antioch; the envious ambition of the Count of Thoulouse led him to imitate their example by undertaking the abortive conquest of some Syrian towns; the death of the Papal Legate, Adhemar, shortly deprived the Crusading cause of one of its most popular and zealous supporters, and most skilful and politic counsellors; and even the pious Godfrey himself suffered his ardour for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre to be suspended by the temptation of gratifying his troops with the more accessible spoils of adjacent districts.†

The delays thus generated by disunion and diversity of objects among the leaders of the Crusade were not without some plausible pretexts: such as the necessity of repose and refreshing the army after the fatigues and distresses of the siege of Antioch; the difficulty of advancing to Jerusalem through the intervening Desert during the drought of a Syrian Summer; and the prudence of consolidating the dominion which had already been won, that the arduous conquest of the Holy City itself might be the more surely effected. But the losses and calamities which flowed from division and inaction, far outweighed any attendant advantages. Numbers of the bravest Knights and best soldiers were seduced from the general service of the Crusade by the prospect of a profitable establishment in the new Christian States; many gallant lives were consumed in the fruitless or unsuccessful assaults of detached corps upon the Turkish garrisons; and the usual improvidence of the Crusaders occasioned a third famine and consequent pestilence, the combined effects of which were so terrific that no fewer than one hundred thousand persons are declared to have perished.‡

* It is a remarkable proof of the disunion which, in the Chivalric ideas of the Age, attended such an abandonment of the Crusading vow, that both the Counts of Vermandois and Chartres found in their high rank no exemption from contempt and obloquy; and to relieve their fame they were compelled to undertake a second expedition to Palestine, in which, as we shall hereafter observe, they were both slain.

† Albert, p. 260—263. Baldric, p. 122, 123. Fulcher, p. 394, 395. Guibert, p. 525. Willermus Tyr. p. 729—732.

‡ The practices to which the multitude were driven by hunger are almost too horrible for belief; yet the evidence afforded by Chroniclers contemporary with, and many of them eye-witnesses to the circumstances, so unanimously attests the prevalence of cannibalism throughout the First Crusade, as to make it impossible to doubt the fact. This loathsome indulgence of hunger was sometimes associated with that of an aversion almost equally disgusting. We are told that the Turks on the eve of battle were used to swallow their money, and that the human savages into whose hands they fell often ripped open the bodies of the slain, or of murdered captives, to search for gold, and afterwards devoured their flesh. The cannibalism of the Crusaders was not confined to one season of distress, but had become familiar to the rabble of the camp, and reached its height during the third famine of Antioch, when in

The First Crusade.
From
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.

Calamitous
effects of
these cir-
cumstances

Third fa-
mine, at-
tended by
pestilence,
among the
Crusaders.

* Robert, p. 63—66. Albert, p. 254—258. Raymond, p. 154, 155. Baldric, p. 120—122. Fulcher, p. 393—395. Guibert, p. 520—524. Willermus Tyr. p. 723—726.

A belief in the reality of the apparition and aid of the three celestial warriors seems to have been universal among the Crusaders. But their credulity with regard to the discovery of the Holy Lance was less general or lasting. The Archbishops Baldric and William of Tyre, indeed, with several of the other Chroniclers, betray no distrust of the genuineness both of the vision and the relic; but political jealousy overcame the superstition, and sharpened the intellect of some of the Princes and their adherents; and while Raymond des Agiles, the Chaplain of the Count of Thoulouse, is loud in maintaining the authenticity of a miracle of which his Patron was the appointed instrument, Ralph of Caen, in the cynical interest of Tancred and Boemond, boldly exposes the fraud. Fulk of Chartres also evinces more than one suspicion of the imposture. The sequel of its history is curious. After the victory of Antioch, the efforts of the Count of Thoulouse and his Provençals to perpetuate a delusion which conferred a sort of spiritual superiority upon the chosen guardians of the Sacred Lance, provoked the envious rivalry of Boemond and his friends to proclaim their disbelief. The example of their scepticism shook the faith of the whole army; and to maintain the truth of the revelation, Peter Berthelemy, as its original publisher, was rashly induced to appeal to the judgment of Heaven by the fiery ordeal. Two burning piles being prepared with a narrow path between them, the wretched impostor, or fanatic, rushed through the flames, and was so dreadfully burned in his passage that he expired on the next day.

History.

From
A. D.
1095.to
A. D.
1099.Morals of
the host.

The ravages of this Plague were assisted by the previous excesses in which the whole host had indulged since the victory of Antioch; and in the pages of their Chroniclers charges of universal intemperance and debauchery are intermingled with the dreadful picture of their distress. Nor can the feeling be condemned as an irrational superstition which ascribed the calamities of the Crusaders to the anger of offended Heaven: for, of all the miseries which they endured throughout the war, the greater portion were only the faithful consequences of their crimes; and the union of fanaticism and profligacy in men who believed themselves the chosen champions of a sacred cause is among the most curious objects of contemplation in the spirit of the times. At the outset of their enterprise, while the sense of pious duty was fresh and uncorrupted, the morals of the Crusaders were comparatively pure; and, during the siege of Nice, the same authorities which are loudest in reproaching the subsequent disorders of the host, bear testimony to the prevalence of virtue and decorum in their camp. The leaders of the war, in general, presented an edifying spectacle of humility and fraternal concord; the obedient soldiery, emulating their example, were sober, chaste, and vigilant; and from the proudest Chieftain to the lowest warrior, all shared alike with undistinguishable zeal and devotion in the labours, privations, watches, and perils of the siege. These sentiments of mutual charity and forbearance did not indeed extend to their common enemies: for their fanaticism was fierce and cruel; and mercy to the Heathen was an article excluded from their mistaken creed. But among themselves they dwelt in Christian brotherhood, and their conduct was such as became warriors who had devoted their lives to the service of God, and patiently expected the crown of Martyrdom which they as firmly believed would be the reward of the slain.* But both the license and the sufferings of the march through Asia Minor first tended to relax the bonds of this voluntary discipline; and the previous self-denial of all ranks degenerated, under the hardening effects of want and danger, into rapacious and selfish brutality. The transition from scarcity to luxurious abundance on the arrival of the army before Antioch; the enervating influence of the Syrian climate; the absence of any unity of command or disciplined restraints over a host composed of various and independent nations; and the temptations offered by a rich and fertile district to the riotous indulgence of every sensual passion; all assisted in producing a general corruption of morals. Among great masses of men, the alliance of misery and vice is proverbial; and the subsequent calamities of famine and pestilence gave a frightful completion to the public iniquity. In the hourly contemplation of death and in the extremity of despair, the multitude, so far from being awed into virtue, became utterly deaf to the voice of Religion and conscience; every divine and human law was disregarded and violated; the Religious exhortations of the Clergy,† and the authority of the Princes

Spectacle of
enormous
vice and
misery.

their desultory attacks upon the Turkish garrisons, they regularly ate the dead bodies of the Infidels, and even of their own slain companions. See Robert. p. 69, 70; Radulphus, p. 315. Baldric, p. 125. and Albert. p. 267, 268: the first three of whom record these brutalities with horror, and the last with indifference.

* See particularly the two Archbishops, Baldric, p. 95. and William of Tyre, p. 667—672, &c.

† As long as Ecclesiastical discipline was preserved by the authority of the Legate Adhemar, whose virtues are extolled by all

were equally despised, and the most licentious and enormous crimes were openly perpetrated. The only hold which their spiritual and temporal rulers could exercise over the minds of the multitude was through their gross and extravagant superstition; and if pretended revelations were successfully employed to animate the fanatical courage of the soldiery, or served to excite a transient ebullition of remorse, denunciations of the Heavenly wrath always failed to correct the public depravity, and truth and imposture were equally powerless in effecting any permanent reformation of manners in the Crusading camp.

Amidst all the demoralization of the multitude, no decay of fanatical zeal in pursuing the great ultimate object of the war is justly chargeable upon them. They indeed were ever clamorous against the delays which the caution, the declining ardour, or the private views of their leaders opposed to their impatience. After the first burst of enthusiasm had expended itself in the sieges of Nice and Antioch, the latter, with the exception perhaps of the single-minded Godfrey, the gallant and disinterested Tancred, and a few congenial spirits, evinced no desire to indulge their love of pleasure and rapine, but mutual enmities and personal ambition, than to complete the purpose of the Crusade. But the people discovered and regarded their selfishness with indignation and disgust; and the soldiery and pilgrims who had survived the third famine and pestilence of Antioch, were loud in their demands to be led without further loss of time to the conquest of Jerusalem. The popular discontent at the continued procrastination of the enterprise was shortly displayed in a temper which it was no longer safe to provoke. The ramparts of the City of Marra, which, together with Albara on the Orontes, the Count of Thoulouse had captured and intended to retain, were razed to the ground by his own troops: that the place might not, like the possession of Antioch itself, be rendered an object of contention to the Chiefs, and of delay to the army. Raymond finding his prize untenable, was compelled to yield to the wishes of his Provencal followers, and declared his readiness to lead them to the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre; the same tardy resolution was embraced by the other Princes; and, not until eight months had expired since the final reduction of Antioch, were the Crusading forces once more concentrated, and put in combined motion towards Jerusalem.‡

Of the immense host, perhaps seven hundred thousand men, which had originally formed the siege of Nice, so enormous had been the losses by the sword

the Chroniclers, and whose death, in the third pestilence of Antioch was lamented by the whole army, the Clergy set an edifying example of pious resignation and morality; but the Archbishop of Tyre acknowledges (p. 763.) that, after the loss of their spiritual chief, their conduct in general relaxed into indifference and dissoluteness, and that they became, with some bright exceptions, as vicious as the people.

* Among other things, a Monk was assured in a vision that the anger of God was specially kindled against the Crusaders, because Paynim women were the partners of their amours; and the far Infidels were accordingly far a time sent away from the camp. The good Adhemar went further on another occasion: he considered that he was procuring an acceptable sacrifice to Heaven by obliging the warriors to separate not only from their paramours but from their wives; and all the women, virtuous as well as vicious, were confined in a remote quarter of the camp. Albert. p. 234. William of Tyre. p. 695.

† Robert. Mon. p. 69, 70. Albert. p. 267, 268. Raymond des Agiers, p. 160—164. Baldric, p. 125, 126. Guibert. p. 525—527. William of Tyre. p. 731—736.

The
Crusades
From
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History. and the climate, by famine and pestilence, desertion and conquest, that the total force which advanced from Antioch amounted to only fifteen hundred cavalry and twenty thousand foot soldiers, with about an equal number of unarmed pilgrims and camp followers. But this remnant of the myriads who had assumed the Cross was composed of veteran and devoted warriors, and led by those renowned Chieftains and champions of the Sacred War, whose zeal and constancy had triumphantly surmounted the fiery trials of peril and temptation: Godfrey of Bouillon, the two Roberts of Normandy and of Flanders, Raymond of Thoulouse, and Tancred. Boemond, pleading the cares of his new Principality, did not accompany their march far beyond its confines: but he freely rendered his contributions and support to the success of the common cause; and his confederates, whatever contempt and indignation they might feel at this personal abandonment of his vows, received his excuses and accepted his aid. From Antioch to Jaffa, a distance of about three hundred miles, the Crusaders, for the convenience of supplying their wants from the Italian vessels which traded on the coast, chose their route along the sea-shore. Their advance was easy and unopposed: for the Turkish Emirs of Gabala, Tortosa, Tripoli, Beritus, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and other intervening places, despairing of successful resistance, either fled from their strong holds, or, deprecating assault by submission, purchased the forbearance of the invaders with large contributions of money and provisions. At Jaffa, turning from the coast, the exulting host struck into the interior country, and directed their march upon Jerusalem itself. With devout and awful curiosity, the rude warriors of Europe now traversed a region filled with places which hourly recalled some sacred association; the Clergy successively directed the Religious attention of their more ignorant brethren to the memorable scenes of Ramula, Bethlehem, and Emmaus; and at length the Holy City burst upon their enraptured gaze. In that glorious sight, the long cherished object, promise, and reward of their hopes, every toil was forgotten, every suffering repaid. The single mighty passion of a host suddenly broke forth in joyful exclamations and embraces; and these first gladness emotions which filled every heart with pious thanksgivings were as quickly succeeded by feelings of deep humiliation and self-abasement. The proud Noble, the fierce Solhier, and the lowly Pilgrim, confessed their common unworthiness even to look upon the scene which had witnessed the sufferings of the Redeemer of Mankind; and the whole armed multitude, as with one impulse, sinking on their knees, prostrated themselves and poured out their tears over the consecrated soil.*

But the deliverance of the Holy City and Sepulchre from Infidel bondage and profanation still remained to be achieved. By the admixture of truth with imposture, the Musulmans themselves had been taught to revere Jerusalem as inferior in sanctity only to Mecca and Medina;† and every motive of Religion, Honour, and Policy, forbade the Khalif of Egypt to yield to the Christians that ancient possession which his arms had recently recovered from the Turks. Finding, therefore, his repeated offers of alliance and peaceful admission

into Jerusalem as unarmed pilgrims contemptuously spurned by the haughty warriors of the West, he had prepared for the vigorous defence of the City. No less than forty thousand of the best troops of Egypt, under Istakar, his most distinguished and favourite Lieutenant, were assigned for its regular garrison; and this force was swollen by twenty thousand Musulman citizens and peasantry of the surrounding district, who on the approach of the Christian invaders took refuge within the walls. It was abundantly supplied with provisions; and its ancient fortifications, which increased the natural strength of the site, had been diligently restored or repaired. As Mount Sion was no longer embraced within their circuit, the City, including the hills of Acra, Moria, Bezetha, and Golgotha, presented the form of a parallelogram; but on the Southern and Eastern faces, the craggy precipices equally defied assault and obstructed any sally; and the two remaining sides presented the only accessible points of operation.

Before these fronts the besiegers impatiently pitched their camp. The Count of Thoulouse chose his station from Mount Sion along the Western side; Eustace of Boulogne extended his troops from the conclusion of the Provencal lines towards the North, until he adjoined the quarters of his brother, Duke Godfrey, whose standard was planted on the North-Western angle at the foot of Mount Calvary; and the two Roberts and Tancred continued the blockade from that point to the verge of the Eastern precipices. In the first confidence of their fanatical valour, the Crusaders, fully expecting the miraculous aid of Heaven, rushed, on the fifth morning after the investment, to a furious assault of the walls of Jerusalem, without battering engines, without scaling ladders, without any of the ordinary applications of the besieging art. The astonishing impetuosity of their rash onset, despite of every probability and obstacle, had nearly delivered the City into their hands. Disregarding the superior numbers, the safe position, and the deadly missiles of the garrison, they burst through the barbican, or lower outward gate, and even penetrated to the foot of the main rampart. But here they were arrested, less by any efforts of the panic-stricken Infidels, than by the mere inaccessible height of the bulwarks and the absence of all means of escalade. The Musulmans, perceiving the inability of the assailants to approach them, recovered their courage; hurled down every destructive variety of projectiles on the heads of the exposed and devoted Christians; and finally beat them back with slaughter and confusion to their Camp.

The leaders of the Crusade, awakened from their fanatical delusion by this repulse, now prepared to prosecute the siege by the rules of art. They resolved to construct the usual machines for breaching or over-towering the walls; but the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem afforded no timber sufficiently large for these works; and the surrounding country was explored for materials. It was only at the distance of thirty miles, that, in the grove of Sichem, trees could be found of suitable dimensions; and, under the direction of the indefatigable Tancred, these being felled, were transported by the painful but zealous labour of the soldiery to the camp. Competent artificers were yet wanting, when the fortunate arrival of some Genoese galleys at Jaffa, supplied this deficiency. So general a superiority in mechanical skill had the commercial people of Italy attained over the ignorance of the times, that the whole Latin host were dependent on the fortuitous

The First Crusade.

From A. D. 1195. to A. D. 1099.

Its investment by the Crusaders.

First unsuccessful assault.

More regular prosecution of the siege.

* Robert, p. 71. Albert, p. 269—274. Raymond des Agiles, p. 165—173. Baldric, p. 127—131. Radulphus Cad. p. 317—319. Willelmus Tyr. p. 736—745.

† D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, v. *Al Coda*, p. 269. *Al Coda*, or the Holy, was the Arabic designation of Jerusalem.

History.

From
A. D.
1095,
to
A. D.
1099.

Horrid suf-
ferings of
the besieg-
ers from
thirst.

Prepara-
tions for a
second as-
sault.

services of these mariners. The crews were landed at Jaffa; an escort of troops was despatched to bring them up from the coast; and as soon as they reached the camp, they undertook the construction of three great movable towers, with proper engines for throwing missiles, undermining the ramparts, and battering or scaling the walls. The army awaited the completion of their labours in anxious suspense: for now again were the sufferings of their former Sieges repeated under a new variety of horror. The country round Jerusalem was destitute of water; the rocky soil yielded few springs; the fountains and reservoirs had been destroyed by the Infidels; and the streams of Siloe and Kedron were dried up by the intense heats of Summer. The besiegers were agonized by thirst; a scanty supply of water could be procured only at a distance of several miles; and the poorer multitude, who could not pay for its transport in gold, were obliged to wander in quest of the springs, at the hazard of being cut off by the fleet Musliman hordes which scoured the whole country. Numbers by abstaining from food endeavoured to lessen the intolerable thirst which consumed them; and so extreme was the distress, that many gasping wretches were fain to lick up the dews of night from the rocks, and to excavate holes in the earth that they might hut press their lips against the moiester soil.*

For forty days, amidst this horrid drought, had the Siege endured, before the readiness of their engines of assault enabled the Crusaders to put a triumphant consummation to their labours. When the lofty movable towers, each of three stories, were completed, two, respectively manned and worked by the troops of Godfrey and Raymond, were slowly moved forward towards the walls. The former leader chose his point of attack where the rampart had least elevation, and the great depth of the ditch had rendered the garrison negligent of its defence. Three days were laboriously consumed in filling up this fosse; and the tower was then successfully rolled over the new level. Meanwhile the Provençals had been less skilful or fortunate: for their tower was repeatedly damaged by the besieged with projectiles and fire. But several approaches were prepared against different fronts of the main ramparts of the place with battering and mining engines; and the eager warriors only awaited the signal of final attack. On the eve of the day appointed for a general assault of the City, the whole host in full armament, and preceded by the Clergy, made a Religious procession round the walls to invoke the Divine aid. Instead of banners, crucifixes were borne aloft at the head of the troops; every instrument of martial music was hushed; and the only sounds to which the army moved were sacred chants of Psalmody. Ascending the Mounts of Olives and of Sion, the Crusaders halted on each of those holy places, and knelt in prayer; and when these solemn rites had elevated the devotional and warlike enthusiasm of the soldiery to the highest pitch of excitement, the spectacle which was presented from the walls still further inflamed their fanatical feelings with a deadly thirst of revenge against the Infidels. The garrison, displaying crucifixes on the ramparts, derided those revered emblems of salvation and covered them with filth; and the Crusaders with shouts of fury vowed to wash out these impious insults in the blood of the perpetrators.

Thus animated by every incentive of natural valour Religious hope, and fanatical vengeance, the Crusading host advanced on the following dawn to the assault of Jerusalem. While showers of arrows and stones from the archers and ballistic engines were directed against the defenders on the ramparts to cover the principal operations, the battering and mining machines and huge movable towers,—all the stages of the latter filled with chosen bodies of Knights and men at arms,—were impelled towards the walls. But the onset was received by the Moslems with a courage guided by skill, and sustained by confidence or despair. From behind the defences, their incessant flights of missiles replied with murderous effect upon the more exposed bodies of the Latin archers; masses of rock were successfully hurled upon the machines of the besiegers; and the dreadful Greek fire was poured in liquid streams against the movable towers. During the day the struggle raged without intermission, and the eve still hung in tremendous suspense. But at even, the slaughter among the Crusaders far exceeded that of the Infidels; the great tower of Count Raymond had been partially burned and disabled; many of the other engines of assault had been destroyed; and the besiegers were reluctantly compelled to desist for the night from further efforts. Yet their heroic spirit was undimmed, their confidence unabated, their labour indefatigable. Though the Provençal tower had been arrested in its advance, that of Duke Godfrey was undamaged, and had been brought into threatening contiguity to the rampart; and on other fronts of attack the walls of the City were shaken, and already imperfectly breached in several places, by the violent strokes of the battering-rams and the more insidious use of the sap. At daylight, the assault and defence were renewed with increased fury; at noon, the desperate conflict was still balanced in appalling indecision; but at the third hour of the evening, the barbarian, having been beaten down, the tower of Godfrey was forced sufficiently near to the inner rampart to enable the iron-nerved Chivalry of Europe to close hand to hand for the mastery with the less vigorous warriors of the East. In that moment so critical for the suspended cause of Christendom and Islam, the spirit and strength of the Musliman defenders of Jerusalem, despite of their superior numbers and securer footing, quailed before the personal prowess of the champions of the Cross. The frail drawbridge of the tower was let down upon the solid rampart; two brothers, Letoldus and Englebert, of Tournay in Flanders, were the first and second of the Crusading warriors who sprang upon the battlements; and Godfrey of Bouillon, himself the third, planted his banner on the walls. His victorious example was followed with irresistible energy; in quick succession the Duke of Normandy, the Count of Flanders, and Tancred, burst through the gate of St. Stephen into the City; and at every breach in the works a passage was impetuously forced by their emulous associates and followers. Meanwhile the Count of Thoulouse, disdaining to enter the place in the train of his more successful confederates, gallantly inspired his Provençals to carry the rampart in their front by escalade; the defenders, appalled by the defeat of their brethren, wavered and fled; and in all quarters the ensigns of the Cross floated over the towers of Jerusalem.

Abandoning all further hope, the fleeing multitude of the Moslems thronged to die under the sacred domes of

* These expressive proofs of the height of the people's sufferings are given by Robert the Monk, p. 73

History. their Mosques. The victors pursued them with a relentless fury, which consigned men, women, and children to indiscriminate slaughter. The passive and unresisting despair with which the helpless and miserable crowds awaited their fate, neither awakened the pity nor satiated the bloody vengeance of their savage destroyers. The outrages which the Infidels had formerly inflicted on the Christian pilgrims, and the insults with which they had recently derided the Cross, were sternly remembered and fearfully avenged; the very sight of the sacred places which they had profaned with their false worship served to heighten the fanatical rage of the conquerors against the fugitives who sought shelter in those edifices; and it was the boast of the Latin Princes, in a public letter which they addressed to the Pope,* that, in the splendid Mosque erected by the Khalif Omar on the site of the Temple of Solomon,† they rode up to their horses' knees in the blood of the Infidels. In that principal sanctuary alone, ten thousand persons were massacred; every minor retreat in the City was explored with equally fierce diligence by the swords of the Crusaders; and the horrid computation of the total carnage on the battlements, throughout the streets, and in the Churches and houses, has been variously extended to an incredible number of both sexes and all ages.‡

These dreadful scenes of fanatical cruelty, from which Reason and Humanity equally revolt, were followed by a sudden transition of passion, as strangely but less painfully characteristic of the times; and the events of the single day on which Jerusalem was stormed forcibly exemplify the unnatural union of those motives of martial achievement, ferocious intolerance, and fervent piety, which produced the Crusade. The mailed warriors who had sworn and accomplished the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre in arms, hastened, as humble and repentant pilgrims, to complete their vows of adoration, at that hallowed monument of Redemption. Duke Godfrey, after himself staining the example of heroic courage with merciless slaughter, threw aside his reeking sword, washed his bloody hands, exchanged his armour for a white linen tunic, and with bare head and feet repaired in pious humiliation to the Church of the Sepulchre. The same Religious impulse was quickly communicated to his fellow-warriors; the inhuman fanaticism which had so lately steeled their hearts against every softer emotion, was all at once relaxed into a flood of contrite and tearful devotion; and the whole host in turn, discarding their arms and purifying their persons from the signs of recent slaughter, moved in procession to the Hill of Calvary, and in mingled penitence for their sins and thanksgiving for their victory, wept over the tomb of the Saviour of the World. After these Religious exercises, a loose was given to the general joy both of the Latin conquerors, and the native Christians, who had either been retained in the City during the siege, or had gathered in the Crusading quarters. Among the latter was the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who,

after seeking a retreat from the Musulman tyranny in Cyprus, had lately arrived in the camp. He instructed his flock to honour, in the person of Peter the Hermit, the faithful missionary whose indignation and piety had been moved by the spectacle of their bondage to the Infidels, and whose holy zeal had roused the Nations of the Western World to undertake their deliverance. The grateful multitudes prostrated themselves before the poor Solitary of Amiens as a revered and chosen servant of God; and if the sincerity of the fanatic, who, to perform this service, had twice traversed Europe and Asia, may be measured by his indefatigable labours in the imaginary cause of Heaven, the spiritual triumph which rewarded his success must have surpassed the most exquisite enjoyment of temporal ambition.*

Among the conscious offences which humbled the souls of the Crusaders in contrition and prayer before the Altar of the Sepulchre, they were so far from numbering their cruelties to the Infidels, that they deemed the late work of slaughter a meritorious offering to the God of Mercies. To every pious and enlightened mind, there can be few subjects of contemplation more offensive and painful than this alliance of a devotion, which though mistaken was sincere, with so ferocious and dark a superstition. Scenes of bloodshed similar to those which had preceded, also followed the interval of worship; and on the morning after the capture of Jerusalem, the Crusaders deliberately renewed the massacre of the Infidel garrison and inhabitants. The Jews of the City were buried alive in their synagogues; the Musulman captives who had been spared by the lassitude, and the fugitives who had eluded the first search of the victors, were now dragged from their prisons and hiding places, and remorselessly butchered. All—even women, children, and infants at the breast—shared the same fate: except a few wretched Musulmans, who owed their escape from the general slaughter, not to the humanity but to the covetousness of the Count of Thoulouse, who rescued them for sale as slaves, and incurred the censure of the army by preferring the indulgence of his avarice to that of his fanaticism. With the rest of the Crusaders, the former passion was only second to their cruelty; and the work of pillage proceeded simultaneously with that of bloodshed. By previous agreement, the rich plunder of the Mosques, which abounded with lamps and vases of gold and silver, was dedicated to the service of the Church and the relief of the poor: but each house became the property of the first warrior who burst its door, and suspended his shield from its walls.†

The Infidel inhabitants of Jerusalem had been extirpated; and the law of conquest supplied a new of the Latin Kingdom. When the victorious soldiery had divided the possession of the Holy City, her streets were cleansed from the horrid pollution of

The First Crusade.
From A. D. 1095. to A. D. 1099.

Second massacre of the Moslems.

of the City.

Foundation of the Latin Kingdom.
OF JERUSALEM.
SALEM.

* Martene, *Thesaurus Novus*, vol. i. p. 281.

† D'Anville, *Diss. sur l'Antiquité de Jérusalem*, p. 42—53.

‡ By the Musulman writers (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 99, and Abulfida, *apud Reiske*, vol. iii. p. 319.) the numbers massacred are stated as high as seventy or even one hundred thousand souls: but these were traditional estimates long after the event; and the last probably exceeds the amount of the whole population of Jerusalem at the period. William of Tyre, who alone of the Latin Chroniclers attempts a precise enumeration, gives twenty thousand as the number of victims in the first massacre, of whom one half fell in the Mosque of Omar.

* It is singular that, after his reception of this public homage, the name of the Hermit occurs not again in any contemporary or authentic record; and History has altogether forgotten to notice the subsequent fate of the man who had moved the population of Europe from its foundations.

† In the Mosque of Omar, no fewer than seventy massive lamps of gold and silver were found by Tancred, and surrendered to the prescribed uses of Religion and Charity; but not, if we may believe Maimsbury, (p. 443.) before the costliness of the prize had seduced the hero, in a moment of unwonted frailty, to forget the usual purity of his virtue. He attempted to secure the spoils for his private profit: until he was driven, either by the reproaches of his own conscience, or dread of public censure, to make restitution of his booty to the Ecclesiastical Treasury.

History.

From
A. D.
1095.
to
A. D.
1099.

recent slaughter by the labour of some Musulman slaves; the Churches and Mosques were delivered up to the Clergy and dedicated afresh, or now first converted to the purposes of Christian worship; and, tenanted by the various population of her martial citizens from every Western Nation, Jerusalem presented the novel aspect of an European settlement. After the occupation of the City, the earliest care of the leaders of the Crusade was given to the duty of securing their conquest. The establishment of a Feudal Kingdom in Palestine was obviously suggested by the familiar example of the same form of polity in the Western Monarchies, and by the necessity of organizing a martial system of tenures for the defence of the Christian State and the protection of the Holy Sepulchre. On the eighth day, therefore, after the capture of the City, the Princely and Noble Chieftains of the Crusading host assembled to confer, by their free voices, the Feudal Sovereignty of Jerusalem, with its future dependencies, upon one of their Body. The accidents of war had diminished the number of those great leaders of the European Chivalry who, by their hereditary rank, the strong array of their retainers, or the influence of personal character, were entitled to aspire to this honour. Boemond and Baldwin were already seated in the Principalities of Antioch and Edessa, and had withdrawn themselves from immediate participation in the crowning glories of the Holy War; the Great Count of Vermandois and the Count of Chartres had, with deeper reproach, altogether deserted the sacred expedition; and although, in Chivalric fame, Tancred was at least their equal, the Princes of Sovereign rank who remained with the army were four only in number: the two Roberts, of Normandy and of Flanders, the Count of Thoulouse, and the Duke of Brabant. Of these Princes, if we may believe our Anglo-Norman Writers, the crown of Jerusalem was offered first to the brave but prodigal son of the Conqueror, and declined by his modest distrust of his own merits, by his less praiseworthy indolence, or by his preference of his European Duchy. If, on the other hand, we credit the Provençal Chroniclers of the Crusade, the same proffer and refusal of the regal dignity must be ascribed to the Count of Thoulouse.* But the tale of Robert's election is entirely discredited by the silence of every immediate Chronicler of the Crusade; and the grasping ambition and selfish cupidity ever displayed by the Count of Thoulouse, both before and after the fall of Jerusalem, are not only incompatible with the disinterestedness imputed to him by his adherents, but are expressly stated by a better authority to have occasioned the rejection of his claims. Between Robert of Flanders and his friend the Duke of Brabant, if there existed any rivalry in pretension, there

was at least no equality of merit; and, in opposition to the intrigues of the wily and jealous Provençal, the general voice of the assembly proclaimed Godfrey of Bouillon as the most deserving, both by his prowess and piety, amongst all the Princely Champions of the Cross, to receive the crown of Jerusalem and the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre. The spirit of Godfrey was too magnanimous to shrink from the perilous and unquiet charge which intrusted to him rather the sword of the Crusader than the sceptre of a Feudal King. He was immediately conducted in solemn procession to the Church of the Sepulchre, and there inaugurated in his new office: but, with the pious humility which distinguished his character, he refused to have a regal diadem placed on his brows in that city, wherein his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns; and modestly declining the name with the decoration of a King, he would accept no prouder title than that of Advocate or Defender of the Tomb of Christ.

But from the election of Godfrey of Bouillon ^{not the less} is dated the foundation of the LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM. By that event, stability was given to the recent conquests of the Crusaders; and Jerusalem which, after a possession of more than four hundred and fifty years since its surrender to Omar, had been wrested out of the hands of the disciples of Mohammed, was converted into the Capital of a Christian State. After the worthy choice of a Sovereign to defend and govern their conquests, it remained for the Crusaders only to secure their maintenance and extension by regulating the Martial, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Institutions of the new Kingdom. The Religious zeal and the prudential policy of the conquerors were yet to be exercised in providing for its defence: but their vows were already accomplished; and the great design of the FIRST CRUSADE had been concluded in the triumphant recovery of the Holy Sepulchre.

* The title of Advocate or Defender of a Church or Monastery was familiar to the Age of Godfrey; when, under that term, it was customary for Ecclesiastical Bodies to purchase the protection of some Prince or powerful Noble. But see Du Cange, *v. Advocatus*.

† Robertus Mon. p. 74—77. Albertus Aqueensis, p. 275—289. Baldricus Arch. p. 132—134. Raymond des Agiles, p. 175—178. Radulphus Cad. p. 320—324. Fulcherius. Carnot. p. 396—400. Guibert, p. 533—537. Willermus Tyr. p. 746—763, &c.

These references embrace the original authorities for all the details given in the text of the siege and capture of Jerusalem. But, throughout the above narrative, the present compilation is also largely indebted to the labours of our modern English Historians of the same events: to the LVIIIth Chapter of Gibbon, which, though not exempt from some errors of fact and more oblique of sentiment, offers a masterly sketch of the spirit and transaction of the First Crusade; and to the more recent and ample Work of Mr. Mills, who (*History of the Crusades*, vol. i. c. 1—5.) has industriously exhausted the stores of the Latin Chroniclers, and executed his design with equal truth and ability.

* Raymond des Agiles, p. 179. Albert. Aqueensis, p. 283. Guibert, p. 537.

† Willermus Tyr. p. 763.

HISTORY

CHAPTER LXXIII.

ANNALS OF FRANCE, GERMANY, AND ITALY, DURING THE XIIIth CENTURY.

FROM A. D. 1108 TO A. D. 1199.

I. THE honourable title of *l'Éveillé* which Louis VI. had acquired by his activity in his Father's lifetime continued to be merited by him during a long and troublous reign, even after unwieldiness of body had affixed to his name another epithet, *le Gros*, by which he is better known to posterity.* In order to frustrate the persevering intrigues of his step-mother Bertrade, who still coveted the throne of France for one of her adulterous progeny,† he hastened the ceremony of his Coronation; which was performed five days after the decease of his Father, not according to custom at Rheims, the Archbishopric of which See was then under dispute, but in the Cathedral of Orleans;‡ his dominions were of narrow extent; they comprehended no more than the five Cities of Paris, Orleans, Etampes, Melun, and Compiègne; which with a few less considerable towns supplied the whole of his revenue. The remainder of France, and much of the Country intervening between these strong holds of Royalty, was occupied by nominal vassals; professing homage indeed to their superior Lord, but defying him at will in their Castles. Far more powerful than their Sovereign, many of them were habitually in revolt, exercised despotic power over their own Fiefs, and levied tribute and troops, which they employed in every service but that of their Feudal Master. Exclusive of the great Counts who bordered France in Champagne, in Flanders, in Anjou, and in Touraine, we read of numerous petty Barons in the heart of that Country, who singly or in alliance long employed the sword of the King. The little Castle of Puiset alone, which interrupted his free communication with Orleans, resisted the utmost force which Louis could command during three entire years; and the general temper of the Nobles may be described in the speech with which Eudes, son of Bouchard de Montmorency, darted from his Wife, to take the field against his Sovereign. "Countess, give your Count his sword; he who

receives it from you as a Count will this day return it to you as a King." The boast indeed was idle, and Eudes perished on the very day on which it was uttered; but it is sufficient to illustrate the confident spirit with which Louis was defied.

In most of these conflicts with his subjects, Louis during the first two years after his accession was successful; but a more powerful foe than he had yet encountered was in preparation. When Henry I. of England wrested Normandy from his brother Robert, and immured him in the tower of Cardiff, by a singular oversight, he permitted his son, William (*Cliton* or *Court-cuisse* as he was named) to remain at liberty. Soon perceiving his mistake, and finding that the claims of the boy might be mischievously espoused by his own rivals in power, he sent orders for his transport to England. The Governor to whose care the education of the young Prince had been committed, found means however of escape to France, and threw him on the protection of Louis. This step naturally occasioned mutual suspicion between the Kings, and each party thenceforward sought to strengthen himself by alliances for the struggle which sooner or later would probably ensue. With this view, the King of England bestowed the hand of his daughter Matilda upon the Emperor Henry V.; but this very act which secured him the aid of a powerful distant friend, alienated from him one more important, because nearer the future scene of contest. Robert Count of Flanders, in return for a subsidy which enabled him to join the adventurers to the Holy Land, had for many years past enrolled himself as a Vassal of Henry; since his return from the Crusades he had been incessantly involved in war with the Emperor; and no sooner, therefore, did he receive intelligence of this Treaty of marriage with England, than he abandoned his alliance with Henry, and proffered himself to Louis.

Foulques V. of Anjou, who had recently succeeded his infamous Father, Foulques le Réchin, alarmed by numerous demonstrations of Henry's ambition, had likewise closely connected himself with France; and Louis, seconded by these powerful associates, was well prepared to meet that conflict with Normandy to which singly he must have proved altogether unequal. The immediate and ostensible cause of hostilities was the refusal of Henry to fulfil a Treaty by which he had bound himself to demolish the border fortress of Gisors; and Louis and the Count of Flanders joining their forces marched to its investment. The King of France proposed a single combat to his adversary; and some

France.

From

A. D.

1108.

to

A. D.

1199.

Causes of hostility with Henry I. of England.

A. D.

1109.

introduction of the allies.

* William of Malmesbury contemptuously styles Louis VI. *homoem apudiculi pondere alim lectum forentem, sed nunc pro disimulatione aut nimis auro oneratum.* v. 18. Henry of Huntingdon writes with equal bitterness. *Quid de Philippe Rege Francorum, et Lodovico filio qui tempore nostris regnavit, quorum Deus venter fuit, immo sanctus hostis fuit? Adco corruerunt ut impio pinguedine amitterent, nec sustinere se possent. Philippus alim pinguedine defunctus est. Lodovicus adhuc juvenis pinguedine tamen jam mortuus est. Epist. de contemptu. Mundi ap. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, xiv. 265. Louis VI. was also termed *Thubaut* and *le Batailleur*.*

† *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, i. 573.

‡ *Id.* *Ibid.* 573.

§ *Suger, Filia Lud. Grossi, ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 37.

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War in Normandy. A. D. 1110.

History. light gallants of the Camp, with no small failure of respect to their Sovereigns, named as the most fitting lists a shattered bridge on the river Epte, which at every moment was threatened by the stream with entire destruction.* The King of England replied that the stakes were manifestly too advantageous to his enemy. For himself, the Castle was already in his possession, and he could not therefore win any thing even if he should conquer; his rival on the contrary, if successful, would add substantial gain to his glory. A war of little interest and various fortune succeeded; in its progress Louis was deprived of his most faithful ally the Count of Flanders, who was killed by a fall from his horse; and deserted by Fouques of Anjou, for whom had been spread the glittering snare of an intermarriage between his daughter and William, her apparent of England. Thibaud, Count of Meaux, Blois, and Chartres, a nephew of Henry, was devoted to his interests; Baldwin the new Count of Flanders was yet in extreme youth, and fully occupied in his own dominions; the remoter Vassals of the French Crown remained neutral and unconcerned spectators; and many of the petty retainers in the County of Paris were in open revolt. Thus straitened, Louis consented to a disadvantageous Peace, the chief provisions of which were the abandonment of Maine and Brittany.

Louis compelled to a disadvantageous Peace.

A. D.
1114.
Renewal of war.

A. D.
1117.

Fouques of Anjou Grand Seneschal of France.

It was not likely that a Treaty thus unequal would be observed by the losing party whenever he felt sufficiently strong to venture upon its infraction; and accordingly within three years hostilities recommenced. The Count of Flanders promised his aid; Fouques of Anjou was disgusted with Henry by a breach of faith respecting the promised marriage; the Norman Barons for the most part were discontented, and readily listened to the King of France when he offered to restore their legitimate Prince, William Cliton, now sufficiently old for the active cares of Government. In the first campaign, Louis invaded Normandy; but found it so well guarded that he passed but a single night within the hostile territory, and retired without offering battle. The cooperation, instead of the neutrality of Fouques was now most important to him; and it was purchased by a grant replete with the spirit of Feudalism. The Counts of Anjou claimed the high dignity of Grand Seneschal of France as hereditarily attached to their Fief from the time of Lothaire. By their own neglect, or by opposition to the Crown, the chief functions of that office, which were to place the dishes on the Royal Table on days of ceremony, had long been administered by other hands. A compromise however was effected; William de Garlanda, the executive officer, consented to pay homage as Deputy Seneschal to Fouques his Chief; and the Count of Anjou, Sovereign of a Principality scarcely inferior in extent to the Kingdom which Louis himself governed, obtained the high favour of being numbered among the principal household servants of the King of France, and engaged in return to assist him in attacking Normandy.†

* Suger, *Vita Lud. Grossi*, ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 29.

† Du Cange, *ad v. Seneschal* has collected an infinity of lore respecting the Great Seneschal of France. Hugues de Cleris, one of the chief retainers of Fouques, and employed by him in this negotiation, has left an account of it, (*De Majoratu et Seneschatu Francie*, ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 495.) from which we learn many particulars of the etiquette of French Royalty in the XIIIth Century. Whenever the Grand Seneschal came to Court, the King's Marshals were bound to provide him convenient lodging. The

The campaign opened with the loss of an advanced post on either side; Henry surprised the Castle of Sainte Claire, Louis mastered the Convent of Saint Ouen by stratagem. The few soldiers whom he headed were disguised as Monks, and no sooner had they presented themselves at the gates under that holy garb, than they were unhesitatingly opened; nor did the inmates discover their mistake till the King bared his sword from under his frock. The garrison with which he continued to occupy these walls was of material use in harassing Normandy.* The Count of Flanders, on the other hand, ravaged the North of that Duchy; till his rash ardour exposed him to a dangerous wound, which carelessness and intemperance rendered mortal. The savage and unnatural spirit of the times, or at least of some of the chief actors in them, was forcibly exhibited by the incidents of the year following. Henry had given the hand of an illegitimate daughter, Juliana, to Eustache of Breteuil; and the Count, profligate by the embarrassments of his Father-in-law, endeavoured to obtain from him a grant of the Castle of Ivry, a former possession of his Family. The King of England refused the demand; but in order to convince Eustache that the fortress was not retained with any evil intention, he placed in his hands the Governor's son as a hostage; and in return received two daughters of Eustache by Juliana. Eustache, fondly believing that no breach of faith which he might commit would be visited upon his innocent children by their grandfather, summoned the Governor of Ivry to surrender, and on his refusal tore out the eyes of his hostage, and dismissed him to his unhappy parent. The Governor demanded vengeance from Henry, and was permitted to exercise similar brutal

From
From
A. D.
1108
to
A. D.
1109.
to
A. D.
1115.
Eustache of Breteuil.
A. D.
1118.

Seneschal (his Deputy) was to precede him to his apartment, announce his arrival to the King, conduct him to the Palace, and re-conduct him to his hotel. Whenever the King, wearing his Crown and in full state, dined in public, the Grand Seneschal sat on a chair covered with rich tapestry till the first course was served; then rising and taking off his robes, (*se defabulans*), he received the dishes from the Seneschal, and placed them before the King and Queen. The same he did also with the remaining courses. After the dinner was ended, the Grand Seneschal, attended by the Seneschal, rode home on a war-horse, which he presented to the King's Cook as his fee. His robes were the fee of the King's Steward. The Cook and Panier in return respectively brought him, the former a dish of meat and a draught of wine, the latter two loaves and a pat of wine, which the Seneschal distributed among the Lepers. Whenever the Grand Seneschal was in attendance with the King's army, the Seneschal was to furnish him with a pavilion capable of entertaining one hundred persons, to provide him with beasts of burden for his carriage, robes and pegs, a horseman and two footmen. If the Grand Seneschal pleased, he might, at the end of the campaign, give this pavilion to the Seneschal, but even if he retained it, he was not by so doing to bar his right to a new one in the campaign following. If the King advanced, the Grand Seneschal commanded the van, if he retreated the rear; and whatever might occur he was not to be visited with any reproach from the Royal mouth. Whatever judgement the Grand Seneschal should pronounce in France was to be irrevocable and without appeal. On the contrary, if a sentence of the French Judges were disputed, an appeal lay to the Grand Seneschal. If he could not obey the King's summons and decide in person, the documents on either side were to be forwarded to him, and his determination was to be final. Hugh de Cleris adds, that he has witnessed the Grand Seneschal's administration of every one of these rights. It can be no matter of surprise, therefore, that Fouques was desirous of so important an office. When the coronation of the House of Anjou with Richard transferred the Grand Seneschalship to the Royal line of the latter Country, Robertus de Monte states that on the Feast of the Purification, in 1169, Henry, son of the King of England, performed the duties of the office at the Royal table in Paris.

* Ordericus Vitalis, xi. ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 711.

† Worse than similar, for the Governor mutilated the

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reprisals on the daughters of the Count of Breteuil. When Enstache, on this outrage, had recourse to open hostilities, the inhabitants of his Capital opened their gates to Henry, and Juliana, who was in the town at the moment, scarcely succeeded in throwing herself into the citadel. Henry closely invested that fortress; and when her provisions began to fail, Juliana sought to capitulate, invited her Father to a parley, and treacherously attempted his assassination. The King in revenge destroyed the bridge which connected the castle with the town; and when he granted terms they were cruel, unmanly, and dishonourable. The Father refused his own daughter any other mode of exit than such as she could provide by lowering herself with her hands from the walls; and this indecorous and ignominious exposure took place amid the rude jests and licentious mockery of the besieging army. It was in the depth of winter, the ditch into which she dropped was filled to the brim with water, and shivering with cold and overwhelmed with shame and terror, she at length gained its outer brink.*

The nuptials of William, eldest son of the King of England, with Matilda, daughter of the Count of Anjou, were at length completed, and Foulques resumed his former engagements with Henry. Deprived of both his allies, Louis still continued an active and incessant warfare of pillage and incursions; and unable from want of sufficient numbers to perform the part of a skilful General, he enacted the full that of a brave and adventurous Knight. It was on the twentieth of August that the two Kings unexpectedly found themselves in each other's presence in the plain of Brenneville near Noyon. Henry's force amounted to no more than five hundred horse. Louis had about one hundred less. At the first charge, the English gave way, and Henry himself was wounded by a Knight named William Crispin. So forcible were the two blows which the Frenchman struck upon the King's helmet, that, although it was of good proof and impenetrable, blood flowed from his head. Henry in return, with a single stroke overthrew both horse and man, who were taken prisoners at his feet.† Then rallying the English, he succeeded in capturing eighty Norman Knights, the followers of William Cliton, whose horses had been killed under them. The second charge of the French was wholly unsuccessful, and as they were put to the rout, an English soldier caught the bridle of Louis, and shouted, "The King is taken!" "You are a bad gamester, my friend," answered Louis, "do you not know that at Chess the King is never taken?" and with the words he dealt a blow which

struck the fancied captor lifeless from his saddle. Then clapping spurs to his horse, he galloped into an adjoining wood, in which he wandered for some hours, till the guidance of a peasant, ignorant of his person, placed him in security at Andely. The chief loss of the French was in prisoners, of whom one hundred and forty were taken; for so surely fenced were the Knights by their complete armour, that three only, both sides included, were killed in the battle. Henry made a generous use of his victory; he released many of his prisoners; sent back to Louis his Royal standard which had been captured;‡ and permitted his son William to restore his horse and arms to his Cousin of Normandy.

The quarrel between the Emperor Henry V. and the Holy See, of which we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere, was now at its height, and Calixtus II., unable to dispute the possession of Rome with the Antipope Gregory VIII., whom Henry had elected, found refuge in France, and assembled a Council at Rheims. Louis, smarting under his recent defeat, appealed to this Council for protection, and on the representations of the Pope, Henry consented to Peace. The conditions are unknown to us; but it is plain that they involved an abandonment of the claims of William Cliton on Normandy, since Louis received homage from William the Prince of England on investiture with that Fief.

The loss of his only son, that grievous calamity which embittered the remainder of Henry's days, immediately followed this Peace; and the Normans, emboldened by the uncertainty of the English succession, and by secret promises of assistance from France, proclaimed William Cliton their Duke, before three years had elapsed from the close of the late war. It seems probable that Henry I. destined the Crowns both of England and of Normandy for his daughter Matilda, Empress of Henry V.; and if this prospective increase of German power occasioned jealousy in France, it was a still more powerful motive for the union of the Imperial arms with those of England. The Emperor's pretext for hostility was the non-interference of the French King to prevent an excommunication which had been launched against him at the Council of Rheims; and burning to revenge that affront, he raised a powerful army for the invasion of Champagne. The forces with which Louis opposed him have no doubt been greatly exaggerated by the contemporary Historian of his reign; but it is plain from the result of the campaign that his levies were formidable, and that the French, esteeming the present war to be directed not personally against their King, but generally against themselves and their Country, placed at his disposal a much larger body of men than any former Monarch of his Race had commanded. Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, the Biographer and one of the chief Ministers of Louis, headed the Vassals of his Church, and presented to the King before the High Altar the *Oriflamme*, or sacred banner, which then for the first time accompanied the French armies to battle.† In the gathering at Rheims,

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to
A. D.
1199.

Peace mediated by Pope Calixtus II. October.

A. D. 1124. Invasion of Champagne by the Emperor Henry V.

The Oriflamme.

as well as tore out the eyes of these wretched and unoffending children.

* *A castello liberam nallatenis exitum adipisci potuit. Regio nempe junci coacta, una ponte et sustentamento de sublimi ruit, et nudus natus usque in profundum fossati cum ignominia descendit . . . dum fossa castelli brumalibus aquis plena retinebatur, et unda nimio gelu contracta tenera curia lapsa mulieris ingens frigus jure subministravit.* (Ordericus Vitalis, xii. ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 717.) M. de Sismondi, in his adaptation of the above passage, is not borne out by it when he says, *elle se fit dévaler avec des cordes du haut des murs*. She plainly was to get down *sans sustentement*, as *fossa* and *ruit* continue to imply; and we trust, in order to relieve Henry from additional obloquy, that *nudus natus* may be considered as the result of accident, rather than that *il exigis, qu'après avoir relevé ses habits au-dessus de la ceinture, &c.*

† *Henricus Huntindoniensis*, vii. ad ann. ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 35. The fact is mentioned with some variation by Ordericus Vitalis, xii. ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 722.

‡ Vol. II. 14. Her authority for the anecdote is not given. The authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, i. 573. relate the story on the

faith of *une ancienne Chronique*; and Mezeray says that a medal was struck to commemorate the event, bearing the Virgilian motto, *Nec capti petere capi*.

* Ordericus Vitalis, whose account of this Battle is very detailed, states that Henry kept the King's standard, but returned his horse. *Hist. Eccl. xii. ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 723.

† The *Oriflamme* was a square gonfalon of flame-coloured silk, with its lower part cut into three swallow-tails, without any banner, (although in a vignette representing the scene described in the text, prefixed to vol. xii. of the *Nouvelles Histories des Gaules*, is

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Peace.

Marriage of the Empress
Matilda
with Geoff-
frey Plant-
agenet.

A. D.
1127.
Association
of Philip,
A. D.
1129.
of Louis.
A. D.
1131.

says this inflated and grandiloquent Writer, so great was the number of warriors that they seemed to devour the surface of the earth, as if they had been locusts; and he raises his estimate to the incredible amount of between four and five hundred thousand combatants.* The hostile armies, whatever might be their true force, never came within sight of each other. The Emperor retired; the King of England addressed himself to the reduction of Normandy; a Peace, with the conditions of which we are unacquainted, terminated the quarrel without an engagement; and the death of Henry V. in the following year, and the consequent extinction of the House of Franconis, relieved France from all apprehension of any undue aggrandizement of the Empire, by the testamentary disposition of the King of England. The widowed Empress Matilda was reluctantly compelled by her Father to renew the marriage contract with Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Foulques of Anjou; and thus at the expense of her domestic happiness to give to England some of the most illustrious of her future Princes.

Louis not less anxious than his rival to secure the succession to his Kingdom in his own line, and mistrusting his health, now greatly affected by excess of corpulence, proceeded to the association of his eldest son Philip. That Prince was unhappily killed by a fall from his horse two years afterwards,† and Louis his next brother was substituted in his place. The Sacre was celebrated with unusual magnificence, and the Youth was anointed and crowned by the hands of Innocent II. himself. The death of William Cliton, wounded in a petty skirmish in 1128; removed the

is represented *paruree* with fleur de lis.) fringed with green silk, and suspended from a golden lance. Guelmus Brito has accurately described this standard:—

*At Regi autis est tenues crispare per aurum
Furillum simplex, crenato amplexu textum.
Splendoris rubri, Lethæus quilibet uti
Ecce nana solet certis ex more diribus:
Quod cum Flamma habet vulgariter Aurea nomen,
Omnibus in bellis habet omnia signa præire;
Quod Regi præstare solet Dionysius Abbas,
Ad bellum quousque emptis proficiscitur armis.*

Philippus, xi. 32.

De Cange (*ad v. Auriflamma*) prefers *Flammula*, or *Flammulam*, a word used by writers of the Middle Ages for any banner. Tradition assigned to it a divine origin, and it was commonly said to have been brought from Heaven either to Clovis or Charlemagne. It was, in truth, no other than the peculiar banner of the Monastery of St. Denis, carried in its Religious processions and private Wars, and borne by the Counts of Vexin, *Fiducia* and *Amonia* of the Abbey. Philip I. having united that County to the Crown, became seized of all its rights; and his warlike son therefore adopted the custom by which the *Oryflamme* was reserved from the Abbot, before the Altar, at which the King knelt, uncovered and unbelted. The *Oryflamme* was not used in the Wars of Charles VII. because the English were in possession of St. Denis; and the victories which were then obtained without its presence greatly diminished the reverence once paid to it. Felibien states, that after the entry of Henry IV. into Paris, in 1594, it was found in the Treasury of the Abbey covered with dust and half-moth-eaten.

* M. de Sismondi, perhaps inclining to the opposite extreme, diminishes them to twenty or twenty-five thousand. v. 177.

† This misfortune was asserted by the Ecclesiastics to be a judgment upon the King for a quarrel which he had dared to maintain with some of his Bishops, and was predicted to him by St. Bernard. (*Acta Sanctorum*, ap. *Hist. des Gaulles*, xiv. 374.) Philip's horse, frightened by a hog which ran between its legs in the suburbs of Paris, and rearing up, threw and rolled over the Prince, so much to his injury that he died in a few hours afterwards. Suger describes Philip as *frigidus et ætenuus puer, honorum spes timorque matorum*; and says that his horse was *obtus porco diabolico effrenus*. *Ap. Hist. des Gaulles*, xii. 58.

‡ William received his death-wound in an engagement with

great pretext for dissension between France and England; and when Henry I. sank into the grave, in 1135, the cruel struggles which ensued both in his Insular and Continental dominions, strengthened the power of Louis by ensuring him repose. But a far more important acquisition than his fondest hopes could ever have contemplated awaited him by the marriage of his son. The Duke of Aquitaine, afflicted by family misfortunes and debilitated by sensual indulgences, viewed both his infirmities and his sorrows as so many chastisements from Heaven; and anxious to propitiate the Divine wrath, resolved upon a pilgrimage to Compostella. His feebleness permitted little hope of return from so arduous a journey, and before his departure, he offered the hand of his eldest daughter Eleanor to the Heir of the Crown of France. The dower of the Bride was to be the territory of Poitiers and Aquitaine, domains far surpassing in extent those which the young Louis (*le Jeune*) would inherit. But the policy of the Duke of Aquitaine perceived in the future Monarch of France a husband who would protect his daughter's rights; and his ambition coveted for her brows the Crown of a Kingdom rather than that of a Duchy. Scarcely had the young Prince entered the dominions which he was about to acquire before he received intelligence of the death of his intended Father-in-law; and while on his return after the celebration of his nuptials, that of his Father also called him to a second throne.

Few, if any, of the French Kings whom we have hitherto recorded, deserved, or obtained a greater portion of the love of their subjects than Louis le Gros. In the field, he was ever active and intrepid; in his Civil Government mild, just, and vigilant. The paring words with which he dismissed his Son when he set out to receive the hand of the Heiress of Aquitaine, deserve a record in gold: "Bear in mind that Crowns are bestowed upon us for the benefit of our People; and that He who dispenses them will demand a rigid account of their administration."* In policy, or rather in the craftiness of negotiation, he was inferior to Henry I., and thus frequently became the victim of that most astute Prince's tortuous diplomacy. But France derived inestimable advantages from his reign, by the repression of the tyranny of the Feudal Lords, to which in time of foreign Peace his views were invariably addressed; by the grant of chartered rights to many of the chief towns in which he shared a divided Signorage; and by the encouragement thus afforded to similar institutions in the Fiefs of his Vassals.† Hence the *Tiers état*, in pro-

Thierry of Alsace, his competitor for the Earldom of Flanders; the succession to which Fief was vacant by the assassination of its recent Lord, Charles the Good. The King of France supported the claim of the Norman Prince, after having punished the assassin with unparalleled barbarity. One of them was fastened to a wheel, his head and face exposed to birds of prey, and the lower parts of his body transfixed with spears and arrows; a second was suspended alive from a gibbet, with a ferocious dog chained close to his face, and beaten till it flew at him; the remainder, twenty-eight in number, were thrown headlong from a lofty tower. Suger, 55. *ut sup.* Galbertus, *Vita Caroli Boni*, id. xiii. 376.

* Velly, ii. 31.

† M. de Sismondi has successfully established the falsehood of the common opinion that Louis le Gros was the founder of *Communes* throughout France; since in the territories of his Vassals he possessed neither right nor power to grant Charters. They were instituted by the Vassals themselves. It is very possible, also, as the same Historian argues, that the object of Louis was far more to increase the power of the Crown by depressing the Barons, than to promote the enfranchisement of his People. But speculation is

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Vise early
slavery of
Louis VII.

gress of time, insensibly attained a deliberative voice, and reared its head in the Assemblies of the Three Estates, on a par with the Nobles and Ecclesiastics.

Louis VII. on the death of his Father was scarcely more than eighteen years of age; yet notwithstanding his youth, so quiet and undisputed was his accession, that he thought it unnecessary to confirm it by celebrating a second coronation. He was the first of his race who had ventured to deviate from that established custom; and that he felt secure in declining it, affords strong evidence that the Royal authority had been largely increased under his Father's sagacious Government. A similar wise course was in the outset pursued by the Son; and if the remainder of the long reign of Louis *le Jeune* had resembled its first eight years, or if his life had terminated at their conclusion, he would have claimed a station of just repute in the Annals of France. Both in that Country and in Aquitaine he resolutely maintained his sovereignty against the encroachments of his restless Vassals; and even the usurpations of the Holy See, resistance to which demanded greater moral courage, were met by him with fearlessness and constancy. His refusal to sanction some Episcopal appointment made by Innocent II., without regard to the Royal authority, brought down upon him a Bull of Excommunication; and the several Cities in which his Court resided were laid under the privations of an Interdict. For more than three years, the King disregarded these anathemas; and if in the end he bowed to the decrees of the Church, his submission was far less the produce of a conviction of its paramount rights, than of a wounded conscience which sought relief from the only font of healing discovered by the darkness of his times. In a feud with one of his most puissant, and therefore most turbulent Nobles, Thibaud, Count of Champagne and Blois, Louis attacked and captured the strong Castle of Vitry; and willing to prevent the re-occupation by an enemy of a post so advantageous, he set fire to his prize. The flames spread widely beyond its walls; and the principal Church of the adjoining town, into which thirteen hundred of the inhabitants, of every sex and age, had sought asylum, was involved in the conflagration, and burned to ashes before any of the miserable victims whom it contained could find escape. The King, a spectator of this sad calamity, of which he had most unintentionally been the author, abandoned himself to the bitterest remorse; and employed the mediation of the two most distinguished Ecclesiastics in his dominions, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, and Pierre-*le-vénérable* of Clugny,* to procure remission of the Papal

Journal
with Pope
Innocent II.

burning of
Vitry.
A. D.
1143.

remise of
1118.

motives are endless; and it cannot be denied that the results of the policy of Louis, from whatever cause that policy arose, very greatly contributed to the relief, the freedom, and the consequent happiness of the large and degraded majority of his subjects.

* Pierre-*le-vénérable*, like the Monk of Jarrow, who bore the same distinguished epithet, was no small lover of the marvellous. He is cited by Nicolas Gilles (*Chron. ad ann. 1120.*) as evidence for an astounding event which occurred during the reign of Louis *le Gros*. A certain Count of Mayen had rendered himself infamous by the commission of every crime which can disgrace human nature, and among them was the frequent pillage of Churches and Religious Houses. Heaven at length weary of his atrocities, most fearfully chastised them. While he was revelling one day in the Hall of his Castle, surrounded by a numerous train of Knights and retainers, in the middle of the Banquet, a black man of gigantic stature mounted on a black horse, forced his way through the gates and guards, and riding up the centre of the Hall to the great terror of the company, commanded the Baron to follow him. The wretched

man, as if constrained by some invisible power, and feeling that resistance would be useless, rose at the first word, and descended with trembling steps to the Castle gates, where another horse fully caparisoned awaited him. No sooner had he mounted, than his greasy visitor, seizing the reins, raised both himself and his companion in the air. The whole town ran out to see the wonder, and long as their eyes could distinguish, the pair continued riding and ascending upwards, while the cries of "Save me, friends, save me!" died faintly and more faintly on the ear. They at length disappeared, "and every one returned to his own home overcome with terror, and convinced in his heart that the God of vengeance will punish without pity all such as dare to violate the property of the Church."

The zealous, ardent, and energetic spirit of St. Bernard had hitherto directed its great natural powers and extensive acquisitions (the latter more than commensurate with the knowledge of his Age) to barren and perplexed questions of School Divinity. A long controversy on abstruse, and for the most part unintelligible speculations regarding the Trinity,* which he maintained with Peter Abelard, whose genius was in all points worthy of his rivalry, after an ineffectual reference to a Council, and even an appeal to the Pope, was adjusted only by mutual compromise. But a far wider theatre was now opening for the display of Bernard's great intellectual influence; and the fervid and impassioned eloquence of an individual, actuated by motives which, even if mistaken, claim our admiration from their piety and their purity, was once again to roll the tide of Christian war upon the shores of Syria. It is for another place that we reserve our narrative of the causes and events of the *11d Crusade*; and we shall here confine ourselves to the exertions of St. Bernard and the preparations of France. No sooner was a Holy War proposed than Louis VII. ardently devoted himself to the enterprise. Still in the flower of youth, personally brave, hitherto successful, it can little surprise us that he contemplated with intense delight the new field of glory and chivalrous adventure which opened to him in the East. Numerous motives cooperated to strengthen his desire. His imagination was kindled by reports of the sufferings of the Christians and the oppression of the Infidels; he called to mind that his elder brother Philip, before the accident which deprived him of life, had bound himself by a vow to serve in Palestine; and as the inheritor of that brother's Crown, he felt that he inherited his vow also. The horrible calamity at Vitry was ever present to his memory, and to this remembrance was added compunction for his long resistance of the Papal Interdict; offences for which the assumption of the Cross seemed the only atonement. Thus resolved, he convoked a general Assembly of the French Nobles, a Parliament as it was styled in the summonses, to meet at Vezelay in Nevers, during the ensuing Easter; and neither the Abbey of that town, nor its Public Square, could contain the huge multitudes which thronged together at the appointed season. Overflowing even the suburbs, the

France.
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to
A. D.
1199.

St. Bernard

preaches
the 11d Crusade.
A. D.
1143.

Parliament
of Vezelay.

man, as if constrained by some invisible power, and feeling that resistance would be useless, rose at the first word, and descended with trembling steps to the Castle gates, where another horse fully caparisoned awaited him. No sooner had he mounted, than his greasy visitor, seizing the reins, raised both himself and his companion in the air. The whole town ran out to see the wonder, and long as their eyes could distinguish, the pair continued riding and ascending upwards, while the cries of "Save me, friends, save me!" died faintly and more faintly on the ear. They at length disappeared, "and every one returned to his own home overcome with terror, and convinced in his heart that the God of vengeance will punish without pity all such as dare to violate the property of the Church."

* Yet it was a desire to bring to the level of Reason that which Reason is inadequate to comprehend, which embarked Abelard in this very dispute on the Trinity. His scholars were not content simply to be taught;—*Humanas Rationes requirebant, et plus quam intelligi quam quæ dici possent efflagitabant; dicentes quidem Verborum superfluum esse prolationem quam intelligentia non sequeretur, nec credi posse aliquid nisi primis intellectum; et ridiculum esse aliquem alius prædicare, quod nec ipse nec illi quos doceret intellectus capere possent.* (P. Abelardi, *Opera*, p. 20.)

History. eager devotees adjourned to a neighbouring hill,* at the foot and on the ascent of which they ranged themselves as in an Amphitheatre. Eugenius III. had been invited to consecrate this Assembly by his presence; but detained in Italy by the troubles of his Pontificate, he delegated St. Bernard as his representative. The meagre and attenuated form of the Orator contrasted strongly with the vehement and fiery spirit of his address; but long ere he could bring his speech to conclusion, it was interrupted by shouts from the surrounding auditors, "The Cross, the Cross." The Crosses prepared for the occasion were accordingly distributed and rapidly exhausted; and when the zealous Abbot perceived the deficiency, he tore strips from his own clothes and presented the holy symbols thus rudely fashioned to those who needed them, in order that they might not appear without the badge which pledged them as associated in the proposed expedition †

LOUIS VII.
takes the
Cross.

St. Bernard
refuses the
command,

and protects
the
Jews.

Louis and his Queen were the first who contracted this solemn engagement; and when the names of the Knights, who promised companionship, had been rendered, the command of the whole armament was tendered to St. Bernard. He had the wisdom to refuse; he knew that the trumpet rather than the sword was the weapon which he could most fitly exercise; and he acknowledged that he possessed neither sufficient military science, nor physical strength, to array a host in battle. This self-knowledge is strong evidence of his good sense; and his charity is no less strikingly attested by a circular letter, addressed to the Crusaders, exhorting them to avoid the cruelty with which their predecessors in the former expedition had visited the undeserving Jews. It was not only the massacre of that unhappy people which he condemned, but even their plunder; a doctrine unheard of in those days, in which to spare the blood of an Israelite was considered almost supererogatory gentleness, to spare his gold approached to absolute sin. St. Bernard prohibited robbery no less than murder; but at the same time he very reasonably announced that those who assumed the Cross were not obliged to comply with any usurious bargain which they might have contracted with Jews who provided loans for their outfit. A mind which could thus discreetly and humanely distinguish the path of duty was very far from being impregnated with that blind fanaticism of which it has been often and unjustly accused. St. Bernard continued to preach the Crusade with equal success through the remainder of France, in Switzerland, and in Germany. Money was procured chiefly by subsidies and benevolences from Religious communities, rarely, it is to be feared, obtained without somewhat of compulsion. The Jews, for the most part, little trusting to the effect of St. Bernard's recommendation to mercy, withdrew and concealed themselves; and some of the richer towns in France bartered their wealth for privileges, grants of which were not always observed with scrupulous fidelity; A Council of War rashly deter-

mined that the route of the army should be by land, Regents were appointed to administer the Government during the King's absence, and the choice of the Assembly fell upon his brother-in-law Raoul of Vermandois, the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Abbot Suger. From
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Two years after the Assembly at Vezelay, Louis received the *Oriflamme* at the altar of St. Denis, knelt before the Pope for his benediction, was invested by him with the Pilgrim's scrip and staff, and then passed the remainder of the day in company with the Monks, eating in their Refectory, and sleeping in their Dormitory. At Whitsuntide he commenced his march from Metz, at the head of seventy thousand Knights, mounted and completely armed; and the remaining band of infantry, of camp-followers, of pilgrims and of women, so far swelled this immense host, that two hundred thousand souls are said to have crossed the Danube with him before the close of Summer. It was in October 1149, that accompanied by no more than three hundred followers, the remnant of his once magnificent war-train, and a fugitive in barks furnished by Sicily, he landed at St. Gilles on the Rhone. Mortified, disappointed, and humiliated by his ignominious failure, henceforth he displayed few of those popular qualities, which, before the Crusade, had won for him golden opinions. He became timid, suspicious, inconstant, and irresolute; whether Peace or War was the determination of the day, its course was equally liable to be interrupted on the morrow; and each of them seemed adopted not for itself, but as a preparatory step to the other. Rash in the conception of his projects, fickle in their pursuit, careless in their execution, even if he occasionally proved successful in the field, the advantage there gained was sure to be lost in the Cabinet. The ardour of devotion which in youth had animated him to undertake the Holy War, as life advanced degenerated into a narrow, monkish asceticism; and the two and thirty years during which he continued to fill the throne after his return from Palestine are dull, unattractive, and inglorious.

Many, indeed, of his most prominent contemporaries were snatched away by death not long after he reentered France. Geoffrey Plantagenet, ‡ Count of Anjou, second husband of the Empress Matilda, died in 1151, leaving

usual severity upon those whom he had already defrauded. Many of the ringleaders were thrown headlong from the summit of one of their own towers; a cruel mode of execution of which we have before mentioned another instance, and which Du Gange has noted as affording precedent to the sentence of the usurper Mountbath, after the Latin conquest of Constantinople. (*Obs. sur Villehardouin*, § clixiii.)

* Odo de Duglois, *ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 93.

† Gibbon (ch. lvi. vol. x. p. 316.) and Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, ad ann. 1149) believe the story of the capture of Louis by the Greeks on his return. Du Gange, in his notes on Cinnamus, (lib. i. c. 19. p. 49.) has examined the evidence for this incident; which M. de Sismondi absolutely rejects, on the authority of a Letter from the King himself to Suger, explaining the causes of his delay, which may be found *ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xv. 514. May not the words of Cinnamus, upon which Gibbon relies, *αὐτὸς ἄλγιστος ἐστὶν ἄλλοις*, be accepted from a Byzantine writer, as if they were *αὐτὸς ἵππος*, and rendered accordingly "narrowly escaped capture?" See a Paper by M. Butigny in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. iii. p. 615.

‡ The following are some of the merits in consequence of which Louis VIII. has sometimes been called *le Preux*. *Il abattait tous Carêmes, s'abstenait de vin et de poisson tous les Vendredis, jeûnait régulièrement aux offices divins, et respectait les Ministres de l'Écart au point que dans les processions il feroit passer devant lui jusqu'au moindre Clerc.* *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, i. 577.

§ Geoffrey was "a mighty hunter," and his name is traced to his passion for the chase which detained him perpetually *dans les bois*.

* In *l'altare ipsius montis Vezelacensis, juxta viam Autissiodorensis, ubi cū de consiliis montis fabricata est Ecclesia in honore Sanctæ Crucis*. (*Anonymi Chronicon*, *ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 120.)

† Odo de Duglois, *ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 92.

‡ The town of Sens was thus deceived. In 1146 it purchased from the King, at a costly price, the rights of a *Commune*; which, however, were speedily resumed, by the advice of a neighbouring Abbot, himself a Crusader, whose extraordinary expenses required the exaction of all his former dues and customs. The Citizens rose and put the Abbot to death; and Louis hastening in person to repress the insurrection, inflicted capital punishment with very un-

History. his eldest son Henry in possession of Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, and rightful claimant to England and Normandy. The Abbot Suger fell next, in the year following; and the high station to which he had elevated himself from obscure parentage, the ascendancy which he maintained over two successive Kings, and his unblamed exercise of the Sovereign power while Regent, appear to justify the reputation for wisdom as well as goodness, which, in spite of occasional disparagement, he has very generally enjoyed. St. Bernard, the most distinguished personage of his time, whether we regard his talents or the influence obtained by them, closed his active career in 1153. Seldom has an Ecclesiastic intermingled so largely with Politics with less detriment to his spiritual character; few are there who after the attainment of Canonization have so long and so honourably continued to attract the notice of posterity.

Henry Plantagenet had already done homage to the King of France for the Fief of Normandy, and he was meditating the invasion of England when a more certain hope of increasing his power presented itself nearer home. During his expedition to Palestine, Louis, it is said, entertained suspicions of the fidelity of his Queen. Whether the charge which names a handsome Saracen as the favoured lover, or that which exposes her to still greater obloquy with Raymond, Prince of Antioch, her maternal uncle, be admitted or discredited, her subsequent history amply avouches that the temper of Eleanor was little adapted to promote conjugal happiness. Jealousy on the one side, contempt on the other, were easy preludes to an open quarrel; and when Eleanor complained that she had wedded a Monk instead of a Monarch, it was not probable that Louis would be backward in remembering that a forbidden degree of kindred had once been imputed to his marriage; and that such a plea ensured facility of divorce. A Gallican Council pronounced that the Royal pair were within the prohibited affinity; and the King, after sixteen years of marriage, acquiesced in this decision. How far Louis was politic in again disavowing Aquitaine and Poitiers from France, on account of a matrimonial discontent, need not be inquired; that he acted honourably when upon the repudiation of his wife he returned her dower, is not to be denied.*

So convinced was Louis that the infamy of his divorced Queen would be an effectual bar to her remarriage, that he is said to have expressed an assurance, in the simplicity of his heart, that the poorest gentleman in his dominions would spurn her for a wife. But the broad lands of Aquitaine were no shurers in her dishonour; Eleanor had not completed her thirtieth year; she was rich, high-born, and beautiful; and suitors accordingly were not wanting whom either love or ambition rendered incredulous of her frailty. As she crossed the domains of Thibaud, Count of Blois, (second son of the late similarly-named turbulent Count of Champagne,) in order to return to her own States, he demanded her hand; and on being refused, prepared

for violence, which she escaped by a speedy flight to Tours. But there also a like danger awaited her from Geoffrey, younger brother of Henry of Normandy. Lord of but three poor Castles, that Prince dared not openly propose to the wealthy heiress; but stratagem might obtain the prize; and in this hope he laid a train for her abduction from the harbour of Piles. Her good fortune a second time preserved her; and no sooner had she arrived at Guienne than she wrote to Henry himself, proffering to him her hand and her Duchy. It is by no means improbable that a passion for that young Prince may have contributed to the disgust which she felt for Louis, and have inclined her to forward the divorce. Henry had twice visited the Court of France; he was in the flower of his age, brave, gallant, vigorous, handsome, and accomplished. Even exclusive of such attractions, to Eleanor, who needed protection, alliance with the existing Duke of Normandy, and the probable future King of England, gave all that she required; while the great augmentation of power which her territories conferred, could not but render the proposal most agreeable to Henry. The negotiation, therefore, even if not before arranged, was rapidly concluded; and six short weeks after Eleanor ceased to be Queen of France, she became Bride of Henry Plantagenet and Duchess of Normandy.†

The mortification felt by Louis at this unexpected aggrandizement of his Vassal at his own expense, no doubt laid deeply the foundation of that almost unceasing discord which marked the subsequent lives of these two Princes. More than half of the dominions which the King of France once ruled were now transferred to Henry; and Louis bitterly lamenting his great political mistake, sought everywhere to create enemies against that rival for whom he had unwittingly prepared so splendid a prize. Fortune, however, continued to heap her benefits on the Duke of Normandy; and an arrangement which left the usurper Stephen in quiet possession of the throne of England during his lifetime, equally secured it to Henry on his demise. That event was not long delayed, and within a year from the Treaty which fixed his succession, Henry II. received his Crown at Westminster. By the Will of his Father, the State of Normandy was to pass to the second brother Geoffrey whenever Henry became King of England, and the latter had sworn to the solemn observance of that condition. But the avarice of the Pope relieved him from the burden of perjury; the weak vanity of Louis, notwithstanding his many causes of resentment, was flattered when so great a Sovereign offered to do personal homage before his throne; and disregarding Geoffrey's rights, he confirmed the usurper in the Fief which he sought to retain.

The details of those frequently renewed hostilities which occurred between Louis VII. and Henry II. will find a more appropriate place in the Annals of England; and we shall here confine ourselves to such few matters as are more intimately connected with the Biography of the former. Although preparing to enforce by arms the pretensions which he advanced to the Counties both of Nantes and of Toulouse, Henry in a personal interview† succeeded in obtaining the assent of the King of

France.

From
A. D.
1108.
to
A. D.
1199.
She mar-
ries Henry
Plantage-
net.

Treaty with
Stephen.
A. D.
1153.
and acces-
sion of
Henry II.
of England.
A. D.
1154.

* His title of *le Jeune* has sometimes been ascribed to this easy abandonment of a large territory. It was more probably given as a distinction from his Father, who bore the name Baptismal name, (Louis,) at the time of their association. The authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* speak of Louis's surrender of Eleanor's portion with straight-forward and most commendable honesty. *Les Politiques Machiavélistes n'ont pas manqué de dire que Louis aurait dû renvoyer sa femme et garder la dot. Mais on ne connaît pas de Louis Devine ni Humaine qui autorise à retenir le bien d'autrui.* i. 576.

* Gervanius, *ad ann.* 1152. Gul. Neubrigensis, i. 31.

† During this visit of Henry to Paris, Louis, as Radulphus de Diceto informs us, gave up his Palace to his Royal Guest, and went to lodge in the Cloisters of Notre Dame. Hence the authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* acutely deduce that in those times the Kings of

History. France to the betrothal of Margaret, the issue of that Prince's second marriage,* to Henry Courtmantel, his own eldest son by the divorced Queen Eleanor. The Bridegroom had attained the ripe age of three years, the Bride that of twice as many months; her dower was to be the Vexin, which was intermediately consigned to the protection of the Knights Templars; and the infant Princess was intrusted to the hands of her Father-in-law, until, at a fitting age, a Papal dispensation should permit the nuptials to be solemnized. On this alliance, the King of England no doubt thought to found a prospective claim for his son to the Crown of France. The two elder daughters of Louis by his first marriage might easily be bastardized, and the Salique Law was not yet so firmly established in France as to prevent a very rational hope of its evasion in favour of the female issue of his second bed.

Henry II. makes an unsuccessful attempt on Toulouse.

A. D. 1159.

During this visit to Paris, the King of England obtained quiet possession of Nantes; and concluded a league with some powerful Barons who promised assistance in his design upon Toulouse. His chief force consisted of Brabançons, mercenary adventurers, issuing originally, as their name betokens, from Brabant and Flanders, and offering their swords, like the *Condottieri* of later times, to the most profitable market.† Of these soldiers Henry at one time had more than twenty thousand in his service, upon whom, so long as he could supply them with keep, pay, and hope of plunder, he rested far greater confidence than upon the ordinary feudal levies. After amusing Louis by repeated conferences, in each of which he profusely lavished vague expressions of friendship, Henry, believing his preparations to be fully adequate to their object, marched at once upon Toulouse. The first suspicion which Louis entertained of this design was generated by hearing of the approach of a hostile army under its walls, and he lost not a moment in throwing himself into the City. The English force was destined for a *coup de main*, by no means for a siege, especially as Toulouse was strongly fortified; and Henry dexterously concealing his weakness, sent a trumpet to inform Louis, that his respect for the Royal authority was too great to permit him to attack a garrison honoured by the presence of his Sovereign. No scruples of loyalty, however, restrained him from other and more defenceless portions of France, and having pillaged an

France had but one Palace in their Capital, and that one, by no means of large dimensions. i. 577.

* With Constance, daughter of Alfonso VII. King of Castile and Leon. Louis married her in 1154, and in a few months afterwards made a pilgrimage to Compostella. The pilgrimage was only an ostensible motive; the real object of his visit was to ascertain whether there were any foundation for a malicious report that his Queen was an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso by a low-born concubine. The Archbishop of Toledo assures us that Louis returned equally overwhelmed with astonishment at the magnificence of the Spanish Court, and well satisfied that his consort, daughter of a sister of the Count of Barcelona, was on both sides of illustrious blood. Rodericus Toletanus, *op. Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 283.

† They were named also *Cetteaux*, from the long knives, provincially called *cetteux*, which formed part of their offensive arms; and *Hostiers*, for numerous reasons too unsatisfactory to deserve quotation, which the reader may find in Du Cange, *ad v. Raptarius*. Their character did not stand very high, if we may form a judgment on the report of the *Chronique de St. Denis*, cited by Velly, ii. 81. *Gens de compagnie, brigands, pillards, voleurs, larrons, infâmes, Avolses, excommuniés. Ils ardoient les Monastères et les Eglises où le peuple se retirait, et tourmentaient les Pères et les Religieuses.* The advantage which they offered over feudal troops arose from the permanency of their service. The latter were bound to keep the field during a certain number of days only; the former remained under arms as long as they received pay.

extensive range of Country with impunity, he consented to a brief and hollow Peace.

In the following year, on the death of Queen Constance in childbed, Louis espoused as his third consort Alice, daughter of the late Thibaud of Champagne. The indecent haste with which this engagement was completed, only fifteen days having elapsed since the demise of the former Queen, may have been occasioned by the anxious desire which Louis felt to confirm the succession by a male heir; and that Henry entertained some apprehension of such an event may be concluded from the step which he immediately adopted in consequence. Without waiting, as had been stipulated, till the children became of marriageable age, he solemnized the nuptials between Henry Courtmantel and Margaret of France; and demanded and received her dower from the Templars to whose custody it had been assigned. This family alliance, instead of cementing the interests of the contracting parties, was the signal for new war, and the part which during its course was taken by Louis as espousing the cause of Thomas à Becket when he sought refuge in France, contributed materially to heighten mutual irritation. "I am astonished," remarked Louis, when he heard of the confiscation and proscription which succeeded the Archbishop's flight, "that my Brother of England should have forgotten the words of the Psalmist, 'Be ye angry and sin not.' " "He would perhaps have remembered them," was the adroit answer of the Courtier to whom these words were addressed, "if he were in the habit of hearing Mass as frequently as your Majesty."*

It was in consequence of a Peace signed at Montmirail, after a lingering and inconclusive war of nine years' continuance, interrupted by frequent armistices and conferences, that Henry Courtmantel proceeded to Paris, and officiated, as we have before stated, as Grand Seneschal. But on the murder of a Becket, it seemed as if hostilities would be renewed more angrily than before. Indignation was at its height throughout France, and Louis wrote to Alexander III. complaining that "maliciousness rising up against a Saint of God had pierced the apple of Christ's eye, and the light of Canterbury," and exhorting him to unsheath the sword of St. Peter; for that the blood of the Martyr cried to the universal Church for vengeance.† Henry at the moment was in too critical a situation to venture upon braving any enemy whom he might hope to conciliate; and having obtained absolution from the Pope, he employed the offices of his Legate to reconcile him with France also.

When the sons of Henry II. arrived at manhood, and leagued in unnatural rebellion against their Father, they received open encouragement from the Court of France. Paris became their asylum and their strong hold; on giving audience to Henry's Ambassadors, Louis avowed that he recognised no other King of England than Courtmantel, who then sat by his throne; he invited his Vassals to arm in that Prince's behalf; and he swore never to abandon the support of his just rights. In the war which ensued, he treacherously violated a capitulation which had placed Verneuil in his hands under a solemn promise of immunity; fired the town when the English army hastening to its relief was already within sight; and by a forced march endeavoured to escape

* *Hist. Quatre. ii. 7.*

† *Epist. Lud. vii. ccccviij. op. Hist. des Gaules, xvi. 153. Falters, London, 1816, i. 27.*

History. its pursuit. But the haste with which the French were withdrawn filled them with an exaggerated apprehension of danger; the retreat soon became a flight; and overtaken before nightfall, while in disorder, fatigued, and dispirited, the whole army was disastrously routed by an enemy panting to revenge the late atrocious perfidy.* Henry vigorously pursued his success till he was recalled to England by a menaced invasion of Courtmantel; and it was at that time that he performed his memorable penance at the Tomb of à Becket. The siege of Rouen occupied Louis during the King of England's absence; and profiting by his great superiority in numbers over the garrison, he divided his army into three corps, which, relieving each other every eight hours, directed their attacks unremittingly during the whole four and twenty, on a single point of the City. The arrangement was soon discovered by the Governor; and being met by a similar division of the garrison, failed of success.† On the Festival of St. Lawrence, for whom the King affected especial devotion, he proclaimed a suspension of arms, and the majority of the Citizens, long pent within their walls, gave loose to joy by active sports and careless festivity, without their circuit. The Count of Flanders marked with a piercing eye the defenceless state of the city, and he suggested to Louis how easy would be its capture. At first the King revolted from so treacherous a proposition; but persuaded at length by the urgency of his less scrupulous ally, he ordered his Knights to arm secretly, and prepare for the assault.‡ A Priest who happened at the moment to be amusing himself by the fine prospect from the tower of one of the Churches, observed an unusual movement in the enemy's camp; and suspecting treachery, sounded the bell which was near him; the alarm soon became general; the citizens hastened back to their ramparts; the gates were closed; and when the French troops advanced as they believed to easy and certain conquest, they encountered a vigorous resistance and a disgraceful repulse.

Negotiations were once more commenced on Henry's return; the rebel sons submitted to their Father, and Peace with France was concluded at Montlouis, not again to be violated. Both Kings, now advanced in years, desired repose; and tacitly consented to lay aside their long existing rivalry. Frequently engaged in amicable conferences, they formed numerous devotional projects: at one time they proposed a joint personal expedition to the Holy Land; at another, to despatch powerful succours for its relief; and at a third, they determined upon a union for the extirpation of those Heretics, who, under the name of *Henriciens*, *Bons-hommes*, or *Albigenses*,§ were establishing themselves both in the French

and Norman dominions. In the populous City of Toulouse it was calculated that more than one half the inhabitants were followers of the new doctrine; and among its most zealous partisans were counted numerous persons of large possessions, ancient pedigree, and dignified station.

But these and other similar propositions, often as they were discussed, were in the end abandoned; and to Louis, if he had been so willing, time was denied for their fulfilment. One son and two daughters were the produce of his last marriage; the former, Philippe—named *Dieu donné*, because he was born at a time at which his Father had renounced all hope of male issue, and *Auguste*, a title derived in the first instance from the mouth of his nativity, and continued afterwards on account of his distinguished qualities—had now attained his fourteenth year, and Louis, who approached his sixtieth, determined to associate him in Government. The day of coronation was fixed for the fifteenth of August, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and the Prelates, Counts, and Barons of the Kingdom were summoned "as they cherished their Sovereign and their honour to attend without let or hinderance" at this solemn festivity. The three Princes of England were among the visitors to the Court, and Henry Courtmantel again claimed the feudal privileges of *Dapifer*. An untoward accident, however, prevented the ceremony upon which all thoughts were fixed. A few days before the morning of the *Sacre*, Philippe Auguste being engaged in a hunting party in the forest of Compiègne was separated from his retinue. Entangled in the depths of the wild, he continued to wander till nightfall; and then, when overpowered by cold, hunger, and fatigue, he was further harassed by a startling apparition. A wild figure of a man stood before him; of extraordinary stature, and coarse and savage features; blackened from head to foot with charcoal, bearing an axe upon his shoulder, and blowing into flame some smouldering embers which he carried in an iron vessel. The young Prince, although greatly terrified, mastered his fears sufficiently to address the innigred spectre; who proved to be one of the rough but harmless charcoal-burners inhabiting the

France.

From
A. D.
1109.
to
A. D.
1199.

Intended
association
of Philippe
Auguste.
A. D.
1179.

His adventure
in the
Forest of
Compiègne.

* Before the birth of Philippe, his Father saw in a dream his future son, carrying in his hand a golden cup full of human blood from which he made his Nobles drink. The King conceived this fearful vision till on his death-bed he revealed it to the Bishop of Albi, at that time Papal Legate, who frequently mentioned it afterwards. (*Chron. Regum Francorum*, ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xii. 214.) Its key is given by Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Instructione Principis*, i. id. xviii. 124. But the entire History of the embryo Philippe Auguste is too curious to be omitted. His baptism is represented in a vignette to the XIVth volume of the *Hist. des Gaules*, and is accompanied by the following *Interpretatio eius Exitus advenit pagana. Anno MCXCV, illustrissimus Ludovicus Pius, cum multis haberet filios et nullum filium, tempore quo Abbates Cisterciensis Ordinis conveniunt apud Cistercium ad Capitulum generale, venit ibidem, et protulit se ad terram coram cunctis Abbatibus ibidem congregatis: qui humiliter et devotè rogaverunt Regem, ut se erigeret ac surgeret. Et respondens Rex ait se nunquam de terrâ levare, donec promitterent ei in brevi heredem masculinum habiturum. Abbates verò renidebant petitiõnem Regis, dicentes talia ad Deum pertinere. Rex autem perseveravit protulitque in petitiõne sua. Tunc Abbates predicti orationi devoti cum lacrymis se dederunt. Qui surgentes ab oratione, divinis gratiis inspirante, certificaverunt Regi quòd in brevi prolem masculinam haberet. Et tunc piamus Ludovicus Rex, fide, spe, et caritate plenus, surrexit à terrâ, et cum gratularum actione et magnâ devotione recessit. Et eodem anno, quam miraculose in senectute sua, de uxore sua filium genuit, quem Philippum nominavit: qui postea dictus est Philippus magnanimus, alii Arctolabus. Hæc habetur in Tabularibus Claustrorum Monasteriorum Ordinis per Franciam, tom. xii. p. 133.*

• Benedictus Abbas. Hoveden. Brompton, all ad ann. 1173. Gul. Neubrigensis is silent respecting the French defeat.

† Mohammed II., when besieging Scutari in 1478, divided his great force, exceeding eighty thousand men, in a very similar manner, and was also similarly repulsed by the Venetians.

‡ Non per vocem tubæ nec præconiis sed suis ducum suavis exercitus in iram suam ad iram suam præparabat exitum. Guillelmus Neubrigensis, ii. ad ann. ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xiii. 117.

§ The Henriciens were disciples of Henry, an Italian Hermit, who preached in Switzerland, Potiers, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and the neighbouring districts in 1147, was condemned by Eugenius III. at the Council of Rheims in the following year, and soon afterwards died in prison. *Bons-hommes* seems the French rendering of *Cathari*, a name which, like *Albigenses*, (originally given to the Paulicians of the IXth Century) became extended generally to almost all Heretics of every denomination.

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History. forest, and who afforded prompt guidance to Philippe through its intricacies.* But the agitation which the youth had suffered powerfully affected him, and he awoke on the following morning raving and delirious with a fever, the rapid progress of which soon rendered the Physicians almost desperate as to his recovery.

From
A. D.
1108.
to
A. D.
1199.
Pilgrimage
of Louis to
the shrine
of a Becket.

The chief hopes and affections of Louis were centered on this only son, and in his agony of grief, he vowed to undertake a pilgrimage to a Becket's shrine, already renowned for its sanctity and its many reputed miracles. The Martyr, during his lifetime, had been largely indebted to the King of France for protection, and if gratitude were a quality which survived in a state of Beatification, it was not too much to expect that the Saint would now intercede in behalf of the distracted parent. Moreover, he had appeared three nights consecutively to the King in his sleep to give an invitation.† Henry was in waiting at Dover;‡ to do honour to the Royal Pilgrim, whom he accompanied to Canterbury also; and there the French King performed his mournful devotions at the Shrine of the Martyr, and presented it with costly offerings. Among them was a gem of inestimable price, well known in France as *La Royale*;§ a golden cup embellished with the choicest workmanship; and a perpetual endowment of one hundred pipes of wine, to be selected annually from the Royal Cellars at Poissy, and sent over to England free of expense. At the same time he relieved the Monks of Canterbury for ever from all tolls and duties for such articles as they might purchase in France for the use of their Church; and in confirmation of this great bounty he presented them with a Charter countersigned and sealed by his Chancellor.¶

Not more than five days were consumed by the anxious Father in this devout expedition, and on his return he heard with delight that his son had recovered. No time was lost in renewing preparations for his *Sacre*, which was performed with a magnificence upon which the native Historians fondly dwell, but in the presence of Louis. He had been disabled by a stroke of palsy while attending Mass at St. Denis. He survived for many months afterwards in a state of im-

becility; and his long reign of forty-three years was terminated in September 1180. The Government had virtually passed into the hands of Philippe Auguste from the moment of his Coronation; which had been speedily followed by a marriage peculiarly grateful to National feelings. Isabelle of Hainault, whom Philippe selected as his Consort, was lineally descended from Charles Duke of Lorraine, Brother of Lothaire II. and Uncle of Louis V.; and from this union of the blood of Charlemagne with that of Hugh Capet were drawn the most auspicious omens of future happiness and stability. A remarkable accident which occurred at the Coronation of the new Queen tended not a little to strengthen these favourable convictions. Philippe on the arrival of his Bride in Paris renewed his *Sacre*; and while the youthful pair were awaiting unction from the hands of the Archbishop of Sens, one of the attendants waving his wand of office to restrain the pressure of the crowd, broke three glass lamps suspended immediately over the heads of the King and Queen, and lodged them with their contents. There was no little skill and adroitness in converting this personally disagreeable mishap into a presage of good fortune; but some ready Wit declared, and the populace joyfully echoed, that those whom Providence had thus abundantly anointed would receive a double portion of his other bounties also.*

When the Royal power was virtually transferred to the hands of Philippe Auguste by the incapacity of his Father, the young King had scarcely exceeded his fourteenth year; but he already gave evidence of a spirit likely to brook control. The first acts of his Government must be attributed to the blind zeal of the Ecclesiastics who surrounded him; for Religious persecution is not the vice of Boyhood.† While the Jews on their Sabbath were assembled in worship, they were dragged at the same hour from all their Synagogues throughout the Kingdom, committed to prison, and sentenced to quit the French dominions within three months. Whatever ready money they might possess, and whatever movables they could transport, the wretched exiles were permitted to retain, but all their other property was confiscated; and such of their debtors as consented to pay into the Royal Treasury a fifth part of the sum for which they were bound to any Jew, were relieved from the remainder of their engagement. The ordinary calum-

* Rigordus, de *Gesta Philippo Augusti*, ap. *Hist. des Gaulles*, xiv. 5.

† It was delivered in the following words: *Domina mater ihesus Christus misit me servum suum Thomam Cantuariensem Martyrem, ad te, ut scias, si credideris et amicos contrito adteris servum suum Thomam Cantuariensem Martyrem, Filium tuum convalescet de infirmitate illa quâ tenetur.* On the third appearance the Archbishop was wroth and added menaces. Benedictus Petroburgensis Abbas, *ad ann. apud Hist. des Gaulles*, xii. 180.

‡ For this purpose Henry rode all night; and observed an Eclipse of the Moon while on his journey. Gervasius Durovernenis, *op. Hist. des Gaulles*, xii. 141.

§ To this jewel, allusion is probably made by Erasmus in his incomparable Dialogue, *Peregrinatio Religiosa regis*. When the coffin which enclosed the remains of the Martyr was exhibited to the pilgrim Orygus (one of the interlocutors of the Dialogue) with all its emblazony of gold and gems, *Prætor candidi virgî demonstrabat contactu singulas gemmas, addens nomen Gallicum, pretium, et amorem domi. Non præcipuus Monarchæ dono muerant.* The gratitude of the Monks in return may be seen in a Letter from their Chapter to the King promising him a variety of Ecclesiastical remembrances; and among them, that on the day of his death, whenever it may occur, they will perform no less full service for his soul than if he had actually been an Archbishop of Canterbury. *Ap. Hist. des Gaulles*, xvi. 167.

¶ This was the first time any King of France had landed upon the English shore either in peaceful or in hostile guise, *vel hostis manu vel ingressus pacifico.* Radulfus de Diceto, *ad ann. ap. Hist. des Gaulles*, xii. 202.

* *Adfert signum abundantie, famæ, gloriæ et sapientie.* Chron. Reg. Franc. ap. *Hist. des Gaulles*, xii. 215. See also Rigordus, *ut supra*, p. 7. The latter Historian terms the Queen Elizabeth, *venerabilis Regina*; probably she bore two names, for she is often mentioned by others as Elizabeth.

† Nevertheless Rigordus is loose in panegyricising that which he considers the early piety of Philippe Auguste. So offensive were oaths to his ears, that if a soldier, or any one else, happened to let slip an imprecation in his presence, he was forthwith thrown into the next pond or rivet; *quando fortuito eorum males vel quidlibet aliud iudens, præsentem Regem, ex improviso juramentum incurritur, statim ad mandatum Regis in flumine vel in lacu aliquo proijciuntur. . . . Macte virtute! cujus talia erant principis, quanta erit finis!* (p. 5.) Besides this symptom of precocious devotion, he manifested one other, that of refusing to give his old clothes to players, jugglers, and minstrels. Rigordus is grievously shocked at the profusion with which some Princes occasionally bestowed upon those ragged bands, richly embroidered vests, after six or seven days' wear, which perhaps had cost them twenty or thirty marks. Philippe Auguste was not thus idly lavish, but reserved his cast wardrobe for the poor, *videns omnia ista esse vana et salutis contraria, instructo Spiritu Sancti reducere ad memoriam; quod a sanctis et religiosi viri quandoque dicerant, quod luxuriosus dare Darnobus est vitium.* (p. 21.)

Death of
Louis le
Grand.

From
From
A. D.
1101
to
A. D.
1196
to
A. D.
1180
Consolidation
and max-
ims of
Philippe
Auguste.

Persecution
of Jews.

History. From A. D. 1108. to A. D. 1199. nies which have been circulated in every Country of Europe whenever it has been thought fit to direct persecution against this outcast nation, were now sedulously revived. It was affirmed that they had profaned a Crucifix and certain Sacramental vessels which had been deposited with them in pawn, and that at their Passover they had even crucified a Christian in mockery of the Saviour. Avarice as well as Superstition may have claimed its share in occasioning the cruelties inflicted upon this suffering but wealthy people; and relief from the future discharge of usurious contracts, and the attainment of present plunder, may have contributed, together with imaginary zeal for God's service, to cause their expulsion.*

The French Court was divided into two parties each struggling for ascendancy over the Royal minor; the one composed of the Queen Mother, Alice, and her four brothers of the House of Champagne; the other of the Count of Flanders, uncle of the Queen Consort Isabelle, and his adherents. The King's marriage, however approved by the Nation, had been strenuously opposed by his mother, who, jealous of the new influence which it introduced and deprived both of revenue and authority, hastily betook herself to Normandy, and solicited protection from Henry II., and his eldest son whom he had associated with himself in Royalty. The Kings met on their respective frontiers, in the presence of a numerous force on either side, to confer upon the dispute; and Henry, a veteran in diplomacy, and one of the ablest politicians who ever filled a throne, was astonished at the prudence which marked the boy-negotiator in these discussions. Without any manifestation of alarm at the great power of the mediator whom Alice had chosen, and without any cession of his own claims to the full enjoyment of Sovereignty, Philippe consented to his mother's return, and ensured her a maintenance adequate to the dignity of her station. In the Treaty which concluded this interview, the Princes mutually promised inviolable fidelity; Henry to *son Seigneur*, Philippe to *son homme et son fidèle*; feudal expressions singularly contrasting with their comparative years and power.

In the earlier part of his reign, during intervals of tranquillity, Philippe Auguste laudably directed himself to the improvement of his Capital. Two large Halls (*halles*) were erected in the market-place called *Champraux*, as a sort of Exchange for "merchants." But the merchants of those times, if we may judge from the narrative of Rigordus, were little superior to modern pedlars. The chief object of these buildings was to enable them to sell their

wares undamaged (*mundisime*) in rainy weather, and to secure them also from pillage during night. For these purposes the circuit was walled round, and the gates were carefully shut after dark; moreover, between the Halls themselves and the outer wall, roofed stalls (*stalla dauper aperta*) were constructed, which allowed commercial intercourse on the very wettest day, without a chance of injury to the goods. Another and a much more important benefit conferred on the metropolis was the paving of its streets. The young King one morning, as we are told, while walking up and down the great Saloon of his Palace, anxiously meditating on the affairs of State, looked out at a window commanding the Seine, as was his wont for occasional recreation; and his attention was forcibly arrested by a grievous stench proceeding from the mud which had been disturbed in one of the streets by the passage of some waggons. All his predecessors had been deterred by fear of expense from remedying this nuisance; but Philippe Auguste at once assembled the Magistrates, and ordered every street and alley in the City to be paved. This improvement brought with it a change of name also; in which, while we give full credit to the derivation of the original title *Lutetia*, we hesitate perhaps in admitting that of *Paris*, which traces its founder to the line of Assaracus.*

Philippe, as we have seen, had extricated himself from bondage to his mother and her partisans: on the demise of Louis VII. he similarly shook off the guardianship of the Count of Flanders, from whom he claimed his wife's inheritance, now due to him by the death of her mother. The mediation of the King of England was again successfully employed. But the hostilities then prevented broke out two years afterwards, on the second marriage of the Count, by which Philippe apprehended that his promised succession to the Vermandois on that Prince's death might be impeded.† Few events in History are more utterly devoid of interest than the numerous short and petty wars occurring in the early part of the reign of Philippe Auguste; and the reader will gladly be spared the recital of mutual pillage, the capture and recapture of unimportant castles, and the hourly changes of military fortune, which, whatever misery they might inflict on their subjects, in no wise increased the strength or the glory of either of the contending parties. We hasten, therefore, in this instance, as we shall do in others also, to the result. Flanders had much to dread from the stagnation of commerce and the destruction of her manufactures which must be occasioned by a long continuance of War; and on that account, Philippe, without obtaining one decisive victory, was solicited to terminate it; and he added Amiens, Sancerre, and the Vermandois to the hereditary possessions of his Crown, as the price of this Peace.

This first and important success naturally encouraged a desire for further acquisition; and henceforward we shall perceive the many commanding qualities of

France.

From A. D. 1108. to A. D. 1199.

A. D. 1186.

Philippe claims the Vermandois.

A. D. 1182.

War with the Count of Flanders. A. D. 1185.

Advantageous Peace.

A. D. 1183.

* Rigordus compares the Jews in their profane usage of consecrated plate to Belshazzar; (p. 8.) in which parallel he is more fortunate than when he tells us that the unhappy exiles, when plundered on their expulsion, resembled their ancestors who spoiled the Egyptians left behind. Indeed he appears to make the one event a type of the other. *Hoc ipso significata fuit futura reiectio qua procedente tempore, Duo disponente, secuta est.* (p. 6.) The reputed victim, *interfectus Judæus et crucifixus*, at Paris, was buried in the Church of the Innocents, canonised as St. Richard, and reputed to work many miracles. Robertus de Monte in his *Chronicle*, ad ann. 1171, mentions others of whom a similar death is recorded: one a child at Blois, who after crucifixion was thrown into the Loire; another in the time of King Stephen, buried in the Cathedral at Norwich; and a third at Gloucester during the reign of Henry II. Lincoln has a similar story attached to the shrine of a St. Hugh. The Chronicle of Gilbert of Mons, perhaps, after all, gives the true reason for Philippe's treatment of the Jews, *pro quorum expulsiōe a Christianis immensam pecuniam accepit.* *Ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xviii. 364.

* Rigordus, *ut sup.* p. 13. 17. *Ad hoc Christianissimus Rex conbator, quid nomen antiquum auferret civitati: Lutetia enim a luti satore prius dicta fuerat, sed gentiles quondam, hujusmodi nomen propter fatorem abhorrentes, a Pseudo Alexandro, filio Præmi, Regis Trojæ, Parisius vocaverunt.*

† The Vermandois (on the death of her mother, first consort of the Count of Flanders) rightfully descended to Isabelle. The Count promised that it should devolve to her after his own death, but it was naturally feared that issue by a second wife might induce him to violate that promise.

History.

From

A. D.

1108

to

A. D.

1199.

A. D.

1186.

Causes of
quarrel with
England.

Philippe Auguste, his calmness and discretion, his sagacity and firmness, his valour and enterprise, directing themselves to the single purpose of extending the Royal dominion and prerogative. The Feudatory whom he next humbled was the Duke of Burgundy; but by a wise restitution of all that he had won, he firmly attached him to his service during the ensuing contest which he already contemplated with a far greater Vassal. Many circumstances indeed contributed to afford causes of dissension with England. On the death of Henry Courtmanteil in 1183, Philippe claimed the restitution of the Vexin, the dower of that Prince's widow, Margaret of France.* On the subsequent death of Geoffrey, third son of the King of England, he pretended also to the guardianship of his two daughters and of the Fief of Brittany, the inheritance of Constance their widowed mother, at that time pregnant. Henry, as the immediate Feudal Lord, asserted a claim in opposition to the Lord Paramount; but the dispute was terminated by the birth of a male heir, that Arthur whose wrongs and whose innocence have drawn tears from every reader of either our National History or Drama. Another grievance was easily and perhaps more rightfully made a subject of complaint. Alice of France, a sister of Philippe, had been educated in England from her infancy as the future bride of Richard Cœur de Lion, now heir to the Crown of that Kingdom. It was asserted (but it may be hoped on insufficient grounds) that the destined consort of his Son had fallen a victim to the Father's licentiousness;† but Philippe either discrediting the rumour, or as is more probable, advancing a demand which he believed could not possibly be granted, as a pretext for quarrel, insisted

War.

A. D.

1187.

* She married, Beta III., King of Hungary, in 1185.

† Lord Lytellon is amusingly grave upon this piece of scandal. After speaking of the numerous delays which Henry interposed to prevent this marriage, and his perpetual refusal to restore Alice to her relations in the Court of France, he continues, "When wise men act unwisely, the cause must usually be sought for in their passions. I therefore cannot doubt that the real motive of his otherwise unaccountable conduct was a passionate love for that Princess. . . . Love too easily hopes what it ardently wishes; and the supposing him under the tyranny of that passion, which is commonly attended with a greater degree of dotage in elderly men than in young, unravels the whole mystery of his present and subsequent proceedings. For it is natural, if he loved Adalais that he should rather incline to risque a war (however dangerous it might be) than to think of parting with her and delivering her to her Brother, who might presently marry her to another Prince." *Hist. of the Reign of Henry II.* 4to. iii. 447. Henry II. was a crafty and violent Political intriguer, and at the time at which he is represented to have been thus enacting the part of Damon was fifty-five years of age. The young Princess, then only seventeen, was afterwards, in 1195, married to William Count of Ponthieu. The accusation against Henry, as it appears from Hoveden and Benedictus Petroburgensis, both *ad ann.* 1191, was made after his death by Richard I. when he refused to comply with Philip's request that he would complete the marriage. But Richard at that moment was on the brink of espousing another woman, and never at any time entertained much regard for his Father's reputation. By the Chroniclers he is made to affirm broadly that Alice had borne a child to his Father. In the *Philippes*, with more Poetical decorum, he conceals the shame of both parties.

Germanum tibi reddo tuum, causamque latratum

Quid compellor ad hoc, a me, rogo, querere noli.

iv. 128.

In another part of the same Work the author is more plain spoken. He says that Henry by his detention of Alice was as one

Se super incertis suspectum crimine reddens

Corruptis narum famâ vulgante notatus.

iii. 636.

upon the immediate consumption of their long delayed nuptials. In the war which ensued, Cœur de Lion, who held an important command under his Father, gave manifest proofs of a secret understanding with France; and when Henry, by an abandonment of territory, obtained a two years' truce, the hot-headed youth openly resorted to Philippe's camp, banqueting in his tent, drank out of the same cup, and even shared with him the same bed.

The usual spot of conference between the Kings of France and Dukes of Normandy was on a plain near Gisors, so divided between the frontiers that it might be considered almost neutral ground. There, under an ancient elm of extraordinary size and beauty, they were sheltered from the Sun during their parleys. The English, on one occasion, during this short interval of tranquillity, preoccupied the shade, and with great courtesy excluded Philippe and his Nobles from participation. Incensed at this affront, the King of France, as soon as the English guards had withdrawn, uprooted this auspicious Tree of Peace, the fate of which is deplored by almost all the Chroniclers.* Before the expiration of the Truce, the impetuosity of Richard plunged the Kings again into hostilities; at their close, Henry signed a humiliating Peace, and died broken-hearted by the unnatural treachery of his Sons. In his last moments he bitterly cursed them, and the superstitious of the times believed that when Cœur de Lion approached his Father's corpse, a few hours after it had ceased to breathe, blood flowing from his mouth attested the presence of the murderer. Philippe had again profited by this struggle; Berri and Auvergne were confirmed to him, and he sold the restitution of some other conquests at the great price of twenty thousand marks of silver; Richard I. on his accession, in order to secure the fulfilment of this Treaty, concerning which Philippe affected to demur, consented to pay four thousand marks in addition.

These events and the death of the French Queen Isabelle postponed for many months an engagement contracted by the two Kings, to make a joint expedition to the Holy Land.† At length, soon after Midsummer 1190, Philippe received the *Oriflamme* at St. Denis; delivered to the proper authorities his Will, and an Ordinance, appointing the Queen Mother and her Brother, the Archbishop of Rheims, Regents during his absence;‡ made his progress through Lyons in com-

* Benedictus Petroburgensis (*op. Hist. des Gaules*, xvii. 484.) and Radulfus da Dietro (*ibid.* 639.) state only that Philippe destroyed the tree in a gust of passion, because the conference had not ended amicably. Roger Hoveden, *ad ann.* adds, that he soon more parleys should ever be held under it. The *Philippes*, ii. 102—185, relates the quarrel and a skirmish which took place in consequence to the disadvantage of the English. According to the Poet, Henry had felled the tree with an iron railing and headed of it as a type of the stability of his dominion, a vault which made Philippe more anxious to destroy it.

*Quæ modo tot romis tantoque virbat honore,
Et Fulcra furent vixit gloria vultu,
Nunc, pudor ei luctus patris totius, ab ipso
Funditus est evulso solo.*

† One result of the conquests of Saladin, to check which was the chief object of this 11th Crusade, we do not recollect to have observed anywhere but in the pages of Rigordus. *Et nota quod ab eodem anno Domini quando Rex Francie in transmarina peribit ab eodem Saladino capta fuit, infantes qui ab eo tempore nati sunt, non habent nisi viginti dentes aut tantum viginti, cum anni triginta aut triginta duo habere consueverant.* (p. 25.)

‡ This instrument is given at length by Rigordus. (p. 30.)

History.

From
A. D.
1108,
to
A. D.
1199.turn of
shippe
equale.
A. D.
1191.house of
duard I.
A. D.
1153.military
History of
England at
home.A. D.
1194.Supplies
and trust of
the French.apprise of
the Royal
archives.

pany with the King of England; and embarked with a brilliant suite at Genoa. The greater part of his army had preceded him, and was already encamped under the walls of Acre; a spot on which the superior glory won by Richard, increased the bitter jealousy already cherished against his ally by Philippe, and before eighteen months had elapsed destroyed their confederacy.*

The transactions in the Holy Land belong to another portion of our History; and respecting both these events and all immediately connected with the Annals of England we are purposely brief in this place. Philippe on his return to Europe, in spite of the solemn compact which bound him to strict amity with his recent companion in arms, made no scruple of violating those oaths; and stimulated and assisted the treacherous designs of Prince John upon the Crown of his chivalric Brother; who languished meanwhile, first in the Austrian dungeons, afterwards in those of the Emperor Henry VI. The brief letter by which the King of France advised the would-be usurper that Richard was freed from captivity, "Take care of yourself, for the Devil is unloosed,"† and the refuge which he afforded the fugitive, when in consequence of that expressive despatch he hastily crossed the Channel to Normandy, were repaid by John with a signal act of perfidy. Less confident of permanent support from Philippe than of pardon from the generous temper of Richard, he invited the French garrison which had been placed under his command at Evreux to a splendid banquet; and surrounding his victims, while revelling and unarmed, by his own Body-guard, he massacred three hundred men in cold blood, fixed their heads on the battlements, and took possession of the City in the name of the King of England; Philippe in his just anger laid Evreux in ashes; a revenge which the activity of Richard, who had now entered Normandy, was not able to prevent. In the desultory war which followed, the King of England more than retaliated. Laying an ambuscade near Vendome, he surprised Philippe, wholly unprepared for attack, and seated at breakfast, under a woodside in a sequestered valley. The flight was general and immediate; and the King of France was saved from capture, after separation from his followers, by accidentally turning aside to hear Mass in a neighbouring Church. The English, unsuspecting that the chief object of their pursuit was so near at hand, passed on in full gallop.‡ All the plate, baggage, and treasure of the vanquished host became the prize of the Conquerors; and among the booty were the Royal archives, the Revenue accounts,

the Registers of the Exchequer, and the King's Privy Signet.* These fruitless maraudings were terminated, as usual, by an armistice, to be violated by either party at the first moment at which a breach of faith appeared advantageous.

One son by his late Queen was the sole issue of Philippe's bed;† and the perpetuation of the Crown in his own line required a second marriage for its security. The care of Heaven, if we believe Rigordus, (and he was a Physician,) had already been once displayed by the miraculous recovery of this young Prince from a sickness which appeared to be unto death. The story is too characteristic of the times to be omitted. When all human aid proved vain, the Monks of St. Denis, after prayer and fasting, carried in solemn procession, barefooted and in tears, a nail of the Cross, a prickle of the Crown of Thorns, and an arm of Holy Simeon, to the Church of St. Lazarus without the Walls. After Mass and oblations, having been joined by the Archbishop, his Canons and Clerks, by the whole body of Metropolitan Clergy and an infinite throng of students and of the populace, weeping, groaning, and chanting hymns, they marched to the Palace in which the Royal youth was at that moment supposed to be dying. A sermon was there preached to the assembled crowd, and prayers were offered up for the child's recovery. Then the Priests, standing over the sick couch, made with the relics the sign of the Cross upon the patient's stomach, and before nightfall he was pronounced out of danger. His complaint was dysentery, and in order that the marvel might be complete, his Father, who was labouring under a similar complaint in Palestine, was cured on the self-same day and hour. Moreover, at the same moment, a long series of rainy weather, inflicted as a visitation upon human sin, entirely ceased;‡

In looking round for a new Consort, Philippe was guided by political motives; and in the hope of securing the alliance of Denmark against England he demanded the hand of Ingeburge, daughter of King Valdemar I. and sister of Canute VI. The Princess is described as "beautiful, of holy life and of sound principles;"§ nevertheless, from some mysterious and unexplained cause, which Philippe never revealed, and which Rigordus ascribes to witchcraft and the instigation of the Devil, the King, on the day succeeding his nuptials, quitted his Bride in sudden disgust; shut her up for three years in a Castle, where, to use her own piteous words, "she dared not raise her eyes to heaven;" and endeavoured to dissolve the marriage, on the ordinary plea of consanguinity. The affinity was not between the married pair themselves, but between Philippe's first wife and second wives, a connection of which the Church refused to take cognizance; and the Legates whom Celles-

France.

From
A. D.
1108,
to
A. D.
1199.Miraculous
recovery of
Philippe's
son.Marriage of
Philippe
with Inge-
burge of
Denmark.
A. D.
1193.He applies
for a dis-
solving.A. D.
1196.

* The expressions of Richard I. when he was abandoned by Philippe are most bitter. He wrote as follows: *Pont recessum Domini Regis Francie vidis apud Accon, qui ita turpiter peragrationsis tue propositum ac votum contra voluntatem Dei dereliqui in approbationem aeternam tui et Regni ipsius, &c. Epist. Regis Anglie, Fadera, London, 1816, i. 54.*

† Roger Hoveden, after reciting the Treaty for Richard's delivery, adds, *Quod cum Rex Francie audisset statim mandavit Comiti Johanni ut ipse ubi caveret quia Diabolus jam solutus erat.* Ad ann. 1193, ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xvii. 559. This Billet is now familiar to every reader's ears by Sir Walter Scott's introduction of it in *Isabel*.

‡ Gul. Brito Armoricus, *Philippeis*, iv. 447. Rigordus (p. 40.) does not impute this massacre to John. But the *Philippeis* is sound authority, and unhappily it is not contradicted by any parts of John's character and conduct which have been transmitted to us. Guilelmus Brito passed his life in constant personal intercourse with Philippe Auguste, and was eye-witness of most of the facts which he relates.

§ Roger Hoveden, ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, 570. ad ann.

* *Scripta tributorum, fiscoque chirographis, nec non Cum reliquis capitulis rebus regale signatum.*

Philippeis, iv. 547.

Roger Hoveden (*ad sup.*) mentions a yet more important spoil, *Copella* (the Archives originally kept in the Royal Chapel) regia, et charta universorum hominum. *Regis Anglie*, qui se dederant *Regi Francie* et Comiti Johanni contra eum. Philippe took great pains to repair the loss of the Crown Records, which were afterwards deposited in the *Treasure of Chartres*.

† Afterwards Louis VIII., born September 5, 1187.

‡ *Nec est sileat praterendum quod eodem die per orationes Cleri et Populi serenitas aeris et temporis restituta est universis terris: pluvialis enim Dominus, peccatis hominum exiguibus, multo tempore super terram.* Rigordus, p. 34.

§ *Pulcherrimum puellum, sanctum et bonis moribus ornatum.* Id. p. 35.

History.

From
A. D.
1108.
to
A. D.
1199.

War with

England.
A. D.
1195.

Reconcilia-
tion.

Fresh war.

A. D.
1196.

tiu III. despatched to adjudge the cause, being as the courtly Historiographer describes them, "dumb dogs, without the power of giving tongue, and trembling moreover for their own hides, brought nothing to conclusion."^{*} In spite of the reclamations of Canute and the menaces of Rome, Philippe, however, without having obtained a divorce, espoused Mary, daughter of Berchold, a Prince of the Tyrol, and braved the Papal excommunication which was immediately denounced.

Richard I. had again taken the field, urged to fresh hostilities by the Emperor, who, from reasons with which we are unacquainted, had exchanged the alliance of Philippe for that of his recent prisoner. An equally unaccountable transition occurred in Richard himself, which indeed so far perplexed Rigordus that he does not scruple to ascribe it to the "direct miraculous interference of Providence, who regulates the counsels of Kings, and scatters the imaginations of the People at his own pleasure."[†] The armies were already in each other's presence near Issoudun, and a general battle was anticipated; when, contrary to all expectation, Richard, unarmed and attended by a small suite, rode to the French camp, voluntarily tendered homage for Normandy, Poitiers, and Anjou, and signed the preliminaries of a Peace, which was speedily ratified to be as speedily broken.[‡]

We know not by which party this Treaty was first violated, but when Richard once more appeared in arms, he was supported by Baldwin Count of Flanders, the future Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and by numerous other powerful Barons of France. The war, as before, was one of uncombined assaults and skirmishes; and unhappily was distinguished by much more than former barbarity. Whether the personal hatred of the two Kings had increased by the length of their rivalry, or whether the Brabançons whom Richard employed, under their leader Marchades, (soon about to become infamous by the perpetration of one of the most savage and perfidious acts recorded in History,§) im-

ported extraordinary ferocity to the contest, is not to be decided; but we read with horror of numerous brutal inflictions and reprisals, of the drowning, blinding, and mutilation of prisoners on both sides. One act of Richard displays a less cruel spirit, and manifests no inconsiderable portion of humour. The Bishop of Beauvais having placed himself at the head of the troops of his See, was taken prisoner after a sharp engagement with Marchades, and Celestin III. solicited Richard for the freedom of his *dear Son*. The King despatched in return the Bishop's surcoat rent and bloody, and in the words of Joseph's Brothers inquired from the Pope, "This have we found; know now whether it be thy Son's coat or no."[¶]

The revenues of the French Crown were exhausted by continued war, and by subsidies which the King had afforded to Philip of Suabia in his contest for the Empire. As one expedient to recruit his shattered finances, Philippe sold to the Jews free permission to reestablish themselves in his dominions; and the general wear of his Ecclesiastics prophesied the vengeance of Heaven upon this departure from righteous persecution; and affirmed a reverse which he soon afterwards experienced to be a judgment and a visitation. The skirmish in which Philippe was worsted would be little worth mentioning did it not happen to be recorded by Richard himself in a Letter to the Bishop of Durham. The King of England, it seems, was in occupation of Dangu, after ravaging its neighbourhood and mastering several Castles; and Philip, not aware that a Fortress at Curcelle was in the power of his enemy, marched to its relief. Richard disposed his main body on the left bank of the river Epie at Dangu, and encountering his adversary near Gisors, charged him so home with no more than the few followers who constituted his personal suite, that the French betook themselves to instant flight.[‡] "The bridge," says Richard, "gave way under them; and the King of France, as we hear, had a taste of the river water, and about twenty of his men were drowned. I myself with a single lance unhorsed three Knights, and made them prisoners. Besides these we have taken about one hundred more, and Marchades has thirty whom I have not yet seen. The camp-followers, horse and footmen, who have fallen into our hands are innumerable, and moreover we have captured two hundred chargers, one hundred and forty of which are armed at all points. Thus have we conquered the King of France at Gisors, yet the victory is not ours, but that of God and our Right; and in the engagement we have hazarded

* Rigordus, p. 38. *Sed quia facti sunt canes muti, non valentes latrare, timentes etiam pelli se, nihil ad perfectum deduxerunt.* Of Philippe's disgust he says, *Sed, mirum! eodem die, instigante Diabolo, ipse Rex, quibundam, ut dicitur, maleficus per varietas impudens, uxorem suam longo tempore captivam, exasum habere cepit.* Ingeburge herself, in a letter to Celestin III., declares that her marriage was consummated; and then adds, that her husband instigante diabolo et quorundam malefactorum Principum persuasione imprisoned her in a Castle, *ubi sic proscripta dego, quod ad castra levare oculos non audeo neque possum.* Ap. Baluzii Murell. i. 422. Gilbert of Mons considers Philippe's alienation from his wife to have been entirely political, because her Father espoused the interests of the Count of Flanders. Ap. *Hist. des Gaules*, xviii. 371. We are unable to trace Velly's authority for asserting that when the Queen heard of Philippe's intention she burst into tears, and in broken French appeared to the Vatican, *Mule France, male France! Rome, Rome!* n. 176. Neither have we found authority for Metcay's statement of forbidden affinity between Philippe himself and Ingeburge, ii. 600. The *Annalista Saxonico*, cited in a note on the above passage in Rigordus, expressly says that the French Prelate and Barons, before whom Philippe laid his case in the first instance, pronounced that they found *conjugum inter primam et secundam Reginam.*

† P. 42.

‡ Roger Hoveden, *ad ann.*, differs somewhat from this statement. Richard, he says, by a forced march unexpectedly relieved Issoudun, which Philippe had invested, and the latter, alarmed at the superior numbers of the enemy, negotiated for an unmediated retreat, which the King of England refused. In a subsequent parley, Peace was mediated by the Ecclesiastics. This account is certainly more probable than that of Rigordus.

§ Velly, in a singularly mistaken spirit, claims for Philippe

Auguste, instead of Marchades, the honour of the treacherous and inhuman punishment of Bertrand de Gourdon, the soldier who discharged the quarrel by which Richard I. was killed; and who was flayed alive after the dying King had pardoned and rewarded him, in consequence of his bold and noble avowal of his just causes of personal hostility. The French King, says the ultra-marchal Abbé, well fitted to live under that which once was the rule of French Kings, *par grandeur d'âme, autant que par politique, vout tout à feu venger la mort d'un ennemi qu'il aimait, et parer à la cruauté des Sarrasins, dont, selon l'expression de Malherbe, il était lui-même le Seigneur et le Roi.* ii. 189.

• Genesis, xxxvii. 32.

† Philippe Rex, contra omnium hominum opinionem, quoniam Regis edictum, Judæos Persuram reduxit, et Ecclesiæ Dei graviter est persecutus: quod de causâ parvo secuta est. Rigordus. (81) The Chronicle of St. Denis almost translates the above words, and adds, *Pour se venger la mort d'un ennemi qu'il aimait, et parer à la cruauté des Sarrasins, dont, selon l'expression de Malherbe, il était lui-même le Seigneur et le Roi.* (85.) And to the like purpose Guilelmus Americus. *Ibid.* 73.

History. our life and Kingdom, against the advice of our subjects."*

This action was the last in which the two Kings were to encounter each other; the mediation of the Pope led to a conference early in the year following in the presence of his Legate, in which the retention of conquests on either side formed the basis of a five years' truce. Within two months from that interview, the fatal *treasure trove* in a Vassal's territory allured Richard to

The petty fortress and the barren strand,
before which the conqueror of Saladin was to fall a victim,
partly of an almost nameless hand, partly, as is said, of his own too fervid passions.† With his death we may for the present suspend our notice of French History.

II. The transactions in GERMANY during the XIIIth Century continue for the most part so closely intermingled with those of ITALY that but one History appears to belong to the two Countries; and it is scarcely possible that their Annals should be treated separately without rendering each barren and jejune, even after copious and very wearisome repetition. We propose, therefore, at present to take up their double thread at the death of the Emperor Henry IV., and to pursue it through the reigns of his immediate five successors. Tranquilly as Henry V. possessed himself of the fruits of his unnatural rebellion, many months before the death of his Father, and securely rooted as was his authority, it by no means appears that his filial impiety was forgotten or disregarded by popular opinion. The terms in which the Chroniclers record a fearful tempest which passed over Goslar, while the Prince was holding a Diet in that City in the first year of his reign, sufficiently evince their tacit belief that it was a visitation which manifested the wrath of Heaven against the virtual Parricide. Henry himself was struck by lightning, his sword, the thong and inner fold of his shield (for the Monarchs presided armed in these Assemblies) were shivered, and the Council of the Nobles

* *Fedra*, London, 1816, i. 68. Roger Hoveden (589.) states that Richard had no more than sixty followers, Marchales, two hundred; that the French were very greatly superior in force; that Philippe separated from his followers, took refuge with an old man named Morel, one hundred and ten years of age, and when he quitted Normandy had only three or four soldiers and one servant in his company. Radulf de Diceto transcribes much of Richard's Letter, and rates the French at four hundred. (637.) In the *Philippica* we find a widely different estimate, Richard's whole army is represented to be one thousand five hundred horse and forty thousand foot, all which beset the march of Philippe, heading forty-four Knights and one hundred attendants, (*chouteas*.) The French nevertheless cut their way through, till ninety-two warriors of note were overpowered by numbers and captured. When the Bridge gave way the King swam unharmed to the bank.

*At Regis sompna medium cum Rege per amnem
Indemnis ripam se vexit in ulteriorem,*

and not a single life was lost by his troops either on the field or in the river. v. 351—440. All this is plainly a flattering unctio to National vanity, a sedative for Philippe's mortification. The *Chronicle of St. Denis*, *ut sup.* allows Philippe five hundred horse.

† The latter cause is not mentioned by Roger de Hoveden, who attributes Richard's death chiefly to the mismanagement of the surgeon, *caruifex ille*, as he styles him. (595.) The *Philippica* expressly says that the King would have recovered but for his own imprudence.

*Nec lethalis erat percussio, et medicorum
Res et amicum monitus audire salubres
Aufugit; unde male Pateris dum gaudia nano
Præfert conatio, mortem sibi necans adacti,*

v. 601.

was broken up in dismay.* The turbulence of his future reign may have strengthened the impression that he was marked out for judgment; and even in its outset his arms were unsuccessful. In an invasion of Silesia, at that time under the rule of Poland, his troops were repulsed by King Bodeslaus; and in a subsequent negotiation for Peace, the Ambassador of that Prince maintained as great superiority in the Cabinet as his master had before evinced in the field. Notwithstanding his defeat, Henry proposed harsh and inequitable conditions; and thinking to dazzle or to terrify the Envoy, whom he affected to treat as a Barbarian, he threw open before him many coffers full of treasure, with a declaration that it should all be expended in the conquest of Poland. The Minister, undisturbed by the threat, drew a ring from his finger, and tossing it on one of the glittering heaps, carelessly replied, "Add that gold to your other gold."† Henry, abashed by the unexpected contempt with which his vaunt had been received, was at a loss for words, and answered with a simple expression of thanks. The German *Hab-dank*, Thank-ye, was thenceforward attached by the Poles to the Family name of their Ambassador Scarbicus;‡ and the *Habdankii* long maintained the reputation of the ancestor from whom they derived their title.

Seldom has the change of opinion so often consequent upon the attainment of power manifested itself more strongly than in the instance of Henry V.; for almost instantly on his accession he became opposed to Rome in support of the very principles which he had denounced in his father. It was at the close of the year 1109 that he entered Italy, with the ostensible motive of celebrating his Coronation; but the thirty thousand men who accompanied him must have convinced Pascal II. that their leader was prepared also to enforce that right of Investiture which he had most unexpectedly asserted. Severe inflictions upon certain towns which closed their gates marked his passage through Lombardy and Tuscany; and when he advanced towards Rome and negotiated a preliminary Treaty at Sutri, its terms sufficiently betrayed the alarm of Pascal. The compromise to which the Pope assented was a surrender of all fiefs bestowed on the Clergy by former Emperors, in return for which most substantial concession he was permitted to retain in his own hands the now empty administration of Investiture. Of Pascal's good faith in this transaction there is little reason to doubt, and indeed much of his subsequent conduct attests the general sincerity of his character. But the Conclave and the Prelates of his Court vehemently opposed this Treaty; and on the day fixed for the Emperor's Coronation, when nothing remained but that the terms should be ratified, in the presence of the great concourse assembled in the Basilica of the Vatican to witness that solemnity, the Clergy with one voice declared that the Instrument to which the Pope had consented was *heretical*, and therefore that it must be annulled. Indignant at this violation of promise, and suspecting Pascal of collusion, Henry, undeterred by the sanctity of either place or person, seized the Holy Father and his attendant Cardinals,

Germany
and Italy.

From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.
War with
Poland.
A. D.
1109.

Scarbicus
Habdankii.

Henry's
first expedi-
tion to Italy.
A. D.
1109.

He im-
prisoned
Pascal II.
A. D.
1110.

* Struvius i. 342, and the authorities there cited.

† "*Jungatur aurum aurum.*" As the Poles commonly spoke Latin there can be little doubt that these were the very words employed. The story is told by Curmus in his *Annales Silesie*, p. 47, and also by Cromerus, *de Rebus Polonie*, lib. v. p. 114.

‡ Curmus, *ut sup.*, gives the name Scarbicus, in which he is followed by Heins, lib. ii. c. 10.

History.

From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1194.
Tumult in
Rome.

Pascal suc-
ceeds the
English
Investiture.

Coronation
of Henry.

The Treaty
disavowed
by a Coun-
cil.

A. D.
1112.

bore them from the Church, and consigned them as prisoners to the custody of the Patriarch of Aquileia. In a tumult which ensued on the following morning, the Roman populace, excited by the Ecclesiastics, ran to arms, overthrew the slight body guard which attended Henry in the Leonine City, and, but for the seasonable attraction of plunder, might have prevented his escape from the great danger by which he was encompassed. Every German who could be seized was ruthlessly put to the sword; the Emperor himself, nearly surprised in bed, sprang on his saddle, and fought like a common man at arms, till his horse was killed under him, and he was wounded in the face. The Count of Milan observing his peril, dismounted, and offering his own horse, scarcely saw his Prince in safety before he was himself torn to pieces by the infuriated rabble.* A reinforcement from the camp enabled Henry to inflict signal vengeance upon the Citizens; and having razed part of their walls, he took up a secure position at a few miles' distance, carrying with him his prisoners.

Three months' rigorous confinement, and menaces of yet more extreme proceedings if opposition were continued, induced Pascal to accede to a yet further surrender than had been proposed before. By his own signature and that of sixteen of his principal Clergy, he granted to Henry the right of Investiture in his own dominions, with a single proviso against Simony. He solemnly promised also never to excommunicate him; and at the especial request of the Hypocrite, he at length accorded the rites of Christian Burial to the deceased Emperor, whose life himself, jointly with his petitioner, had embittered and hastened to its close.† Immediately on the conclusion of the Treaty, Henry reentered Rome, was crowned by the hands of Pascal, and before parting shared with him a consecrated Wafer, broken with this solemn adjuration: "As one portion of this Host is now divided from the other, so may that one of us twain who shall violate this Peace be for ever divided from the Kingdom of Christ!‡"

The gates of Rome were closed and guarded during this ceremony, so little confidence did Henry feel in the peaceable disposition of its inhabitants; and no sooner was the Rite concluded than he commenced his homeward march to Germany. As he retired, the boldness of the discontented Prelates increased, and they loudly demanded from Pascal a disavowal of his recent Treaty. In a Council which the Pope was compelled to summon at the Lateran for the determination of this question, he was abandoned by the Cardinals whose signatures, jointly with his own, had attested the document which procured them liberty; and which they now concurred with their indignant Brethren in rejecting. Pascal was of firmer and sincerer temper, and deaf to every solicitation of his Clergy, he steadily adhered to his promise. He could not prevent, but he would not confirm the fierce Edicts which issued from this Council; he took no share in the annulment of that "most detestable and scarcely to be mentioned Treaty," as the Cardinals declared it to be, "which was not a *privilegium*, but a *prævilgium* extorted by Henry;" nor would he leud his sanction to their denouncement of the Emperor as one treacherous, perjured, and sacrilegious, who after kissing the feet, mouth,

and cheek of the Vicar of Christ, had betrayed him, like another Judas; and who therefore was excommunicated, anathematized, and cut off from the bosom of the Church. Bigoted as might be the opposition by which Pascal had hurled the miserable Henry IV. from the throne, and pursued him even to the very grave, he was still honest in his prejudices. It was by no means for the temporal wealth of his Church that he had at any time contended, but rather for its independence from that which he esteemed a violation of its spiritual supremacy.*

These idle censures little disconcerted Henry; but meantime he had full employment in his Transalpine dominions. A close alliance with England had long been one of his favourite objects; probably because the King of France, who had espoused the cause of the Pope, was at perpetual variance with Henry I. his Vassal in Normandy. Even in his fifth year,† therefore, he had demanded the hand of Henry's daughter Matilda; in her eighth, she was betrothed to him, and sent to Germany for the express purpose of education in the Language and Manners of that Country. The nuptials were celebrated when the young Princess had scarcely passed her twelfth birthday, and she received from her Father a rich portion of £45,000, levied by a tax of three shillings on every hyde of land in England.‡ It is agreeable occupation was the restraint of the Saxons ever opposed to the House of Franconia, who continued to insurgency under their Duke Lothaire,§ and but for the opposition of Frederic of Swabia|| might have changed

* Voltaire could not be expected to resist an opportunity of visiting sarcasms against a Pope. Pascal, he says, was *plus d'un prisonnier qu'à l'entrel*; and again, *Pascal ne trouva pas un seul de ses Cardinaux et ses Légats dans tous les Royaumes d'Occident en reconnaissance pour Henry I. Ann. de l'Empire, ad ann. 1111.* But Voltaire was not in the habit of examining his authorities duly; and two writers of our own times, upon whom implicit confidence may be placed, have borne ample evidence to Pascal's integrity. *Il tint religieusement de bonne foi* is M. de Sismondi's observation relating the proceedings of this Council of Lateran. (*Rep. h. i. 20. ch. iii.*) Mr. Hallam also describes him as "conscientious," and as acting in the dispute about Investiture "with steady but disinterested prejudice;" pointing at the same time to a Letter from the Pope to Anselm, (*ap. Schmidt, i. 304.*) "in which he seems to imply that he thought it better for the Church to be without riches, than to enjoy them on condition of doing homage to Laymen." (*Middle Ages, ii. 47.*) Muratori, in his honest and homely style, has well defended Pascal: *E un bel fare d'uomo lungo delle bestie; e que' rebelli Cardinali si fossero trovati per due anni nelle angustie d'Ugo, e col coltello alla gola, come egli fu, e nel pericolo di veder sacrificati ad furor Tedesco i Porporati prigioni e tanti altri Romani: non so se ne avessero praticato egliem ciò, che ora esigono i Papi.* *Id. sup.*

† Wilhelmus Gemeticensis, vii. 11.

‡ Voltaire in this instance also has attacked the faith of our History without sufficient grounds. *On prétend que on frama un parricidat une femme qui retourné à environ neuf cent mille livres sterling.* *Les Historiens manquent tous d'exactitude sur ces faits; et l'Histoire de ces temps-là n'est que trop souvent un amas des suppositions.* (*Id. sup.*) Hume, however, has shown that the raggard's tests with modern writers, (*Brady, 270. Tyrrel, i. 182.*) who have loosely miscalculated the sum at £500,000; not with Henry of Huntingdon, who states no more than truth. "Five hydes, sometimes less, made a Knight Fee, of which there were about 60,000 in England; consequently near 300,000 hydes; and at the rate of three shillings a hyde, the sum would amount to £45,000 or £135,000 of our present money. See Rudburne, p. 257." (*Hist. of England, i. note B at the end of the volume.*) The portion, however, was considered very ample. *Henricus flamm regis more dotavit, say the Annals of Hildesheim, ad ann. 1110: Argentis decem milibus marcos cum filia Rex opulentius donavit et regali more munera insignia donavit.* *Ordeneus Vitalis, x.*

§ The successor of Henry V. in the Imperial Crown.

|| Father of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa.

* Muratori, *Annali d'Italia, ad ann. 1111.*

† The permission for interment was granted by Pascal upon receiving an assurance that Henry IV. died *con aliti di vero pentimento.* *Id. ibid.*

‡ Paulus Diaconus, iv. 40. Sigebertus Gemblacensis, *ad ann.*

History.
—France
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1193.
second ex-
pulsion to
Italy.
A. D.
1116.

the Imperial dynasty even in the lifetime of Henry. The Peace of Goslar which terminated this intestine struggle, although not till the year 1120,—may be named as the epoch at which the House of Guelf gave most distinct manifestations of its rapid ascendancy.

While engaged in these domestic troubles, the Emperor was again summoned to Italy, soon after the death of the Great Countess Matilda; * by whose bequest to the Holy See it seemed as if her Crown would be deprived of the rich Feudal reversion of her Fiefs, his Family of the heritage of her personal property. Her right over the latter was not disputed, but her Fiefs and territories were declared unalienable; and Henry having forcibly occupied them proceeded to Rome. Pascal retired at his approach; and the year following terminated the career of a Pope who possessed many qualities better adapted to less unquiet times. The successor elected by the Cardinals under the title of Gelasius II. refused all compromise with the Emperor; and Henry accordingly, occupying Rome, raised Burdino, Archbishop of Braganza,† to the Holy See by his own single authority, and, notwithstanding the reclamations of the Clergy, inaugurated him as Gregory VIII.

Gelasius II.
Pope.
1118.

The Pisans, whose great maritime strength had been displayed on the shores of Palestine, and at the conquest of Majorca, as well as in sweeping their neighbouring seas of the Infidels, afforded refuge to Gelasius when he was driven from the Vatican; and the gratitude which the Pope exhibited in return was the proximate cause of a long and sanguinary War against those whose kindness he intended to repay. It was not without the bitterest jealousy that the Genoese beheld the aggrandizement of their great rival, when the Holy Father declared the Bishop of Corsica to be Suffragan to the Archbishop of Pisa; an honour received with unbounded demonstrations of joy by those upon whom it was conferred. War was the immediate consequence, and fourteen years of active and desolating hostility followed upon the bounty of the Pope; yet strange to say, the Commerce of both States,—whose success and whose sufferings during this contest were nearly equal,—appeared to derive increase of vigour from every fresh vessel which was sunk, every town which was pillaged, and every citizen who was slain. It was not till Innocent II., flying like Gelasius from Rome, and finding similar asylum in Pisa, in 1133, employed his mediation, that Peace was obtained; and it was then purchased by the consent of the Holy Father to equalize the spiritual authority of the rivals, by elevating the See of Genoa into an Archbishopric independent on the Metropolitan of Milan.

War between Pisa and Genoa.
A. D.
1119.
to
A. D.
1133.

Gelasius II.
Pope.
A. D.
1119.

The Schism in the Popedom endured for more than two years, till on the death of Gelasius in France, the vacant Tiara was bestowed on a Pontiff of greater energy; and Calixtus II. hastening to his Capital, established himself firmly in power, and secured the person of his rival. Burdino was captured at Sutri, clothed in raw and bleeding skins just stripped from slaughtered goats; mounted with

his face to the tail of a camel, between the crookedness of which animal, and the crooked practices of the "Antichrist who bestrode it," the Abbé Suger, whom we were following, takes especial pains to note the analogy; * paraded through the streets of Rome in this ignominious guise; and then committed to perpetual imprisonment. As a monument also of his degradation, he was painted in one of the Halls of the Vatican trampled under foot by Calixtus.

The overthrow of this competitor freed the new Pope from his chief apprehension; and when Henry, wearied with a dispute which appeared endless, forbore from naming a successor to Burdino, and expressed a willingness to negotiate, Calixtus met the proposal with frankness. The Papal Legates were accordingly invited to a solemn Diet at Worms, and in that Assembly the long-continued struggle concerning Investitures was terminated by a Concordat, in which, although each party appeared to recede from the high pretensions once advanced, the triumph and the benefit substantially belonged to Rome.† The Emperor renounced for ever his right of investing Bishops by the Ring and Crosier, and accorded to the Ecclesiastical Chapters full liberty of election on vacancies: the Pope conceded, on the other hand, that these elections should be made in the presence of the Emperor, or of his Commissaries, and that the Ecclesiastics should receive their temporalities by the Sceptre. That entire independence on Feudal obligation which had been the object of Hildebrand certainly was not gained; nevertheless, as the Prelates when they now offered themselves to the Sceptre for their Fiefs, would be fully possessed of their Episcopal character, and already invested with the Ring and Crosier, there must be no small boldness in the Sovereign who should venture to deny temporal rights to those whom the Spiritual authorities had fully recognised.

Germany and Italy.
From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.

Diet of Worms.
A. D.
1122.

Termination of the dispute concerning Investitures.

The inglorious expedition against Louis le Gros, which we have already noticed in our ANNALS OF FRANCE,‡ is the sole remaining transaction worthy of record during the reign of Henry V. He languished for some months under a painful, and in his time a hopeless disease, the *draguncular*, in which the ulcer caused by a flesh-worm daily enlarges till life is tediously exhausted; and he died at Utrecht on the twenty-second of

Death of Henry V.
A. D.
1125.

* *Tortum animal Camelo tortum Antipapam, immo Antichristum, erudit et sanguinolenta pellicis caprina amictum, transversum superposuerunt.* Vita Lud. Grossi, 47. Transcursus might signify that he was thrown across the Camel like a sack, but we render it "with his face to the tail," on the authority of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, (id. 179.) in which the writer, who evidently borrows his account from Suger, expresses himself, *le firent saoir le vis devers la cove.*

† Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. 51. *Hoc modo Pax inter Papam et Imperatorem, et magno Imperii detrimento, constituta est; neque Henricus Pontificibus penam dedit impetitus aduersum Patrem.* Mathieu. *Theat. Hist.* 918. The Benedictine writer in *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* has taken a widely different view of the close of this great struggle. As the passage is curious from its mistaken reasoning, we subjoin it. *Par ce Traité l'Empereur renonce à l'usage que ses prédécesseurs lui avoient transmis de donner les Investitures par la croix et l'anneau, et le Pape lui permit de lui conférer par le sceptre ou une simple verge, comme faisoient les Rois de France et d'Angleterre; c'est à dire qu'au lieu d'un bâton recourbé il lui permit d'user d'un bâton droit pour cette cérémonie. Voilà donc où aboutit cette langue et funeste querelle qui causa tant de ravages, fit répandre tant de sang, enfanta tant de crimes, et fit rétrograder la sainteté du Siège Apostolique et la Majesté du Trône Impérial. Dans ce dénouement ingrat, si toute la gloire fut pour Calixte, à qui son amour pour la Paix le suggéra, l'avantage fut tout entier pour l'Empereur, qui ne perdit rien du fond de ses prétentions, et demeura aussi maître des élections auparavant.* ii. 20.

‡ P. 614.

4 M

* July 24, 1115.

† He is spoken of but rudely by the Chronicler. *Henricus Imperator urbem ingressus Beatinam quondam nomine Burdinum super intravit*, are the words of Gerhohus, cap. 22. The *Annals of Hildebrand* notice that Calixtus excommunicated Imperatorem cum *Idolo suo, hoc enim nomine quem ipse substituit vocatus est.* Ad ann. 1118. Petrus Diaconus speaks of *Mauritius Arcemarcha*, (iv. 64.) and Constantius Urspergensius of *Pseudopapa Burdinus*, p. 277. The Chronicler of Maurigeni, although he calls him Antipope, very honestly admits him to have been *litteratus, et curialem, et eloquentem virum.* (*Ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xii.)

VOL. XI.

History.
From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.

Diet at
Mentz.

Election of
Lothaire II.

May without male issue, and without any fixed arrangement as to the succession.*

With Henry V. terminated the direct line of Franconia, after possessing the Imperial Crown for exactly a Century. The extinction of hereditary claim restored their full rights of Election to the German Princes; and the Archbishop of Mentz, who in the late reign had disgracefully signalled himself by appearing in arms against the Emperor, and who still avowed hostility to the collateral branches of his House, soon after the Imperial obsequies, summoned a Diet at the Capital of his Diocese. The banks of the Rhine were covered with armed men, and seldom was a prouder gathering beheld in Germany. On one side of the river were pitched the tents of Frederick of Hohenstauffen, Duke of Suabia, a nephew of the late Emperor; on the other those of Lothaire, Duke of Saxony, and of Leopold, Marquis of Austria, his Brother-in-law; and in the joint train of these Princes followed not fewer than sixty thousand soldiers. A solemn Mass was celebrated; and after an invocation of the Holy Ghost by the Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, to direct their choice, a Committee of ten Electors was set apart from the four great Provinces of the Empire. It is little likely that the designs entertained upon the Crown by the three Princes above-named were concealed from the Body of the Nobles; yet when they were declared the most fitting aspirants to the vacant throne, Frederick at first declined to appear before the Council; and his competitors, throwing themselves upon their knees and shedding tears abundantly, professed their unworthiness of the offered dignity, and their unwillingness to sustain its burden. When Frederick, deceived perhaps by this artifice, at length presented himself, the Archbishop of Mentz demanded a solemn pledge from each of the three Candidates, that the two who might happen to be rejected would yield obedience to their more fortunate rival. The Duke of Saxony and the Marquis of Austria readily accorded the promise, once more renewing their feigned protestations of reluctance; but the Duke of Suabia, as the Archbishop had foreseen, declined any answer without previous consultation with his friends, and hastily withdrew. On the following day, the sitting was renewed in his absence; and there can be little doubt that by preconcerted arrangement, a cry of "Lothaire! Lothaire!" was raised in the Camp. The Duke of Saxony was lifted on the shoulders of the troops, and borne through their ranks with deafening shouts; and by the dexterous management of the Archbishop, this

tumultuary election was in the end recognised by the Princes.*

After a contest thus maintained between parties nearly equal in power, Civil war was an inevitable result, and Alsace, in which Frederick had large possessions, was the first scene of hostilities. On the return of his brother Conrad from Palestine, operations were renewed with greater activity; Lothaire was compelled to raise the siege of Nuremberg, which he had invested; and Conrad, elated by this success, assumed the title of King, at Spire, and passed into Italy in the hope of conciliating the attachment and receiving the homage of the Lombards. Distinguished success awaited him at Milan, in which Capital, and at Monza also, he celebrated his Coronation; but the Pope, Honorius II., refused his sanction; the other chief Cities of Lombardy espoused the cause of Lothaire; the Pretender was excommunicated, and unable to procure supplies either of men or money, after lingering nearly three years in inactivity, he withdrew to Germany on intelligence that Lothaire was preparing to traverse the Alps. The force, however, which accompanied Lothaire was too weak to excite alarm;† and so little confidence had he in his own resources, that he made a considerable circuit in order to avoid the risk of opposition which he might encounter if he entered Milan. Rome, to which he hastened, was at that time agitated by a disputed succession to the Popedom, on the death of Honorius; and the Emperor, having snatched rather than received his Crown from Innocent II.; whose pretensions he favoured, and who, dispossessed of the Vatican by his competitor, was compelled to perform the imperfect ceremony in St John Lateran, speedily returned to Germany. Feeble as were the powers of Lothaire, those of the Brothers of Franconia were still more feeble, and when Ulm, their chief hope, had fallen, they sought Peace by submission. The superiority of the Emperor is attested by the humiliation to which Frederick was reduced; for it was not till he had secured the mediatorial offices of the Empress that he ventured to approach the Imperial presence, and, even then, he stood barefooted before his conqueror.‡ Conrad effected his reconciliation, not long afterwards, upon renouncing the Kingly title; and as a pledge of sincere confidence in his fidelity, Lothaire intrusted him with a high command in a fresh expedition, which he was meditating into Italy.

In order to understand the objects of this expedition it is necessary that we should retrace our steps during the last few years. By the death of William Guiscard, without children, in 1127, the whole of the great conquests of the Normans in Southern Italy were united in the person of his Cousin Roger, second Count of Sicily, who, together with that Island, now swayed Apulia and Calabria. The increased extent of his dominions kindled in this Prince a not unnatural desire

* He died, says Voltaire, and not perhaps with too great exactitude, *avec la réputation d'un fils débauché, d'un hypocrite sans Religion, d'un cousin inquiet, d'un mauvais maître. Annales de l'Empire, ad ann.* By Matilda he had one daughter Christina, married to Udalais of Poland. She was a woman of fiery and impetuous temper, not much beloved by the people among whom she had settled, if we may trust the description of the Chronicler; *superba, avara, et ambigua mulier, et quæ dolens omnes in porcorum loco habebat, nec eos ad ministerium, nec vix ad conspectum suum admittit.* Martinus Cromerus, *de Reb. Polonæ*, lib. vi. p. 138. A savage instance of her indulgence in revenge is mentioned by the same writer, p. 141. A Noble (*Petrus Datus Comes Scrinensis*, as he is termed.) had awakened her husband's jealousy, by an incautious, and probably a sportive remark concerning one of her attendants; and Christina discovering the author, persuaded Udalais, notwithstanding a long familiarity subsisting between them, to pluck out the tongue and eyes of his friend. Yet so great was the sufferer's piety, that he afterwards recovered both speech and sight, "*ut ferunt non nulli.*" Christina, in the end, kindled a Civil war between her husband and his brothers, which terminated in the flight of Udalais and the banishment of herself and her children.

* This curious narrative of Lothaire's election is constructed by Struvius on numerous authorities, most of which he cites. i. 357. † It did not exceed two thousand men, according to the *Chronicle of Falco of Beneventum*, p. 115.

‡ It was from an oath administered by Innocent to Lothaire before his Coronation, that the Pope affected to call the King a Pief of the Holy See. Great offence was given in Germany by a Picture which was placed in the Lateran, representing Lothaire at the Pontiff's feet, and inscribed with the following dithic,

*Rex venit ante furca, jurans prius urbis humori,
Post homo fit Papa, sumit quo dante coronam;*

in which lines *homo* is to be translated *vaissal*.

§ *Chronographus Saxo*, ad ann. 1134.

History.
From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.
Frequent
allusions in
luna.

from be-
tween Ana-
stasia II.
and Inno-
cent II.
A. D.
1130.

Roger II.
crowned
King of the
Two Sicilies.

for a loftier title than those of Count and Duke; and an opportunity of acquiring it was soon afforded him by the distracted state of the Pontificate. The Romans, fickle in obedience, were for ever revolting from the weak, mixed, and ambiguous authority of their Popes. Hildebrand himself, the most vigorous spirit which ever occupied the Chair of the Apostle, was chased from his Capital and died in exile. Among his successors, Pascal II. was involved in continued Civil war with his subjects. Gelasius II. was assailed before the very altar, while engaged in his sacerdotal duties, by the brutal and profane violence of a factious Baron; and scarcely had his enemy, Cencio Frangipane, been pardoned for the first sacrilegious attack, before he perpetrated a second with greater atrocity. Dragged from the Temple, severely wounded, fettered, and exposed to scorn in the public streets, Gelasius, when rescued, passed the remainder of his short reign at a distance from the scene of tumult. On the death of Honorius II. in 1130, a portion of the Electors was bribed by the largesses of a rich Family, the Leoni, inveterately hostile to the Frangipani, and reputed to be of Jewish extraction; and a kinsman of that House, when nominated to the vacant Pontificate, assumed the title of Anacletus.* A Cardinal of inferior birth was at the same time elected by others under the style of Innocent II. The supporters of the former at Rome were more numerous and more powerful than those of his rival, and Innocent, compelled to flight, sought refuge in France. It was rather, however, from Lothaire than from Louis le Gros, too much occupied with domestic cares, that Innocent was likely to receive aid; and that aid became doubly necessary when Roger of Sicily espoused the interests of his competitor. To Anacletus, the friendship of a Prince so immediately his neighbour, and so abundantly furnished with means of affording protection, was worth purchasing by almost any concession; and by gratifying the ambition of his ally, when he invested him with the title of King of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia,† he appeared to confirm his own stability on the Papal throne.‡ Emboldened by promises of active support which he had received from Lothaire, Innocent, however, returned to Rome, and there securing himself in the Lateran, thought to await the march of his ally. Meanwhile, the space between that Palace and the Vatican was contested sword in hand by the two spiritual opponents; and some of the choicest monuments of ancient Rome suffered from the blind fury by which they were attacked when converted into fortresses. The brickwork erected during these contests in order to strengthen the defences raised on the summit of the marble gateway of Janus still deforms its remains;§ and the Triumphal arches of Titus and of Constantine are believed to have been equally misemployed. It was at that time, when the Normans garrisoned almost all the Churches, and amongst them St. Peter's, that Lothaire solemnized his Coronation, and withdrew from Rome without ability to attempt the restoration of Innocent.

* Baronius, ad ann. Struvius, i. 360.

† *Coronam Regni Siciliae, et Calabriae, et Apuliae, &c. Bol's Anacleti.*

‡ The right of Anacletus to bestow the Investiture was no less empty founded than that of Leo IX. when he made a similar grant to Robert Guiscard after the Battle of Civitella. See ch. lux. p. 543.

§ Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 186. Ventruti, *Roma*, i. p. 5. Barleu, *Antiquities of Rome*, p. 200. (1821.)

During the few succeeding years, Roger Guiscard pursued an almost uninterrupted career of victory; he subdued his own refractory Vassals; he conquered Amalfi; chased from Capua its hereditary Prince, Robert; and made large preparations for the investment of Naples. That siege, the most important operation which he had yet attempted, demanded the assemblage of his entire force; and Amalfi, by the withdrawal of its garrison, was exposed to a *coup de main* from the Pisans, who had espoused the cause of Innocent. A small armament, not amounting to fifty vessels, entered the Port and pillaged the City; an event which, however trifling in itself, will ever preserve its place in Historical remembrance from the discovery which is then believed to have occurred, of the lost Pandects of Justinian. The victors were intercepted before they could make good their retreat; but they succeeded in bearing off that most valuable portion of their spoil; which till the chance of War transferred it to Florence, where it still remains, was during nearly three Centuries the proudest boast of the Pisan Capital.*

The news of these successes of the Normans was far from being grateful to the ears of Lothaire; for the

* The History of the Pandects is exhausted by Brencmann in his most learned and most entertaining volume, (*Hist. Pandectarum*), the fruit of ten years' labour, under the patronage of George I. Their discovery at Amalfi was noticed for the first time in 1541, by Ludovicus de Bologna, on the authority of an anonymous Pisan Chronicle without date. Nevertheless, Brencmann, after close examination, is well inclined to admit that the account is true, and it is certain that so early as the XIVth Century the MS. was consulted at Pisa by Bartolus. Brencmann plainly establishes that it must have been during this chance assault in 1135, not during the much more important occupation and plunder of Amalfi two years afterwards, that the Pisans obtained this treasure. His words are pointed. Almost all authors, he observes, confound *hancuram expeditionem in Amalfinam, quæ arorum et mero causa suscepta, adroque minus nota est, cum eâ quam solum doctus annus post magno apparatu fecerunt, præsentis et insensibilis Lothario. Quæ et plerique non nisi posterorum expeditionem videri innuissæ.* (Lib. i. c. 7. p. 36.) It is not a little remarkable that Gibbon, who in no less than five notes refers very copiously to Brencmann, has altogether overlooked this passage, and has fallen into the common error of attributing the discovery of the Pandects to the year 1137. (Ch. xlv. vol. viii. p. 44.) Brencmann altogether discredits the received belief that the Pisans retained their booty by the permission of Lothaire, who by the assistance of this MS. is said to have revived the study of Roman Jurisprudence in Germany. If the precious roll had been captured in the second attack on Amalfi, the Emperor, who was then in Italy, and near the spot, might have interfered; as it was, he was in Germany, and probably was in entire ignorance of the fact. M. de Sismondi, without commenting on the matter, has adopted the correct date. (*Rep. h. i.* 287.) The Florentines captured Pisa in 1406, and five years afterwards conveyed the Pandects to their own City, where they still exist, and where they used to be exhibited by torch-light in the presence of two Magistrates and two Cistercian Monks; all persons being uncovered when they were taken out from their rich casket, and untied from their silken covers and silver clasps. *Sunt autem ista volumina Antiquiora rubro ligata argenteis clausula ornata,* says Laurence Theodorus Gronovius, (*Indicatio ad Editiones Pandectarum*), who had three or four months' close access to them under the inspection of Magliabechi. The MS. was long believed by many authorities, and among them by not less a scholar than Politian, to be an original of the time of Justinian himself. Brencmann refutes this opinion, but nevertheless assigns a date as early as the VIIIth Century. Here again Gibbon says "the early part of the VIIIth." Mr. Hallam is more sceptical than most of his predecessors concerning the Invention of the Pandects. "The fact," he says, "though not improbable, seems not to rest on sufficient evidence." (*Middle Ages*, i. 561.) Gibbon does not refuse belief; for although he points out that the story was unknown in the XIIIth Century, and that it has been both embellished and suspected, he nevertheless admits that it "is not destitute of much internal probability." The 11d Chapter of the XIIIth Book of Giannone abounds with Learning on the Pandects.

4 M 2

Germany
and Italy.

From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.
Victories of
the Nor-
mans.
The Pan-
dicts dis-
covered at
Amalfi.
A. D.
1135.

Second ex-
pedition of
Lothaire to
Italy.

A. D.
1137.

History. King of Sicily, encouraged by his subjugation of nearly a third of Italy, might ere long affect the Sovereignty of the whole Peninsula; and the slender authority still remaining to the Empire beyond the Alps might be entirely swept away. These fears, which could not but arise spontaneously, were encouraged by Robert, the exiled Prince of Capua, who solicited aid in the German Court; and additional reasons for interference were prompted by the zeal of St. Bernard, who reminded Lothaire of his former engagements with Innocent, and exhibited the wrongs of that still unthroned Pontiff as the general concern of every true soldier of Christ. Urged by these powerful motives, the Emperor resolved to make a second descent upon Italy; and the army which he levied was now proportionate to the great object of his expedition. But his progress was slow; many months were consumed in Lombardy, while he adjusted the disputes submitted to his arbitration by the conflicting Cities; and Anacletus was to be chased from Rome before the Germans could undertake the relief of Naples. At length, when famine had driven the exhausted garrison of that City to the utmost extremity of suffering, their constancy was rewarded by the welcome appearance of their deliverers. As Lothaire advanced, the defeated Normans everywhere fled before his arms; and the continental dominions of Roger melted away, till in the end not a town remained to him beyond the Strait of Messina. In this short, but most brilliant campaign, important services were rendered to the Emperor by the Pisans. Already, before his arrival at Naples, entering its bay with a victorious fleet, they had thrown temporary supplies into the starving City, and then proceeded onward to a second and most destructive assault on Amalfi. That City was almost defenceless when the hostile armament approached; and had it not been for its great wealth, and for the jealousy excited by its maritime preeminence, it might have been occupied peaceably, and have escaped unharmed. Some show of resistance in a fort by which it was guarded, afforded a pretext for violence and rapine; and the treasures of its fifty thousand opulent and luxurious inhabitants became the prey of a lawless soldiery. The blow was never recovered; and that State, the Parent of Modern Commerce, whose Factories at one time accumulated riches in every Port of Greece, Egypt, and Syria, continued gradually to deteriorate; till in the commencement of the XVth Century, her population had dwindled below one thousand Fishermen, little capable of even repairing the Cathedral, the Arsenal, and the Palaces, the remains of which testified her former magnificence.*

It remained that the territory conquered from the Normans should be bestowed upon some new master. In their choice of a Duke of Apuglia, no difference arose between the Pope and the Emperor; and Rainulf, Count of Avellino, a brother-in-law of Roger, who had bitterly opposed him on account of family disagreements,† was selected by both the Feudal Lords as a fit tenant of their Fief. But so knotty was the question of Investi-

* Amalfi is the birthplace of Flavio Gioja, the inventor or the improver of the Mariner's compass, in the early half of the XIVth Century; and also of the adventurous Fisherman Massaniello, who, in 1647, afforded an example of one of those strange antics which are exhibited *quoties voluit Fortuna jocari*.

† Roger protected his sister with whom Rainulf had quarrelled and parted; and in consequence he stripped the Count of his territories. He also savagely mutilated one of his brothers, who had offended him by some incautious speeches, depriving him both of eyes and nose. Giannone, xi. 1.

ture, so important was it considered to determine from whose hands that Prince should receive the symbols of his authority, that not less than thirty days were occupied in the discussion; and the controversy was at last terminated by "the mercy of heaven," which suggested a wise compromise between the disputants; so that when the Goafanion was presented to their joint Vassal, Lothaire grasped one end of its staff, while the other was handled by Innocent.‡ Before the close of the year, and the confederacy was dissolved by mutual jealousy; and the death of the Emperor in a wretched hut in the village of Breduwan, among the Trentine Alps, he crossed them on his return home, once again changed the fortunes of Southern Italy. Few Sovereigns of Germany have left behind them a fairer reputation than Lothaire; prompt, bold, and courageous, he was nevertheless a lover of Peace; his charity and devotion are the theme of Ecclesiastical praise; and one who was himself no mean Chronicler of his times, has recorded his master as a lover and a student of History.†

The two chief enemies of Roger, his brothers-in-law Rainulf, and Robert of Capua, who had brought down upon him the German invasion, were now fully possessed of his continental dominions. But the departure of the Emperor, and the dispersion of the allies, permitted the King of Sicily to take the field with an army, which his foes, unsupported by foreign aid, were wholly incompetent to resist. The greater part of Apuglia was recovered by him before the close of the year, and he crossed to Sicily in the Winter to make preparation for a yet more successful campaign. Before his return, the Antipope, Anacletus, was no more; and the exertions of St. Bernard so far prevailed with the faction which had supported him, that although a puppet was at first elected under the name of Victor IV., both this short-lived Pope and the Cardinals to whom he owed election, speedily tendered submission to Innocent; thus terminated one of the many unseemly Schisms by which the pretended Unity of the See of Rome has been distracted. Elated, doubtless, by this first stable confirmation in power, and not deterred by an unexpected loss in the death of Duke Rainulf, Innocent, early in the next Summer, trod in the steps of his predecessor, Leo IX., and headed his own troops with similar ill fortune. Compelled to break up the siege of the Castle of Galluccio, he was taken prisoner in his hasty retreat; and was brought to the camp of Roger, not, as it seems, without some personal injury and insult.‡ Roger.

* *Devoti fervente clementis* are the words employed by the Chronicles Fulco of Beneventum in relating the close of this schism. See also Otto Frisingensis, lib. vii. cap. 20.

† The words of Petrus Diaconus of Ostia, who records this tale of Lothaire, remind us of King Ahasuerus, and appear almost translated from the Book of Esther. *Noctem illam Imperator per totam diem innoxens, jussuque ante se reclusi omnia (ista) autem suorum suorum.* (Lib. iv. ch. 108.) "On that night could not the King sleep, and he commanded to bring the Book of Records of the Chronicles, and they were read before the King." Esther, ii. 1.

‡ Falco Beneventanus, Vita S. Bernardi, ad ann. 1138. Petrus Diaconus, iv. cap. ult. attributes the termination of the Schism to gold seasonably distributed by Innocent. Giannone finds an amazing exculpation from Simmy, even if the latter statement (which has been adopted by M. de Sismondi, Rep. li. i. 295.) be true. *Ti è che lo scisma, allegando altri commisi esempti.* xi. 3.

§ *Non sensu ingenuo e disprezzi.* Giannone, xi. 3. whose reflections on fighting Popes well deserve extraction. *Ecco a quel suo infelice han sempre irromute le predizioni de' Pontefici contra i nostri Principi; ed ecco il frutto che han sempre recitato, quando deposto il proprio maestro, han voluto, a guisa de' Principi del Mondo, alle teste d'eserciti armati copersi d'oliva in vece di lancia, e vestir di corazzia in vece di stola e di dalmatica.*

Germany and Italy. The. A. 1. 1136. to A. 1. 1138. Death of Lothaire II. Dec. 7.

Robert of Capua. Schism. 1137.

Death of Anacletus. A. 1. 1138.

Lothaire prisoner. 1138.

History.

From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1199.Enquiries
Roger with
The King-
dom of
Sicily.Conrad III
Emperor.
A. D.
1138.

Fall and

Death of
Henry the
Lion.
A. D.
1139.
Wife of
a Guelph
a Ghibe-
line.

actuated either by piety or by policy, received the holy captive with distinction; and Innocent in return, under the influence either of terror or of gratitude, consented to acknowledge the King's full rights over all his conquests. The Duke of Naples had fallen during the campaign, and his State was no longer equal to resistance; so that when the Pope bestowed upon the fortunate Norman Sovereign the Investiture of Sicily, of Apulia, and of Capua, (of which last its ill-fated Prince was finally deprived,) there was added to this rich grant, "the Honour of Naples and all its dependencies." It may be that from some indistinct wording of this Instrument, Roger felt that he was not entitled to make essential innovations in the polity of his new acquisition: certain it is that the Neapolitans received from him a greater share of favour than he extended to any other of his conquered subjects, and that they were allowed to preserve all such privileges as seemed not inconsistent with his Sovereignty.†

On the death of Lothaire, the German Diet assembled at Coblenz, unanimously elected Conrad, Duke of Suabia, to the Crown, and thus transferred the dynasty to the House of Hohenstaufen. It seemed as if the hostility to the Franconian line, which had occasioned the elevation of the late Emperor, was now transferred to the head of the Saxon Family. Henry of Bavaria, on his marriage with a daughter of Lothaire, had received Saxony as her portion; and his Father-in-law, when on his death-bed, had transmitted the Regalia to his custody; thus signifying his wish as to the succession. The odious title of the *Proud*, which History has attached to the name of this Duke of Saxony, sufficiently attests the motives which prompted his rejection. His arrogance during the late Italian expedition had given deep offence to his Brother Princes; and not content with his exclusion from the throne, they proceeded, on his demurring to surrender the Regalia, to put him to the Ban of the Empire. Stripped of all those mighty possessions which, as he had once boasted, occupied the land between the Northern Ocean and the Strait of Messina; so abandoned by his friends that four servants comprised his entire retinue, Henry retired to Quedlingburg; and there is little need of attributing to poison, as some have done, that premature end, which was more probably the result of a mortally wounded spirit.

Henry of Bavaria left one son in the cradle, who bore his own Baptismal name, to which, in after-times, was added a far nobler epithet than that which distinguished the Father—the *Lion*. The interests of this child were espoused by his Family, and Guelph his Uncle, secretly assisted by Roger of Sicily, took the field against Conrad. It is from a petty skirmish in the Civil War which ensued that the two great factions which long afterwards distracted Germany, and yet more so Italy, derive their names; and their origin, when examined closely, appears to be so indisputable, that it is no small matter of surprise how so much fable has been sometimes allowed to perplex it. The Imperial forces, under the command of Conrad's brother Frederick, were besieging the castle of Weinsperg, and in an unexpected sally in which the

garrison was successful, the war-cries used by the combatants bore relation to the two great Houses which they respectively served. The Saxons shouted the name of their Leader, which from frequent repetition in his Family might be considered a Patronymic; and they joined battle under the cry "*Hyë Guelph*." The town of Gibelingen, in Suabia, was the birth-place of Duke Frederick, and supplied the Imperialists with the answering words "*Hyë Gibeligen*." These two "most pernicious and diabolical names," as they are termed by a Chronicler, were not forgotten, but prevailed afterwards "to the destruction of all Italy;" and Guelph and Ghibeline, from the opposite sides espoused by the Chiefs of those Houses, became distinguishing titles, the former of the Papal, the latter of the Imperial faction, in the long and desolating struggles between the Church and the Empire.*

A Peace between the conflicting parties restored Saxony to Henry the Lion in 1142; and the History of Germany offers no event which need detain us till Conrad joined the 11d Crusade, having previously obtained the election of his infant son, Henry, as King of the Romans; who, however, died during his absence on that ill-fated expedition. Choosing a season of profound tranquillity on his return from the Holy Land, Conrad resolved upon a progress into Italy in order to receive the Imperial Crown; a ceremony which he had continued to defer during a reign of fifteen years. But death arrested his purpose, not without some suspicion of poison attaching to Roger, King of Sicily, in whom this Transalpine expedition had very naturally excited alarm.†

It was not probable, even if the deceased Monarch had pressed the election of his single remaining son, an infant at the time of his death, that the German Diet would have gratified his wish; and therefore with a sound discretion he recommended the child to the protection of that Noble, who both from his power and his popularity appeared most likely to be chosen his successor. Frederick, Duke of Suabia, nephew to Conrad, was now in the flower of youth, eminently distinguished for personal qualities, courage, and affability, and possessing moreover a recommendation most attractive to his electors: in himself he was the representative of the Ghibeline Family, and hereditary connexion intimately allied him with that of Guelph. It seemed as if the feuds of these contending Houses might be terminated by the elevation of a Prince akin to both; and accordingly the unanimous suffrages of a Diet at Frankfort called Frederick Barbarossa; to the vacant throne.

* Struvius (i. 370.) proves the origin of these much disputed names by very copious authorities, the most satisfactory of which is that of the *Chronicon Bavarie* of Andreas Presbyter, p. 23. It is Jac. Philip. Bergomas, *ad ann.* 1234, cited in the same place by Struvius, who calls the words *perniciosissimi et dyabolici vocabula ad totius Italie interitum*. We wish the pretty tale of the Ladies of Weinsperg, which the *Spectator* has rendered familiar to English ears, rested on more assured authority. Conrad, it is said, allowed them to retire, each with as much baggage as she could personally carry; and he was moved to tears, and to compassion for the garrison which he had resolved to put to the sword, when every woman appeared bearing her husband on her shoulders. Trithemius, who first related this story, has been followed by many other writers, all of whom are sweepingly dismissed by Struvius—*merito hæc pro fabulis habet Leubstus, et præcipue Eccardus*.

† Otto Frisingensis, *de Gest. Fred. i.* lib. i. cap. 63.

‡ Barbarossa, or Rubeobarbus, epithets which explain themselves, are said by Matthæi to have been contemptuously given to Frederick, by the Italians. All the Chroniclers concur in praising his handsome

Germany
and Italy.From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.Conrad
joins the
11d Cru-
sade.
A. D.
1147.His death.
A. D.
1152.Frederick I.
Barbarossa,
Emperor.

• *Honorum quoque Neapolis quoque pertinentiarum. Bulla Innocentii.*

† Giannone, xi. lib. 1.

‡ Henry's territories comprised Saxony, Misnia, and Thuringia; in Italy Verona and Spoleto, and almost all the Fiefs of the late Countess Matilda.

History.

From
A. D.
1106,
to
A. D.
1198.
He decides
the suc-
cession to the
Crown of
Denmark.

State of
Lombardy.

Rivalry of
Milan and
Pavia.

The Milan-
ese destroy
Lodi.
A. D.
1111,
and subdue
Como.

Having arranged some few pressing affairs in Germany, and displayed the extent of his power beyond its immediate Northern limits, in the settlement of a disputed succession to the throne of Denmark; bestowing its vassal Crown upon Sueno, one of the competitors, and investing his disappointed rival Canute with a great Duchy, Barbarossa next turned his attention to the distracted state of Italy; in which Country his presence was simultaneously implored by the Pope, by some of the Lombard Cities, and by the Prince of Capua, whom the King of Sicily had dethroned. In order to afford clearer insight into the approaching events in Lombardy, and at Rome, it is necessary that we should first briefly narrate some recent transactions which have not as yet found place in our story.

According to the original Lombard Constitution, each City was subject to a Count, who himself in turn was the vassal of a Duke or Marquis. It had been the policy of the German Emperors, from the time of Otho the Great, to render the Cities and their adjoining districts independent of these Counties;* and insensibly these chief towns, although still acknowledging the Sovereignty of the Emperors, during their occasional progresses and residences in Italy, by the discharge of feudal services, claimed the right of electing their own Magistrates, and formed in reality so many separate Republics. Of these, the two principal both in wealth and power were Milan and Pavia; the former adhering for the most part to the interests of the Church, and hereafter therefore to be distinguished as Ghibeline; the latter attached to the Empire, and belonging therefore to the Guelph faction. Between these two Cities existed the most deadly rivalry, and the narrow plain of twenty miles by which alone they were separated witnessed many a bloody conflict in the early part of the XIIth Century. All Lombardy was divided under their respective Chieftainships; and while Crema, Tortona, Brezcia, Parma, and Modena declared for Milan, Cremona, Lodi, Novara, and Piacenza were arranged as allies of Pavia.

It was in the year 1111 that the Milanese, after sacking and destroying the town, whose remains are still known as Lodi vecchio, dispersed its inhabitants among the neighbouring villages, and subjected them to grievous oppression. Sixteen years later, Como submitted to their arms by capitulation; and the conquest of these two large towns confirmed the paramount ascendancy of Milan in Northern Italy. It was useless for the enslaved citizens to address themselves to their natural protectors, the Emperors; Lothaire II. had appeared but twice in Italy; on both occasions, Rome was his chief object; and on one of them, his force was too contemptible to be efficient for any military purpose. Conrad III., as we have seen, never crossed the Alps. But the accession of a new Prince, of active temper and warlike spirit, fired with youth and panting for glory,

person, and several instances both of his generosity and bravery are recorded before his accession to the throne. To Literature he did not make pretence; and Radevicius, who describes him as eloquent in his vernacular German, tacitly admits his want of scholarship, when he adds, that he understood Latin better than he spoke it. (ii. 76.) Frederick represented the Ghibelines, as grandson of a sister of Henry V.; and he was connected with the Guelphs through his mother, (daughter of Henry the Black, former Duke of Bavaria,) sister of Guelph VI., who at the time of his accession swayed the Duchy, and was cousin of Henry the Lion. The latter two Princes were esteemed the Chiefs of their party.

* See ch. lxvii. p. 475.

appeared to offer fair promise of restoration to the descendants of those inhabitants of Lodi who had been expelled from their hearths two and forty years before. Accordingly, in one of the first Diets which Barbarossa held at Constance, he was surprised by the appearance of two suppliants, who, bearing crosses in their hands, prostrated themselves before his throne, and with bitter tears and sobs invoked his aid for the recovery of freedom.* They were Citizens of Lodi, not deputed by their brethren, but acting upon their own personal impulse; and Frederick, touched by their representations, and glad, no doubt, of a pretence to assert and to exercise the long-suspended Sovereignty of the Empire over a City which scarcely acknowledged vassalage, assented to their prayer, and despatched peremptory orders to the Milanese to enfranchise the townsmen of Lodi.

The mandate of Frederick, couched in imperious terms, was received with disdain at Milan, torn from the Herald after he had read it, and trampled scornfully under foot. So broken in spirit, on the other hand, were the trembling men of Lodi, that they disavowed all participation in the act which had occasioned Barbarossa's interference. Little relying upon the clemency of their immediate masters, they secured their wives and children in neighbouring friendly towns; and every night dispensed themselves, to escape the hazard of surprise, among the woods and coverts. Whatever vengeance the Milanese might have designed in their first moments of anger, was arrested by intelligence of the approach of Barbarossa, who descended from the Treentine Alps at the head of a more brilliant army than had accompanied any of his predecessors into Italy; and directing himself upon Roncaglia, in the vicinity of Piacenza, there, according to ancient custom, opened the Diet of his Kingdom. One Feudal usage practised on that occasion deserves notice from its singularity. A shield was suspended from a lofty staff in the middle of the Camp, and on the evening after the Prince's arrival, each of his Vassals was bound to repair thither, and after a answering to his name in a roll-call, to mount guard for the night. The penalty for absence was no less than deprivation of the offender's fief; and this severe forfeiture was enacted by Barbarossa even from some of his Ecclesiastical retainers.

Loud complaints of the tyranny of Milan were renewed by Deputies from Lodi, encouraged by the vicinity of their protector, and seconded by the Comese and Pavians; and Frederick at once manifested his hostile intentions against the offending City by giving up its neighbourhood to pillage, and by investing Tortona, upon the refusal of that City to abandon its ancient ally. The siege was conducted with vigour; yet although Frederick cruelly gibbeted his prisoners within sight of the ramparts, and the single spring from which the garrison could obtain supplies of water was situated within the advanced posts of the enemy; it was not until those waters had been rendered too bitter for use by corruption with pitch and sulphur, nor before the arrival of the sixty-second day of perpetually renewed combat, that the Tortonese surrendered. They were permitted to retire to Milan, with such property as each man was able to carry about his own person, and their town was thus pillaged and freed. Barbarossa, after his success, received the Crown of Lombardy at Pavia, and impatient

* Ottone Murena, who relates this story, was a native of Lodi. Apud Muratori, Script. Ital. vi.

Germany
and Italy.From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1188.Reestablishment of
the Roman
Senate.A. D.
1143.Celestine II.
Lucius II.
Pope.Appointment of a
Patrician.Pope Lucius II.
killed.A. D.
1145.Eugenius III.
Pope.Arnold proposes to re-
establish
the Eque-
strian order.

for that of the Empire also, determined to march immediately upon Rome.

That great Capital had undergone a very singular Revolution during the reign of the late Emperor. Arnold, a Monk of Brescia, had completed his youthful studies under Abelard, and had adopted not only the obscure Metaphysical notions (whatever they might be) of his great master concerning the Trinity, but a freedom of Political heresy also, (as himself expressed it,) which, if that master entertained, he certainly did not promulgate.* The times were little ripe for a loud and bitter denouncement of the vices of the Clergy and their abuses of temporal power; and the spirit of Arnold was not sufficiently temperate to produce more than a passing and dangerous fermentation which was to subside after it had effected his own destruction. The first movement which he aroused was in his native City; in which by declaring that voluntary poverty was the duty of Ecclesiastics, and by recommending the confiscation of Church revenues for the service of the State, he excited a revolt against the Bishop, towards the close of the Pontificate of Innocent II. A Council held in the Lateran condemned the turbulent Reformer, who escaped its sentence by flight, and found refuge in Zurich.

The doctrines of Arnold, even before his exile, had gained numerous partisans in Rome; for a Preacher who inculated that the Pope ought to be deprived of temporal authority, could not be otherwise than particularly grateful both to the factious Nobles who sought to found their own ascendancy upon the downfall of the Pontificate, and to the rabble always gaping for change, and hostile to the existing Government. A pretext was soon found, therefore, for a popular movement. In a petty feud with the neighbouring inhabitants of

Tivoli, Innocent II. had refused to press his victory so far as the vengeance of the Romans desired to see it exercised; and without proceeding to the extremity of razing their walls, he contented himself by demanding an oath of submission from the conquered townsmen. This act of lenity was sedulously represented to the People as a violation of their rights; it was to the Church, not to Rome, said the Nobles, that obedience had been required, and both the honour and the interests of the Eternal City were compromised by the selfishness of an ambitious Priest. The populace, easily inflamed by a few sounding common-places about Liberty and the ancient greatness of their Country, thronged tumultuously to the Capitol, and proclaimed the reestablishment of a Senate. The name of that Body is said by Muratori to be found in documents later than the reign of Charlemagne, but neither of its nature and powers, any more than of the date of its extinction, does any trace remain. This inroad upon his authority, and the menaced adoption of the extreme measures recommended by Arnold of Brescia, so deeply affected Innocent that he did not long survive. The reign of his successor Celestine II. endured but a few months; and under Lucius II. the new Constitution was completed. Instead of a Prefect nominated, or at least confirmed, by the Pope, a Patrician was appointed to represent the majesty of the Republic and to preside over the Senate; that Body, invested with both legislative and executive powers, consisted of fifty-six members, chosen by ten electors, who were themselves annually named by the inhabitants of the thirteen *Rioni* into which the City was divided. The most eminent of these Senators bore the title of Counsellors, and, perhaps, formed together with the Patrician that which may be named the Cabinet. The first Patrician was a Leone, Giordano brother of the late Antipope Anacletus; and so divided against each other were the Romans of this period, that the remaining brothers of the same Family adhered to the Pope Lucius. The chief ancient monuments were fortified afresh by the contending parties, and the City of the Dead teemed with castles and garrisons. Each faction sought also to strengthen itself by alliances; and when Roger of Sicily promised his aid to Lucius, the "Senate and the People of Rome" addressed themselves to the Emperor Conrad. By the advice of St. Bernard he declined answering this invitation, couched in terms of haughty submission and a thinly dissembled affectation of independence; and at the same time he entertained with more than ordinary courtesy the Papal ambassadors deputed to his Court with opposite instructions. Lucius, perhaps emboldened by this hope of powerful support, made one strong effort to overthrow the new Government; and placing himself at the head of an armed force he assailed the Capitol in which the Senate had fortified itself. He was repulsed, and so grievously injured by a stone that he died a few days after the skirmish.

On the election of Eugenius III. as his successor, Eugenius III. Arnold of Brescia, strong in popular opinion, ventured to present himself again in Rome. Once more he proposed to strip the Pope of all his temporal authority, and in order to complete the puppetry by which the Government of former times had been mimicked, he recommended the institution of Consuls, Tribunes, and above all of an Equestrian Order between the Senate and the People. "What could be the motive or measure of such distinction?" is the calm and discreet question which this

* It is theologically, and not politically, that St. Bernard inveighs against Arnold, and he points to him especially as the armour-bearer of the Philistine Abelard. *Novum audit populus et gratibus Evangelium, nova proponitur Fides, fundamentum aliud ponitur præter id quod positum est. De virtutibus et vitiis non moraliter, de Sacramentis Ecclesie non fideliter, de arcano Sancte Trinitatis non simpliciter nec sobrie disputatur; et cuncta subit in perverum, cuncta præter solitum et præterquam acceptum monstrantur. Procedit Goliath, procerum corpore, nobili illo bellico apparatu circummunitus, antecedente quoque ejus Armigero, Arnoldo de Brixiâ. Squama squamæ conjungitur, nec tyrranicum incedit per eas. Si quidem sublevis Apis quæ erat in Francâ Api de Buxid, et venerunt in unum, odereus Dominum et odereus Christianum ejus. Ep. 189. Innocentio II. In another Letter, (195.) addressed to the Bishop of Constance, in which City Arnold was at that time preaching with great success, St. Bernard describes him to be a man of strict moral life; and then, as if thinking he had made too favourable an allowance, he adds, *et si vultis scire, homo est neque bibens neque manducans, solo cum Diabolo cœvens et sitiens sanguinem animarum.* And in the Letter following, (196.) to the Papal Legate in Switzerland, he yet more bitterly denounces him as one *cujus conversatio meli, et doctrina verumum: cui caput columba, cauda scorpionis est; quem Brixia comitit, Roma expulsi, Francia repulsi, Germania abominatur, Italia non vult recipere.* Otto Frisingensis first gives Arnold's character in generic terms, which may be applied to any Demagogue. *Vir quidem natura non libetis, plus tamen verborum profusio, quam sententiarum pondere copiosus, singularitatis amator, novitatis cupidus;* and he then adds a few particulars of his doctrine. *Dicitur nec Clericis proprietatem, nec Episcopis Regna, nec Monachis possessiones habentes aliquid ratione posse salvari; cunctaque hæc Principes esse, ab ejusque beneficiis in unum tantum Lucium ordinem oportere. Præter hæc de Sacramentis altaris, Baptismo parvulorum non nisi dicitur sententia. De Reb. Gest. Fred. Imp. ii. 20.* The Poet Gunther, after expressing himself coincidentally with the above statements, admits that Arnold's errors were "dash'd and brew'd" with some truth.*

Perque multa quidem, nam tempore nostro fidelis, Resperant monachis, Julia admittit monachos.

De Genia Fred. lib. 3.

History.
From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.
late of
lume.
(mold of
Brescia.

Time to
lunch.

History.

From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1199.

Anastasia IV.
Pope.

A. D.
1158.

Adrian IV.
Pope.

A. D.
1154.

Interdicta
Rome.

A. D.
1155.

Barbarossa's last
expedition
to Italy.
Embassy of
the Senate

rejected.

proposal has elicited from Gibbon. The generous ardour of a later and most eloquent writer,* who always kindles even at the semblance of Liberty, has discovered in it the keystone which was to bind together the framework of Roman freedom, by a revival of the full vigour of their ancestral usages. Eugenius had retired from his Capital immediately after his election; yet before the close of the year he found means to effect a compromise with the Senate, by which in return for an acknowledgment of their legitimacy, he obtained the abolition of the office of Patrician and the restoration of that of Prefect.

The death of Eugenius, and the short and unimportant Papacy of Anastasius IV. intervened between the accession of Barbarossa and his expedition into Italy; and during that period Arnold of Brescia continued in Rome under the protection of the Senate. A more vigorous Pontiff succeeded, Nicolas, once a Monk of St. Albans, the only Englishman who has ever worn the tiara. Adrian IV., the title which he assumed on his elevation, is honourably known to Posterity; and his Biographer describes him as exemplary in morals, lofty in intellect, firm in resolve, slow to anger, swift to reconciliation, open-handed, and charitable.† To his labours also as a Missionary, the Norwegians were indebted for their establishment in the Christian Faith. Almost the first act of his Pontificate evinced boldness of spirit. In the general licentiousness which the diffusion of Arnold's principles had encouraged, no rank was exempt from insult and danger; and a Cardinal having been mortally wounded in the streets of Rome, Adrian visited the City with the severe penalties of an Interdict, the first to which it had ever been subjected. The banishment of Arnold was the price at which the offenders obtained relief from a three months' suspension of Religious services, and as the Heretic quitted, the Pontiff returned to his Capital. It is probable that Arnold was sentenced to imprisonment as well as to exile; for we read that the Viscounts of Campania rescued him from the Papal Guards, removed him to their own Castle, and there treated him with marked honour as a Prophet.‡

It was at this season that Frederick approached the gates of Rome; and he was met at Sutri by Ambassadors from the Senate, informing him that they had cast away the yoke of the Clergy and were impatient to tender him the Imperial Crown. "The Roman Matron," however, of whose language the Envoys avowed themselves the spokesmen, seemed inclined, notwithstanding this impatience, to prelude her gift by a bargain; for her messengers employed the following equally intelligible and inflated terms: "You were a guest, I have adopted you as a Citizen; a Transalpine stranger, I have elected you for my Sovereign, and given you myself and all that is mine. Your first and most sacred duty is to swear and subscribe, that you will shed your blood for the Republic, that you will maintain in peace and justice the laws of the City and the Charters of your predecessors, and that you will reward with five thousand pounds of silver the faithful Senators who shall proclaim your titles in the Capitol." Frederick, unwilling to permit the Ambassadors to continue longer under

the numerous mistakes which their oration implied, interrupted them with a remark that "their speech was not seasoned with wisdom," that his predecessors had visited Rome not on the invitation of her Citizens, but for their *delinquency*; and then teaching them that the Imperial arm was not shortened, he concluded by an assurance, that "all would be given to patient men; all would be denied to rude importunity."§

This reception of the Senatorial Deputies tended to quiet the alarm of Adrian, who felt as yet uncertain which of the conflicting interests would be espoused by Barbarossa; and his assurance of safety was confirmed when the Emperor delivered into his hands Arnold of Brescia, whom he had captured from the Viscounts of Campania. No time was lost in quenching so ever the fervid and impetuous zeal of that most remarkable person; for such indeed, in every view, he must be considered, whether we regard him as a Patriot and a Martyr, or as a Demagogue and a Heretic. His nostrils were strangled before the Porta del Popolo; and his ashes were afterwards thrown in the Tiber, to prevent them from being cherished as relics by his passions. Adrian, deriving courage from this execution which removed one of his most dangerous enemies, no longer hesitated to trust himself in the Emperor's Camp, and advanced to meet Barbarossa at Viterbo. On his arrival, either from accident, or as seems more probable from a designed omission of a custom which Frederick deemed worthy of breach, the Emperor neglected to hold the Pontiff's stirrup as he dismounted from his Horse. The Cardinals in attendance, terrified at the evil omen which they drew from this disrespect, abandoned the Holy Father, and hastily retired from the conference. Adrian himself was led under a canopy prepared for his reception, and placed upon a chair of state; but when Barbarossa approached and kissed his feet, he refused the Kiss of Peace in return till the omitted honours should be discharged. The Emperor for a while no less obstinately denied them; and a whole day passed without further communication between the disputants, till on the morrow some of the veteran Courtiers, who had witnessed the performance of a like ceremony by Lothaire, upon the strength of that precedent prevailed upon the reluctant Frederick to submit to the humiliation.¶

After the adjustment of this squabble concerning punctilio, Barbarossa entering Rome occupied the Leonine City with one thousand horse, and, on the following morning was crowned by Adrian in St. Peter's. The Bridge of St. Angelo formed the sole communication between the two portions of the City; and when at the close of the ceremonial and on the return of the Emperor to his camp, the guard which occupied that passage was removed, the populace, irritated at the rejection of their embassy, at their exclusion from the pageant,

* Gibbon, vol. xii. ch. lxxix. p. 291—294, whence he states that he has "translated and abridged, with freedom, yet with fidelity," the "original and authentic Acts" given by Otto Freisingensis, &c.

† Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* l. 17. Diss. iv.

‡ Kranke relates the anecdote somewhat differently; that Frederick did hold the stirrup, but that it was the left instead of the right; and that the Pope immediately observed, "*Idcirco minus communi negotia facit argumentum de sacris*." The Emperor, although piqued, replied, laughingly, that he was ill acquainted with his duties for it was the first time he had ever acted as a groom. If the act were voluntary, his mistake, he added, could not be deemed intentional; if it were compulsory, it was of slight consequence, since his stirrup might hold, so as he held it, with becoming respect. Sazonov, vi. 16.

* M. de Siondri, *Rep. It.* vol. ii. ch. vii. p. 40.

† Vita Hadriani IV. a Card. Aragon, ap. Muratori, *Script. It.* tom. iii. p. 1.

‡ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, ad ann. 1155.

History.
From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.
small in
some.

Barbarossa
brings to
Germany.

Little
aspect of
Lombardy.

A. D.
1156.

and at the omission of any application for their suffrages, rushed to the Vatican and massacred such of the Imperial suite as still remained behind. The tumult continued to rage till nightfall, although large detachments of Germans were immediately furnished for its suppression, by whom in the end the rubble was put to flight, after much slaughter and with the loss of many prisoners. In order to avoid a repetition of struggles like these, at once hazardous and inglorious, and also to secure more plentiful supplies than Rome could afford, the Emperor withdrew to Tiroll. During the extreme heats of Summer, he penetrated into the neighbouring mountains, and punished some hostile demonstrations of the burghers of Spoleto by delivering their City to fire and sword. The restlessness of a Feudal army, ever anxious for disbandment when the first period of its service had expired, compelled him to surrender a well-grounded hope of the conquest of Apulia, perhaps of Sicily itself. In the early part of this year the Crown of that Kingdom had passed, by the demise of Roger, to his son William I., a weak Prince, abandoned to the rule of unworthy favourites. Robert of Capua had already stimulated many towns to revolt, the Greek Emperor Michael despatched a fleet to his support, and the discontented Barons solicited the more powerful aid of Barbarossa. The inadequacy of the force at his command compelled him to refuse this alluring invitation, and it was not without encountering some perils from the treachery of the Veronese during his passage through their territory, that, before the close of the year, he regained his German dominions.*

Two years elapsed before Barbarossa was again summoned to Italy. During their course, he rewarded the services of Henry the Lion, from whom he had derived much aid during his late expedition,† by a restoration of the Duchy of Bavaria; and he celebrated his own nuptials with Beatrice, the rich heiress of Rinaldo, Count of Borgogna. But these peaceful occupations were of short endurance. No sooner had Lombardy been relieved from his occupation, than the Milanese rebuilt Tortona by public contributions and by the personal labour of their citizens; and they directed their arms also against several of the towns which had exhibited most zeal in the Emperor's behalf. In the South, the confederacy which had been formed against William of Sicily was entirely dissipated; the Greeks were defeated off Brindisi; Robert of Capua, betrayed by one of his Vassals, was deprived of sight, with so great cruelty that he expired shortly afterwards in the dungeons of Palermo; and the Pope, terrified by these reverses of his allies, purchased immunity by the grant of a new Investiture, containing much more extensive privileges than the Norman Princes had ever yet received from any of his predecessors. It was not long before Adrian,

thus reconciled to his Sicilian neighbour, involved himself in a needless dispute with the Emperor. An Ecclesiastic of rank, while travelling in Sweden, had been arrested by some German Barons, and the Pope, in a missive which demanded the Prelate's release, expressed himself in language perhaps designedly ambiguous. In the despatch, translated from the Latin for the benefit of German ignorance, the word *beneficium* appeared to be employed offensively; for when Adrian reminded the Emperor of the Crown which he had conferred upon him, and of his willingness to bestow *majora beneficia*, the interpreter rendered, or the hearers understood the phrase to mean, *greater Piefs*. The indignation roused in the Diet by this seeming assumption of Sovereignty was greatly increased when one of the Legates further inquired, "from whom the Emperor held his Crown, if not from the Pope?" and the naked sword of Otto of Bavaria, raised to avenge the insult, was stopped by the timely interference of Barbarossa himself. This affront, and the hostile aspect of Lombardy, determined Frederick once again to cross the Alps, and Adrian, alarmed at the powerful armament concentrating itself at Ulm, had recourse to an etymological subtlety in explanation of the supposed affront. "No one," he said through his new Legates, "can be justly offended by the use of the word *beneficium*. Granting that it may be construed a Pief, it is not so that we intended to employ it. The word is of goodly parentage, and may be traced to *bonum factum*; in which sense it is always found in Holy Scripture, where we are said to be governed and supported *beneficio Dei*, that is, not by His Feudal power but by His benevolence. Even so, was it not a good deed, a *bonum factum*, or *beneficium*, when we circled your brows with the Imperial Crown in St. Peter's?" Barbarossa was reluctant to persist in a quarrel arising from a quibbling derivation, and signified that he was appeased.*

At length the mighty host issued from Ulm, and filled every pass of the Alps between Friuli and the Great St. Bernard. The Milanese had been active in preparation, and they appear to have entertained thoughts of elevating one of their own Nobles to an independent Crown, if the project had not been interrupted by his death.† Their menaces availed little with the faithful Lodesans, whom they urged to join in alliance against the Emperor; and when an armed force marched upon them in order to compel obedience, they abandoned the villages through which they were dispersed, and sought refuge in Pizzighettone. The first operations of the Imperialists were directed against Brescia, which, after a weak resistance, gave hostages and disbursed a large sum of money to obtain Peace. The single bridge which crossed the Adda at Cassano was strongly guarded by a Body of Milanese cavalry, and the swollen state of that river appeared to render it impassable elsewhere. But the King of Bohemia, descending the bank to Corneliانو, partly swam, and

Germany
and Italy.
From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.
Office
Embassy
from
Adrian.
A. D.
1157.

The Pope
explains.

Second ex-
pedition
into Italy.
A. D.
1158.

Passage of
the Adda.

* The Veronese constructed a bridge of boats over the Adige so insecurely that it was scarcely able to resist the current of the river; and they floated huge logs down the stream, in the hope that they might strike and carry away this crazy bridge, during the passage of the German army. A slight miscalculation of time frustrated the scheme. Otto Frisingensis, l. 26. Frederick was attacked also by Banditti on the Veronese mountains. Part of them were chased over the precipices, part were taken prisoners, and hanged by one of their own Body, who received his liberty after executing his comrades. Otto Morena, p. 813.

† Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, i. 462.) states that Henry saved the Emperor's life "during a sedition at Rome." We have not met elsewhere with this fact. Was it in the tumult described above after his Coronation?

* The words of Adrian's first Letter as given by Radevicus (l. 8.) are as follows: *Neque tamen parvitas nos desideria tua Voluntas in omnibus implevisse; sed in majora beneficia Excellens tua de manu nostra suscepisti . . . non immerito gauderemus. The subsequent explanation runs as below: Hoc enim nomen ex bono et facto est editum, et dicitur beneficium apud nos non feudum, sed bonum factum. In qd. significatione in universa Sacra Scriptura corpore invenitur, ubi ex beneficio Dei, non tanquam ex feudo, sed velut ex benedictione et bono facto ipsius, gubernari dicimus et nutiri. (Id. i. 22.)*

† His name was Statius, he was killed in an early engagement, and buried with Royal honours. Radevicus, l. 36.

History.

From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.

Foundation
of the present
Lodi.

Surrender
of Milan.

Institution
of Podestà.

partly forced the stream; and although the hazardous attempt cost him more than two hundred men, he succeeded in turning the post at Cassino, and compelled the detachment by which it was protected to fall back upon the Capital.* The camp was now pitched amid the ruins of Lodi vecchio, and on that spot so favourable to their claims, the descendants of the Citizens of the ancient town solicited the Emperor to grant them a site upon which they might erect a permanent abode. A position was chosen about four miles from the residence of their ancestors, and the Emperor, before he recommenced his march, laid the first stone of the new City, in reward for the fidelity of his Vassals. In a few days afterwards, Milan was invested by more than fifteen thousand horse and one hundred thousand foot, and Frederick determined to reduce it by blockade. A month sufficed for that purpose, and the terms which he then granted were honourable. Como and Lodi were to be enfranchised; the Milanese were to swear allegiance to the Emperor, to build a Palace for his reception, to pay him certain sums of money, and to yield to him all the prerogatives of Royalty. The Emperor in return included their allies in the Treaty, pledged himself not to enter the city, and to withdraw from its walls within three days after receiving hostages for the fulfilment of the stipulated conditions.

Milan, by this Treaty, retained the privilege of electing her own Consuls, but a new institution, established in a subsequent Diet at Ronaglia, deprived that right of much of its importance in the first instance, and not long afterwards finally extinguished it. So numerous were the causes referred, according to ancient usage, to the jurisdiction of the Imperial Tribunal, that Barbarossa declared a whole life would be insufficient for their decision.† He created therefore new magistrates, *Podestàs*, in each Diocese, who by their original constitution were not to be natives of the district over which they presided. These Imperial officers were naturally opposed to the Consuls elected by the popular voice; in process of time they became substituted for them; and they were retained even after the Lombards had emancipated themselves from the yoke of the Empire; till in several of those Cities which abandoned Republicanism the *Podestàs* ultimately became supreme.

* Muratori relates the hasty flight of the Milanese very whimsically. *Fuisti castore di là dal fiume, e portastone l'arvino a i Nivoren, che custodivano: l'altra testa del ponte: addio, buon pro a chi ebbe migliori le gambe. Annal. d'Italia, ad ann. 1158.*

† This Diet being held for the adjustment of legal claims was thronged from all Italy by learned Juriconsults; and the species of quibbling witicism, to which in those times much delicacy was attached, is whimsically exhibited in an anecdote which Otto Morena has recorded, (p. 813.) which many other writers have thought worthy of transfer from his pages, and *di cui potremo far fatto attempato merzone da molti Legisti e Storici*, as Muratori informs us. (*Annal. d'Italia*, ad ann. 1158.) Barbarossa, on one occasion, when riding between the two most profound Lawyers to whom Italy had given birth, Doctor Bulgarius and Doctor Martin Gropius, addressed himself to the former, and inquired whether as Emperor he might not justly be styled Lord of the whole Earth? The Doctor, either taken off his guard, or more scrupulous in conscience than his brethren, replied that, strictly speaking, he could not be so styled. Martin, a more adroit courtier, readily answered in the affirmative; and when the Emperor dismounted, received, as the reward of his flattery, a gift of the horse which had been ridden by his Majesty. Bulgarius, without expressing any spleen at the preference shown to his rival, *dixit hæc eleganter verba*; which appear to have been intended for an hexameter as well as for a *bon mot*.

Amici equum, qui dixi equum, quod non fuit equum.

Some arrangements, made at Ronaglia interfered with the Treaty before concluded with the Milanese. Monza was declared independent, although with the exception of Lodi and Como the integrity of their existing dominions had been guaranteed; and the Imperial Chancellor was despatched to instal a *Podestà* in Milan itself in lieu of the Consuls. The inhabitants, justly irritated at this breach of faith, rose in arms, compelled the Chancellor to fly; and perceiving that Frederick's army, now quartered near Bologna, was greatly reduced in force by the retirement of many of his Vassals, resolutely anticipated him in a new declaration of war, and attacked and stormed the Castle of Frenzo, the key of the Adda, and therefore of the entrance to their territory. Too weak for immediate vengeance, Barbarossa contented himself by fierce denunciations, proclaimed Milan under the Ban of the Empire, and summoned his Vassals once again to assemble for its punishment. Meanwhile, his light troops spread destruction over the neighbouring districts, burned the crops, uprooted the vines and olive-trees, occupied every route which led to the offending Capital, and endeavoured to interrupt its supplies preparatory to future investment. But Crema was in the first instance to be exposed to the miseries of siege; and fruitful as are the *Annals of War* in barbarous expedients, we call to mind few instances of more remorseless cruelty than were exhibited. Frederick commenced by hanging his prisoners within sight of the ramparts; and the besieged, in self-defence, executed reprisals on the same number of Germans. The garrison was then informed that all hope of mercy was at an end; forty hostages in the Emperor's custody were gibbeted, and to these were added six Deputies from Milan, one of whom was nephew of its Archbishop. All the hostages, however, were not yet put to death, and those remaining were children of the noblest parents in the besieged City. Untouched by their innocence and the tenderness of their years, Frederick ordered them to be bound to one of those huge movable wooden towers, which of old were important weapons of attack in sieges; and he calculated that, under this most unusual shield, the engine might approach the walls without hazard from the discharge of the mangonels, by which it had heretofore been repulsed. But he forgot that he had already announced a war of extermination; and the miserable fathers who sentinelled the ramparts, hopeless of safety for themselves, unless by continued resistance, and taught, by the former execution of the hostages, that their children, even if they now escaped unharmed, might be reserved only to glut their enemy's revenge under another form of death, plied their artillery without ceasing till they drove back the shattered tower; but not till after nine of the victims attached to it had been killed, two grievously wounded.*

After six months' siege, during which the Germans were frequently repulsed, when the outer rampart was levelled to its base, the inner breached and shattered, the moats filled with huge fragments of the wall, and the garrison itself enfeebled by disease, famine, and the sword, the Cremese solicited the mediation of the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Duke of Bavaria; and Frederick was prevailed upon to spare their lives. Twenty thousand persons, laden with whatever property they could carry, were permitted to evacuate their City and

* *Radvicius Frisingensis*, ii. 47. Otto Morena, p. 1037—1039.

History.
—From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.
Alexan-
der III.
Victor III.
Popes.
A. D.
1159.

betake themselves to Milan, and no sooner were the walls abandoned than the troops rushed in to pillage, fired the houses, and levelled to their very foundations such as escaped the flames. The Milanese were not discouraged by this calamity of their allies; they calculated, and with justice, upon the customary dispersion of the Feudatories wearied by unusual length of service; and they were moreover strengthened by a change in the Government of Rome. Four months before the fall of Crema, the death of Adrian IV. created a fresh schism in the Conclave, and the double return of Alexander III. and Victor IV.* renewed the scandal of the disputed Pontificate. The Emperor summoned the rivals to abide by his decision in a Council at Pavia; and there sanctioned the pretensions of Victor, the one who obeyed his call. Alexander, although supported and acknowledged by the majority of the Christian Powers, was compelled to withdraw from Rome by the fury of the popular faction, after he had issued a Bull of Excommunication against Frederick, and released his subjects from their allegiance. Still the force of opinion, notwithstanding the immediate physical superiority of Victor, rendered the alliance of the legitimate Pope, as he was generally considered, of no small importance to Milan.

In a brisk engagement at Cassano, the sole event deserving remembrance in the ensuing campaign, Frederick at one time so far routed the Milanese, with the division headed by himself, as to capture their sacred battle-car, or *Carroccio*, kill the oxen by which it was drawn, and tear down the standard of the City and the golden Crucifix which decorated its staff. Stung to fury by this intolerable shame, the Milanese rallied, and charged so home as to drive the Emperor from the field of which they remained masters. Two subsequent campaigns, during which success appears to have been not unevenly balanced, were employed by Frederick chiefly in ravaging the neighbourhood of Milan. The sufferings thus in-

flicted on the defenceless peasantry were extreme; for not only were the fruits of their toil utterly destroyed; and themselves exposed to houselessness and destitution, but, wherever resistance was attempted, the immediate punishment was death or savage mutilation. The hands of every husbandman detected in conveying provisions into the blockaded Capital were mercilessly cut off; and in a single day, five and twenty of these wretched creatures were sent within the walls to strike terror into their Countrymen. Without attempting an assault, Frederick awaited the slow but certain effects of famine. When the Citizens offered to capitulate, his reply gave them the choice of surrender at discretion, or the acceptance of terms so harsh that his own followers believed they could never be exacted, and the besieged preferred to them the fearful hazard of reliance upon his unconditional clemency. No pain which the pride of triumph could inflict was spared the vanquished. All who had filled the office of Consul during the last three years were compelled to prostrate themselves at the Imperial footstool, with drawn swords suspended round their necks, and to swear obedience in the name of their fellow-citizens: the *Carroccio* and more than a hundred standards were delivered up as trophies; four hundred hostages were selected from the nobler classes; and the Citizens, who had been summoned without their walls to behold their own humiliation, were then ordered to return; not, however, that they might recoupy them with tranquillity, but that with their own hands they might complete the demolition of their six gates, fill up the moat, and level enough of the ramparts to permit the entrance of the conquerors through the breach. By the Emperor's final decree the existence of Milan was declared to have ceased; the entire population was distributed among four smaller towns, which they were permitted to erect; and during the six days after its abandonment by its native inhabitants, in which their deadliest enemies* laboured upon its destruction, so active was their hatred, that with the exception of a few Churches preserved by especial order, not a vestige remained by which the former magnificence of this once haughty City, the ancient Capital of Lombardy, might be attested to the eye of the traveller. Milan was razed to the ground, and salt was sown in the furrow which the plough traced round its circuit.†

A sedition at Mentz, in which the Archbishop was assassinated, recalled Barbarossa for a short space to Germany; the guilty inhabitants were severely punished, and the walls of their City were thrown down as a lasting

Germany
and Italy.
—From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.
Blockade of
Milan.
A. D.
1161.

Milan capi-
tulates.
A. D.
1162.

and is razed
to the
ground.

* That title had been already assumed by the Antipope, who, on the death of Anacletus II., for a short time opposed Innocent II.

† The *Carroccio* was invented by Heribert, Archbishop of Milan, during the war of the insurgent Lombards with Count the Balle. It consisted of a four-wheeled Car painted red, and drawn by eight oxen decorated with red housings. A lofty flag-staff, terminated by a gilt ball, rose from the centre of the Car, and bore the standard of the City between two white banners. Half way down the staff was placed a crucifix. The platform of the Car was filled with soldiers, chosen especially for their valour, and with trumpeters, and a Priest often accompanied it to battle. The defence of this Car was esteemed the most sacred military duty; and it was held in scarcely less veneration than the Ark of the Israelites. (Siamondi, *Rep. Ital.* i. c. vi. p. 381. and the authorities there cited.) Plates of the *Carroccio* may be found in the 111d Volume of *Gravii Thesaurus*, p. 1289, and in the *Costumi* of Ferrario. The invention was adopted by all the Italian Cities; and appears to have passed into England also; for the military ensign erected by the Barons previously to the great engagement with David King of Scotland in 1138, known on that account as the *Battle of the Standard*, is described as a high Crucifix raised on a waggon, and decorated with banners. *Mox autem aliqui eorum in medio cupudum machine quam ibi adhiberant unus novus malum crexerat, quod Standard appellaverunt; unde Hugo Solvagin Eboracensis Archidiaconus;*

Deiatur a stando Standardum, quod stetit stit
Militia probitas vincere nec mori.

In *omnitate vero ipsius arboris quondam argenteam pavidam cum corpore Christi et Sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostoli, et Johannis Beateleceas et Wilfridi Roperis Confessorum on Pontificum vestigia insuperarent.* Ricardus Hagustaldensis, ep. x. *Scriptores*, 321. In the same volume, p. 329, is given a cut of this Standard, borrowed, perhaps, from some illuminated MS. and it may be believed very little resembling the object which it is intended to represent.

* The destruction of the six *castelli* into which Milan was divided, was allotted to the natives of Cremona, Lodi, Pavia, Novara, Como, and Segno and Marlesana; each of these bands respectively undertaking to level one of the districts.

† Ptolemaeus Lucensis, *ad ann.* upon which statement Muratori (*Annal. d'Ital.* ad ann.) somewhat ironically remarks, *tutte fondone.* Part of the spoil transported to Germany on the destruction of Milan consisted of the reputed bodies of the Magi by whom our Saviour was adored at his nativity. (Otto de S. Blasius, 16. *Dodechima*, ad ann. *Gloebium Person.* *Es.* vi. c. 70.) The Rensish legend states that on their return to their own Country the Magi were baptized by St. Thomas; that their relics were brought to Constantinople three hundred years afterwards by the Empress Helena, conveyed to Milan by Eustathius, and thence, on the occasion now under notice, transferred to Cologne, where they are still preserved. Although the Gospels are silent respecting their rank, their number, and their names, stubborn would that unbelief be considered which should refuse to acknowledge the genuineness of the remains of the Magi, under their present titles of Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, the three Kings of Cologne.

History. memorial of their crime.* In Lombardy, the Imperial dominion was now for a while undisturbed, and at first all hope of Freedom appeared extinguished by the overthrow of Milan. But the tyranny of the *Podestàs*, the merciless contributions which their avarice extorted from the conquered Cities, and the indifference with which Frederick regarded the prayers and the remonstrances of his subjects, once again awakened a spirit of resistance; and the seeds of a more powerful Confederacy than he had as yet encountered were first scattered in the March of Verona, hitherto little interested in the affairs of Lombardy. Before two years had expired from the fall of Milan, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso bound themselves by mutual compact to oppose the encroachments of the Emperor, and they received assurance of support from the powerful Republic of Venice. Rome also was now prepared to assist in the coalition: for the death of the Antipope Victor, and the little encouragement afforded to his successor Pascal III., had enabled Alexander to return to his Capital, in which he was received with marked consideration. The movements of Frederick, on the other hand, were tardy and inactive. It was not till late in the Autumn of 1166, that he found the state of Germany sufficiently tranquil to permit his absence; and then, instead of directing himself in the first instance to restore subordination in Lombardy, he pursued his march at once to the South. The time thus seasonably and unexpectedly afforded them was not misemployed by the Confederates. The walls of Milan were rebuilt with unexampled rapidity by the joint labour of the allied Cities; and its scattered inhabitants were restored to their former abodes, so far protected by ramparts that they might already defy any surprise or *coup de main*. Partly by compulsion, partly because they felt themselves abandoned by the Emperor, the Citizens of Lodi renounced the alliance in which they had so long and faithfully persevered; and while Barbarossa wasted his strength amid the pestilent marshes of the Campagna, fifteen powerful Cities formed that LOMBARDO LEAGUE which was to wrest from him his despotism in Northern Italy. This alliance bound the Confederates to each other for twenty years: its chief declared objects were the recovery of the right of freely electing their own Magistrates, and of those prerogatives of Royalty which they had enjoyed before Barbarossa's first successful descent upon Italy.†

Meantime, several months had been spent by the Imperialists in fruitless and uncertain movements; and Midsummer had long passed before they sat down under the walls of Rome. The troops of that City had already been driven from Tivoli with a severe loss; which, however, the Biographer of the reigning Pope may be believed to exaggerate when he equalizes it to the overthrow at Cannæ.‡ The walls of the Leonine City could

offer little resistance; but within them, the Vatican had been strongly fortified, nor did it surrender till Barbarossa had fired the adjoining Church of *S. Maria*.§ On the news of that loss, Alexander quitted his abode in the Lateran, and retired, under the protection of the Frangipani, to the Colosseum, transformed by engineering skill into a fortress, then considered impregnable. But even that strong hold appeared insecure, when Frederick proceeded to negotiate with the fleet and warlike Citizens; and it seemed little likely that their fidelity would be proof against his advantageous offer. Peace and a restoration of all his conquests was the boon which he proffered for their abandonment of Alexander; and to obtain that desired object (for through out his struggle with the Pope, Barbarossa seems to have been actuated by implacable personal resentment) he on his side was content to relinquish Pascal. If the two Pretenders were once removed, the Church, it was said, might then freely proceed to a new election. When this inequitable proposal was submitted to Alexander, he replied with becoming dignity, that as he King nor Cæsar, neither State nor People, nor even the Church itself possessed jurisdiction over the Sovereign Pontiff; that he held his authority from God, and that to God alone would he surrender it. Then, in order to avoid the compulsion which he foresaw would be exercised, he secretly quitted his camp, descended the Tiber, and embarked for Benevento, in pursuit of his sons. Peace was no longer delayed; the Romans were fidelity to the Emperor, and the Emperor confirmed the privileges of their Senate; but in spite of this success, an enemy not to be combated by human arms was compelled his hasty retreat. The *malaria* (infected his Camp; and the effects usually produced by the malarial fever to which it gave birth, were now most fully aggravated by a superstitious terror, perhaps exaggerated, certainly increased, by the artifices of the Priest. In the malady by which they were visited, the trembling soldiery beheld, not a scourge familiar to the unhealthy marshes among which they were encamped; but a special judgement from Heaven upon those profane hands which had given *S. Maria* to the flames, had nearly involved the Vatican in similar destruction, and had actually consigned two wonder-working Images of *S. Peter* and of our Saviour. Tormented by this remorse of conscience, not less than by bodily suffering, the bravest spirits in the army languished and gave way; many Christians of illustrious descent, two thousand gentlemen, and a proportionate number of their retainers, perished slowly under the poison of the epidemic; and the Emperor, deprived of a gallant and well-appointed host, which had scarcely as yet drawn the sword, was compelled to break up in haste, and retire upon Pavia with the feeble remnant of his lately flourishing army. Even in this strait, he receded not from any of his former proud assertions of Sovereignty; he decried the Cities which presented to rebel; threw down his gauntlet before their Deputies with menaces of the severest vengeance; maintained himself during the Winter, while surrounded by an overwhelming force; he ravaged the territory of the insurgents; and on the return of Spring, evaded their vigilance under disguise.

* The Archbishopric of Meusa was at that time bestowed upon Christian, Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, a Prelate who still continued to cherish the profession of arms, held command in the subsequent war in Lombardy, and rendered himself especially detestable at the Siege of Ancona.

† The Treaty which consolidated the Lombard League was signed on the first of December, 1167; it may be found in Muratori, *Dissert.* xviii. tom. iv. p. 261. *Societas Lombardiarum rudimentum prima et incognita Grævis in non consentientium*. The subscribing Parties were Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, Parma, Modena, and Bologna.

‡ *Vit. Alex.* iii. a Cardinal Aragon, p. 458.

§ *S. Maria della Pietà* is selected by M. de Sismondi, and the fifty Churches in Rome dedicated to the Virgin. Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, ad ann.) names the Church del *Lavorante*, or *poia Torre*.

History.—and crossing the Alps with a handful of followers, regained Germany in safety. Pavia alone still continued faithful in its allegiance; and the confederate Cities, either unwilling to employ force against an ancient ally, or mistrusting their own strength, did not attempt its reduction. While leaving it unharmed, however, they rendered it harmless against themselves, by creating a new key to Lombardy on the side of Piedmont. Choosing a site which Nature had fortified by the confluence of two great mountain rivers, the Tanaro and the Bormida, in the centre of a vast plain, over which its batteries might range uninterrupted on every side, they named the new City which they erected upon it, as the strong hold of their Liberty. Alessandria, in honour of the Pope their Chief. Having constituted it an independent member of their League, they obtained its elevation to a Bishop's See; and so rapidly was it peopled from the adjoining districts, that before a year had elapsed from its birth, it provided fifteen thousand armed men as its contingent to the Union.

Notwithstanding the marked skill and bravery with which Frederick had extricated himself personally from the great perils by which he had been environed during his retreat, it was plain that his dominion over Lombardy was shaken to its very base. Six years elapsed before he deemed it prudent to revisit that Country in arms; and yet during that period, while Italy appeared to have escaped from his grasp, he procured the election of his son Henry to the titular dignity of King of the Romans. His first attempts were wisely employed to dissolve the League by negotiation; and he so far succeeded, that when he despatched a considerable force under his Chancellor, Christian, Archbishop, elect of Mentz, for the reduction of Ancona, (which City, although not a party to the Lombard Confederacy, had given him umbrage by seeking the protection of Constantinople,) the Venetians lent their services in the blockade. Venice, indeed, had signed the League; but always temporizing in her policy, and closely regarding her own individual aggrandizement, she for a while neglected the general interests for the pitiful advantage of depressing a commercial rival. The heroic defence of Ancona forms a brilliant episode in Italian History; and in the pages of Bunsen's *Campano*, who has vividly related the sufferings and the fortitude of its Citizens,* we proceed with breathless anxiety till we gain assurance of their ultimate relief. In a few months after the abandonment of this unsuccessful siege, Frederick, having completed his preparations, passed Mount Cenis; burned Suza to the ground in resentment for an affront offered during his flight six years before; occupied Asti without resistance; and then advanced at once upon Alessandria, impatient for its destruction.

The first impression produced upon the German army on beholding this vaunted bulwark of Lombard Liberty was that of profound contempt. As yet in its infancy, with little other defence except the rivers, at that time swollen by rain, and a deep moat which fed by their waters encircled those portions not protected by their natural channels,† its mud walls and thatched roofs, seemed ill calculated to withstand assault. To its thatches, indeed, it owes the title by which it is still dis-

tinguished from the numberless other towns similarly named; and Alessandria della paglia, or "of the straw," separates it (if there were need for such separation) from the foundations of the Macedonian conqueror, and of his successors. Weak, however, as it might appear, its watery girdle, and the bravery of its garrison, secured it during four months' siege, in the depth of a rigorous Winter, against both the force and the treachery of Barbarossa. The besieging army, repulsed in every assault, struggling against the united obstacles of an inclement season, disease, and want of supplies, placed their last hope of success on a mine constructed with incredible labour, and wholly without detection. Before it was practicable, however, the forces of the League were in motion for the relief of Alessandria; and at the moment in which the last gallery was finished, they had advanced within ten miles of the Imperial Camp. Undeterred by the infamy of a breach of solemn compact, Frederick proposed and ratified a Truce for a single day, on which both armies might devoutly celebrate the Fast of the Crucifixion. During the first watch of the appointed morning, however, a storming party issued through the mine within the walls of the City; but the garrison had not been lulled into incautions or negligent security; the sentinels were alert, and called to arms; the German detachment perished to a man, chiefly smothered in the subterraneous passages; and the Alessandrines, throwing open their gates, chased the besiegers from their lines, and burned their engines in a vigorous sortie.

Frustrated in this base design, the Emperor despaired of capturing Alessandria, and hastily broke up with the intention of retiring on Pavia. The army of the League was posted across his line of march, on advantageous ground; but so mighty was the prestige of Feudalism, that his Vassals, rebellious as they were, would not strike the first blow against their Lord; and permitted him to halt in their face, and pitch his tents unmolested. The negotiations arising out of this penceful encounter occupied many months, and when the conferences terminated unsuccessfully, both parties had been largely reinforced. The additional troops, however, which joined the Emperor from Germany by no means compensated for the defection of Henry the Lion with his Saxons. That brave Prince, offended by some neglect which is not clearly transmitted to us, had withdrawn with his followers,* when the hostile armies met on the twenty-ninth of May at Legnano, on the route between Milan and the Lago Maggiore. The Lombard vanguard, having pressed too forward, was surprised by the main body of Imperialists, and retired in some disorder upon the *Carroccio* of the Milanese. Three hundred chosen youths of Patrikian Families had formed themselves into a guard for that sacred ensign; and as the Imperial Cavalry pursued their comrades, first throwing them-

Germany and Italy
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1106.
to
A. D.
1198.

Treachery and repulse of Frederick.
A. D.
1175.

Battle of Legnano, May 29.

* Muratori, *Script. Ital.* tom. vi.

† *Quantunque fosse quella Città, per così dire, bambina, peranche cinta di muri, ma solamente provveduta di una profonda fossa.* Muratori, *Annali*, ed. ann. 1174.

* The cause of this abandonment is variously represented. Conrad Urquhart (p. 296) implies that Henry was bribed. Struvius, in his text, which is unsupported by the authorities in his Note, attributes it to the refusal of the Pict of Goular, for which he had asked the Emperor. The Note speaks of a Religious scruple on account of Frederick's excommunication; and of an old grudge because the Emperor kept back some of his Feud. Voltaire boldly asserts that he retired *très-impitoyablement contre Barbarousse, qui gardait pour lui les terres de Maubude*; (*Annales de l'Empire*, ed. ann. 1175); and the knot may as well be cut in this fashion as in any other which has been proposed. Whatever might be the motive, Barbarossa never forgave the act; and doubtless, and perhaps with truth, attributed to it his great discomfiture.

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selves on their knees. they addressed a short prayer to God, St. Peter, and St. Ambrose, and then resolutely met the charge of much superior numbers. For a few minutes the Lombards wavered, their line was broken, and the *Carroccio* was in peril of capture. But the prompt support of a second devoted band, a Cohort of 900 horsemen, who, assuming the title *della morte*, had sworn, in accordance with their name, to die rather than to retreat, changed the fortune of the day. The Imperial banner was taken; the Emperor combating in the first rank was unhorsed; his followers were totally routed, pursued for eight miles from the field, and for the most part slain, captured, or driven into the Tesino. The victory of the Lombards was complete; stores, baggage, and artillery became their booty; and for many days it was believed that Barbarossa himself was among the killed. Abandoned by his whole army, dismounted, and environed with enemies, it was not indeed till after encountering much danger and difficulty, that he effected his escape to Pavia, the single Lombard City now acknowledging his dominion.

Naval victory of the Venetians.

If we may credit the Annals of Venice, the defeat at Legnano was not Frederick's only reverse. He had demanded the surrender of Pope Alexander, to whom that City had recently afforded asylum; and the fleet which he manned in consequence of refusal, was destroyed off the coast of Istria, after a severe battle with the Venetians. When the Doge Ziani, who in person had led the armament of the Republic to victory, returned bringing with him captive, Otho, a son of the vanquished Emperor, he was received on landing by the Pontiff. "Take this ring," said the Holy Father, as he drew one from his finger, "and with it take on my authority the Sea as your subject." To that origo the Venetians refer the gorgeous ceremony which was annually repeated so long as their Republic endured; when the Doge dropped a golden ring from the stern of the Bucentaur into the bosom of the Adriatic, the Bride whom he declared to be "wedded with that ring in token of his true and perpetual Sovereignty."

Marriage of the Austrian.

Truce for six years.
A. D.
1177.

It was at Venice also that the Congress was held for the adjustment of Peace, now so necessary for the Emperor. But his pretensions were little abated by defeat; and so difficult was the arrangement of the rival claims, that in the end the Plenipotentiaries concluded no more than a Truce for six years with the Lombards, during which period further discussions might be continued. With the Church, a Treaty of perpetual Peace was ratified; and Alexander having released the Emperor from excommunication, testified the renewal of their amity by a solemn interview at Venice. When Frederick landed on the Piazzetta, he found the Holy Father enthroned before the gates of St. Mark's, and surrounded by a

Interview between the Pope and the Emperor at Venice.

* The authorities for this disputed victory over Otho may be found collected with great diligence by Girolamo Bardi, a Florentine Painter, who perhaps considered himself bound in private duty to establish its authenticity; for he was employed by the Great Council of Venice to replace in their Chamber the Historical Pictures with which it was decorated, and which had been destroyed by fire. His Tract is entitled, *Vittoria Navale della Repubblica Veneta contra Othone*, &c. 1583. There is another voucher also in a Work by Fortunato Orino, a native of Casino,—*Historia della veneta a Francia sceccolomente nel 1177 di Pope Alessandro III. e della Vittoria ottenuta da Sebastiano Ziani Doge*, &c. who, with singular diligence no evidence connected with the object of his search was likely to escape, pronounced strongly in favour both of the victory, and of all the facts related in the text of the celebrated interview at Venice between Alexander III. and Frederick.

brilliant *cortège*, glittering with the splendour both of secular and Ecclesiastical pomp. Barchenbed and casting aside his robe, the Emperor knelt to kiss the Pontiff's feet, received the kiss of peace in return, held the stirrup of his mule when he mounted, and, had not Alexander dispensed with further humiliation, would have continued to attend his bridle. Thus far all Historians are agreed; it is added by the Biographers of Alexander, and Venice has always accredited the tale which she recorded also by monumental Paintings, that while the Emperor lay prostrate before him, the Holy Father trod upon his neck, repeating the words of David, "Thou shalt go upon the Lion and the Adder, the young Lion and the Dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet." "It is not to you, it is to St. Peter!" murmured the indignant Prince; and the Pope, repeating his former action, answered, "It is both to me and to St. Peter." A block of porphyry in the pavement of the vestibule of St. Mark's, is still exhibited as marking the spot on which this singular and ambiguous reconciliation is said to have occurred.

Revenge on Henry the Lion. the author of his fall and grace, was Frederick's first object on his return to Germany; and the violence and ambition of that Prince always engaged in feuds, and little careless of the means by which his possessions were increased, afforded many grounds for accusation. In a Diet at Goslar, he was declared contumacious for not having obeyed repeated summonses before the Imperial Tribunal. There he was put to the Ban of the Empire, the fourth of the Bavarian line upon whom a similar infliction had fallen, and his great Fiefs were divided among some of his most powerful enemies. The execution of this sentence demanded recourse to arms, and after an ineffectual resistance, the offender was permitted to withdraw to the Court of his Father-in-Law, Henry II. of England, where he remained during three years. In a few years after his return, his allodial estates in Saxony were restored; on the accession of his Son Otho IV. to the Crown of the Empire thirty years afterwards, they were converted into Imperial Fiefs, and became the two Duchies of the House of Brunswick. From a brother of that Otho is descended the present Royal Family of England, "the lineal representatives of Henry the Lion, and inheritors of the name of Guelph."

The six years of Truce were employed in diplomacy; and the Emperor in their course succeeded in detaching from the Lombard League, not only Cremona and Tortona, but even that very City to which the League had given birth. Alexandria was viewed by him with especial jealousy; it had been founded as an express outwork against his authority, and its existence was an offensive monument, both of rebellion, and of the ignominious repulse which he had suffered under its walls. His intentions, therefore, of razing it to the ground, and of dispersing its inhabitants at the expiration of the Truce, were openly avowed. In order to deprecate the bitterness of resentment, the Alessandrins proffered allegiance, and surrendered themselves to the Emperor's discretion. The whole population quitted their walls on an appointed day, presented themselves before an Imperial Commissioner, who awaited them on the plain without, and were then re-introduced by his authority, as

* Psalm cxi. 13.

† Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 462. Voltaire, *Annales de l'Empire*, ad ann. 1179. 1181. Struvius, i. 408. &c.

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to a new City, henceforward to bear the name of Ciesarea;* in which, although living under the especial jurisdiction of the Emperor, they were permitted to elect their own Consuls.

The conclusion of Peace was accelerated by the earnest desire of the King of the Romans to be associated with his Father in the Crown of Italy, as well as that of Germany; an object which might have been frustrated had the Truce been permitted to expire without the signature of a definitive Treaty. Preliminaries, accordingly, were settled at Piacenza, and ratifications exchanged at Constance, the City from which this Peace, much celebrated as forming the basis of the public law of Italy, during a long succession of years, has received its name. The Treaty was conceived in a just and equitable spirit; and without abolishing the wholesome control of the Imperial Sovereignty, confirmed the Lombard Cities in that virtual independence which had been the object of their long and arduous struggle. The rights of coinage, of Peace and War, of erecting fortifications, of administering Civil and Criminal Justice, and all others comprehended under the term *Regalian*, were granted to them, not only within their walls, but within the districts attached to them. The League was formally recognised, and permitted to be renewed at pleasure. The Consuls, although invested by an Imperial Commissioner, were to be elected by the Citizens. All Feudal services during the Emperor's residence or progress in Italy, were retained; but he engaged on the other hand never to abide so long in any City or its territory, as to occasion it prejudice. Each Member of the League was to swear that it would maintain the Imperial rights against such Italian Cities as were not Members; and at the close of every ten years, all were to renew their oath of allegiance to the Emperor. It is manifest that important concessions were obtained by these terms from Barbarossa; and perhaps his humbled pride sought reconciliation to the sacrifice demanded from him, in the empty, although arrogant wording of the Preamble to the Treaty. So great, it is there said, is the gentleness and clemency of the Emperor, that he prefers granting pardon to inflicting punishment; and he is content, out of the abundance of his grace, to receive into favour the offending Lombards and their partisans.†

The reception of Barbarossa when, in the year following this Peace, he visited Italy to celebrate the nuptials of his son Henry, was distinguished by extraordinary magnificence; and the Cities hitherto accustomed to close their gates against him in hostility, now vied with each other in the splendour of their triumphs and banquetings. The alliance which he had negotiated for his son brought with it great increase of wealth, of honour, and of dominion. In the thirty years which had passed since the death of the Norman Roger, first King of Sicily, the Crown had been worn, as we have before seen, by his son and his grandson. Of these, William II. or "the Good,"—a title for which this youth, however amiable in himself, may be partly indebted to the great predominance of evil in his father and predecessor Wil-

liam I. "the Wicked,"*—was now hopeless of issue; and the sole existing legitimate descendant of the ancient Guiscard blood, was Constance, a posthumous daughter of Roger, and Aunt, therefore, to the reigning King. It was this Princess, of distinguished beauty, and with the succession to the Crown of Sicily as her dowry, who bestowed her hand on the future Emperor in the Gardens of St. Ambrose at Milan. The bitter train of calamity which these nuptials afterwards entailed upon her suffering Country, may have given rise to a belief long entertained that her Father or her Brother had dedicated her to the veil and to celibacy, in consequence of a Prophecy, that if she married she would kindle a devouring flame in Europe, and occasion the ruin of her own Family.†

When the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin armed the Chivalry of Europe for a third time for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, Frederick, although approaching the age of man, was fired by the general enthusiasm, and took the Cross. His achievements in that expedition, and the petty accident which occasioned the death of one who had so often escaped far greater perils both "of flood and field," belong to another part of our narrative; in this place it need only be said that the remembrance of his many noble and generous qualities excited deep regret for his loss, even among those who had been most exposed to his former enmity. The two chief stains upon his character are the ferocity exhibited during the siege of Tortona, and the treacherous attempt upon Alessandria; and those crying offences we do not seek to extenuate. But they stand alone, and are foreign from the rest of his conduct. In all other respects, both his fidelity and his clemency were unimpeachable; and although his Lombard wars were waged against foes whom he viewed as rebels and traitors, his vengeance in the hour of triumph was directed not against the inhabitants, but the senseless stones of their vanquished Cities. Personal valour and fortitude in adversity belonged to him in preeminence; and somewhat of the respect which History has attached to his memory may perhaps be attributed to the strong contrast which is afforded by the cruelty and the perfidy of his odious successor, upon whose reign we are about to enter.

The first object of Henry VI. after his accession, was yet further to diminish the power of Henry the Lion, a power still too considerable not to render him dangerous as a subject. Before Frederick joined the Crusade, the Diet of the Empire had exacted an oath from the restless and ambitious Duke,—who, notwithstanding his now advanced years, and the frequent proscriptions which he had incurred, appeared to enjoy life only

* If it were possible to suspect so very grave a writer as Muratori of occasional indulgence in dry humour, his account of the death-bed of William the Wicked might be cited to that purpose. *Analisi di grave infermità in quest' anno Guglielmo Re di Sicilia, stette langoroso per due mesi; e chiamato a se Ramondo Arcivescovo di Salerno, che dettavano forte della Medecina, arte allora di gran credito in quella Città, ne uccidè bene i consigli, non seguitò poi a regnare a modo suo. (dizionario d'Indice, ediz. 1166.)*

† Giovanni (hic. xii. vol. ii. p. 289) has shown, and few will doubt his assertion, that Constance, being a posthumous daughter, could not be dedicated to a Nunnery by her Father; and that the whole story is sustained by contemporary authorities. He cites also the following description of her from Gualfred of Viterbo:

*Fili Regis Sarah filia sponsa nobis,
Spansa fuit speciosa nimis, Constantia dicta,
Posthuma post Patrem hiaterpo venere relicta,
Junque irremota tempore virgo facta.*

‡ Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* ch. xii. vol. ii. p. 257.

Germany
and Italy.

From
A. D.
1106.
to
A. D.
1198.

Frederick
joins the
1144 Cru-
sade.

A. D.
1189.
His death,
of June 10.
A. D.
1190.

and char-
acter.

Accession
of Henry VI.
Further de-
pression of
Henry the
Lion.

language of
Henry
ing of the
success
the Const-
able of
ty.
A. D.
1184.

* It is scarcely necessary to remark that the original name ultimately maintained itself.

† Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* ch. xi. vol. ii. p. 230. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 253. The Treaty is given at length in the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of the Empire.

‡ Roger is variously called Ist, Ild, and IIM. He is Ist, as King of Sicily, Ild, as his Father's successor in the Duchy of that Island; IIM, as successor to his Uncle in Calabria and Apulia.

History.
From
A. D.
1106,
to
A. D.
1198.

Death of
William II.
of Sicily.

Tancred.

King of
Sicily.

Coronation
of Henry VI.
at Rome.
A. D.
1191.

when buckled in his armour,—that during the absence of the Emperor he would make no attempt for the recovery of his forfeited dominions. It is strange that such an oath should have been trusted, it would have been more strange if it had been observed; but its violation was severely punished, and on the death of the aged Duke in 1198, Brunswick was the sole Fief which passed to his son.

The announcement of the demise of William II. of Sicily had preceded that of Barbarossa by a few months, and Henry was already prepared to claim the dowry of his Consort, when he found himself called to the throne of Germany. But the strong prejudices of the Sicilians against a foreign, and especially a German dynasty, raised obstacles to that arrangement by which the deceased King, in projecting the marriage of Constance, had endeavoured to avoid the miseries of Civil dissension. One Prince of Norman descent, although of ambiguous birth, still remained, in the person of Tancred, Count of Lecce; a title which he derived from his mother. Of the three sons of the first King of Sicily, Roger, the eldest, died in the flower of his age; and without having obtained the consent of his Father to a union with the Countess of Lecce, of whom he was passionately enamoured, and to whose bed he proved undividedly faithful. To Tancred, the issue of that unblamed, although not strictly recognised attachment, the Sicilian Nobles proffered their Crown; and being immediately on the spot, and supported also by very powerful interests, he established himself in full Sovereignty almost before Henry was acquainted with the decease of the late King. No time, however, was lost by Henry in asserting and actively enforcing his pretensions. Accompanied by Constance, he hastened into Italy, conciliated the Lombard Cities as he traversed them, by a renewal of all their former privileges; concluded an alliance with the Pisans, who engaged to provide him with a Fleet; and for similar objects, accorded grants to Genoa so extravagant, that those by whom they were received must have felt some misgiving as to their future realization. Exemption from tolls and customs in all the Ports of Sicily was the least portion of the Charter which he delivered; it contained a promised cession of Syracuse, with all its dependencies, and of two hundred and fifty Knights-fiefs in the rich *Val di Noto*. As he proceeded to Rome, the opportune death of Clement III. enabled him for a short time to secure the countenance of his successor; probably by influencing his election, certainly by annexing to the Holy See the long coveted domain of Tivoli. If we believe our English Chroniclers, and even Baronius himself, Celestin III. fully perceived the advantageous position in which he was placed by the circumstances of the moment; and exhibited an arrogant and unseemly display of power when he performed the Emperor's Coronation. Scarcely had he circled Henry's brows with the diadem, before touching it with his foot, he threw it again on the pavement of St. Peter's, thus signifying that it was at his will whether the Imperial dignity should be given or taken away.*

In spite, however, of the reclamations, and even of the armed opposition of this haughty Pope, who now refused to annul the investiture granted by his predecessor to Tancred, Henry obtained some advantages in the South. But the heats of an Italian Summer, always fatal to invaders, spread disease through his army while investing Naples; and the treachery of the Citizens of Salerno betrayed the Empress Constance, who had been left with them for protection, into the hands of Tancred. The King of Sicily made a generous use of his unexpected prize; received his kinswoman at Palermo with testimonies of distinguished honour; and restored her to liberty, without ransom, and without conditions.

These disasters induced Henry to withdraw to Germany; and it was on his return from his fruitless expedition that the disgraceful traffic for the possession of the captive Richard I. of England took place with Leopold, Duke of Austria. The Emperor having bought the illustrious prisoner for sixty thousand marks, nearly trebled the price, and sold him again, after a year's detention, for one hundred and forty thousand marks payable to himself, thirty thousand to Leopold his first gaoler.† Avarice, no doubt, was the passion which Henry chiefly gratified, but revenge also might claim some participation in this base transaction. Among the idle charges advanced against Richard at the Diet of Haguenau, before which he was compelled to appear personally, the first was that he had leagued with Tancred, in order to put him in possession of the throne of Sicily.‡ The King of England, after disclaiming all responsibility for his actions to the Tribunal which accused him, replied, that his alliance with Tancred had been formed at a season at which that Prince was not aspiring to, but already wearing his Crown. The Duke of Austria's bitter spirit of resentment had been awakened by a yet more trifling cause. During a squabble between some of their respective followers in a caravanserai at Acre, relative to the priority of its occupation, Richard, when appealed to, naturally espoused the side of his own retainers; and unwilling to be dislodged, somewhat too hastily ordered the Duke's banner to be removed, and permitted it to be thrown contemptuously into a drain.§ The feud occasioned by this petty disagreement was remembered by the King of England when he crossed the Austrian territory; and in order to secure himself against surprise, he adopted the habit of a serving man, and travelled almost unattended. While cooking his own meal in a house of entertainment in Vienna, the brilliancy of a valuable ring which he inadvertently continued to wear on his finger, betrayed that he was of more elevated rank than his outward appearance implied. The bystander who first made this observation, happened to be a retainer of the Duke of Austria, who had accompanied his master to the Holy Land; and who on more close inspection of the Royal stranger's features, recognised and immediately denounced him. On his seizure, pains were taken to expose him to the

* Roger Hoveden, *ad ann.* 1191. Henry Knyghton, ii. 13. Baronius, *ad ann.* 1190. Struvius concludes, somewhat unreasonably, that the story is a pure invention of the English writers in order to degrade Henry, whom they hated on account of his treatment of Richard I. But a haughty demeanor on the side of a Pope in his intercourse with an Emperor is not a solecism in History. Celestin knew how important his friendship was to Henry at that moment, and there is nothing in his subsequent conduct which should

create a doubt but that he would take advantage of his ascendancy to the very utmost. Voltaire, who says that "Roger Hoveden" is the only authority for the anecdote, is satisfied by dismissing it with an antithesis—*On le Pope citait en confiance, on l'avait vu s'en parer.* But we do not see the necessity for submitting to this dilemma.

† Struvius, i. 432. and the authorities there cited.
‡ Mart. Paris, 145.
§ *Ibid.* 140.

division of the rabble, by parading him through the streets, with the half-dressed morsel still fixed to the skewer upon which he had been diligently roasting it.*

† The discomfort which Henry had experienced in Italy might probably have disinclined him from an early renewal of his attempts upon that Country, but for the unexpected death of Tancred, heart-broken by the premature loss of his eldest son, whom he had recently married, under the happiest auspices, to Irene, daughter of the Greek Emperor, Isaac Angelus Comnenus. The Crown passed to a younger son, William III., as yet a mere boy; upon whom Henry, assisted by the Pisans and Genoese, poured down with an overwhelming force. The unexampled cruelties which he perpetrated while ravaging Apulia struck terror into the hearts of the Sicilians; and the strong-holds of the Island were abandoned to him almost as soon as they were summoned. Sibilla, the widow of Tancred, with her daughter and the young King, were entrapped by promise of honourable usage, and permission to retire to their hereditary dominion of Lecce; but no sooner had they confided themselves to the Tyrant's power, than he immured the Princesses in a Convent, and by brutal mutilations, both deprived the unhappy King of sight, and extinguished his hope of posterity.

‡ Upon the cruelties which have stamped indelible infamy on the name of Henry VI. in his Sicilian Government, it would be needlessly painful to dwell. Terror appears to have been his single maxim of rule, and the Chroniclers have recorded a sickening variety of deaths under exquisite torture, which his jealous suspicion was ever ready to inflict. Henry's ferocity was not saluted by the agonies of the living; it trampled foally on the dead also. When he occupied Palermo, he ransacked the graves of Tancred and his son Roger, stripped their corpses of the Royal vestments in which they had been interred, and exposed their remains to scorn and dishonour. His pretext for this base and cowardly outrage was the usurpation, as he styled it, of those Princes; but a hope of discovering treasure in their sepulchres may have partly influenced his purpose. Avarice was among his ruling passions, and when he quitted Palermo on his route for Germany, the Sicilians beheld, with passionate grief and indignation, a hundred and fifty sumpter mules in his train, conveying the plunder of their Royal Treasury and household. Not only coined money, ingots, plate, and the Crown jewels, became his prey, but his insatiable lust for gold glutted itself on the spoil even of the rich wardrobes and costly furniture of their ancient Kings. Every movable, say the Chroniclers, adorned with any portion of the precious metals, however small, chairs, tables, beds, and embroidered robes were swept away by the rapacity of the foreign and Barbarian harpy.†

§ Deeply rooted, if not openly avowed hatred of the Tyrant was the necessary result of this oppression; and the feeling was shared no less by his allies than by his subjects. Every promise made to the Pisans and the Genoese was violated without shame or scruple; and not only were they denied the recompense which they had been taught to expect, but even their ancient privileges were annulled, and their property was confiscated. The

extermination of the Normans seemed the object of Henry's cruelties; and when they became directed against the remaining members of her own Family and connexions, it cannot surprise us that the fears of Constance were awakened. One of her nearest kinsmen, Richard, Count of Cerra, was arrested by an agent of the Emperor; the sole crime imputed to him was a design of withdrawing into Tuscany, that he might escape witnessing the miseries of his Countrymen. The noble prisoner was delivered to Henry at Capua, dragged ignominiously at the tail of a horse to a gibbet, on which he was suspended by the feet, and after lingering through two days of torture, was strangled by a huge stone fastened round his neck by the hands of the Court Fool.*

Constance may be forgiven if she lent her sanction to a conspiracy which was to terminate the sufferings of her native land; but unhappily, notwithstanding the seeming reconciliation which afterwards took place between the Emperor and the insurgent Nobles whom she supported, a blacker charge has often been brought against her memory, that of administering a poisoned cup, which hastened the close of her husband's days at Messina.

One son, who bore the names of both his grandfathers, Frederic Roger, was the issue of Henry VI.; a child whose birth gave occasion to various strange and fabulous rumours. Constance was delivered of him at Esì, an obscure town in the march of Ancona, while on her route to join the Emperor, during his operations in Italy in 1193. She was at that time in her thirty-seventh, or, at the utmost, her thirty-ninth year; a fact proved by reference to the passage already cited from Godfrey of Viterbo. Nevertheless she has been affirmed by some writers to have been past the ordinary age of child bearing, having attained the mature season of fifty-five, or even sixty years. Hence, it is said, that in order to obviate certain scandalous reports of her intention to palm a supposititious child upon her husband and his subjects, she insisted upon a public delivery; and for that purpose, a tent was pitched in the open plain near Palermo.† It was in behalf of this son that Henry meditated a great change in the German Constitution, and conceived no less bold a design than making the Empire hereditary. The reigning Pope Clement III. assented, and fifty-two Princes affixed their seals to the Decree which was to ratify the proposal. It was frustrated by the opposition of the Saxons; but the Emperor had sufficient influence to obtain the election of the Infant, then little more than two years old, as King of the Romans; a title which, as we shall afterwards perceive, did not procure his recognition as Emperor immediately upon his Father's decease. In Germany, we shall find him surrounded by enemies, and displaced for a season by more powerful competitors. In Sicily, his investiture was not obtained without difficulty, nor till after the curtailment of certain prerogatives; and when Constance followed her husband to the tomb in little more than a year after his decease, their son was left under the dangerous guardianship of Innocent III., a Pontiff urged not less by inclination than by policy to reap the fullest advantages which that important trust presented to his ambition.

* *Chronica di Fiesco novo*, cited by Giannone, *ut supra*.

† Giannone adds, from the Preface to the *Capitoli del Regno di Sicilia*, *Ch'ella poi per in Città di Palermo, per son via ogni sospetto, undique con le mammette nude, e discouverte distilando latte. Ut sup.*

‡ *Sturmius* l. 425. and the authorities there cited. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, l. 464.

Germany and Italy.

From A. D. 1106. to A. D. 1198.

and Rebellion of the Sicilians. A. D. 1197.

Death of Henry VI. hastened the close of her husband's days at Messina.

Birth of his son, Frederic Roger.

Henry's attempt to make the Empire hereditary.

Death of Constance. A. D. 1198.

* Otto de S. Blasio, c. 38.

† Giannone, *xiv. vol. d. p. 321.* Arnhold of Lubec, (*iv. 20*) cited by Muratori, speaks of one hundred and sixty *sommari*. Roger Hoveden (746) computes the spoil of Salerno alone at two hundred thousand ounces of gold.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXXIV

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH—OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS—AND OF THE HERESIES IN THE XIIIth CENTURY.

GENERAL STATE OF THE CHURCH.

History. The period of Ecclesiastical History at which we have now arrived, may be considered as forming one of those cardinal Eras, from which we date the commencement of a new aspect or phasis in the revolutions of Human affairs. The darkness which, since the irruption of the Barbarians into the Western Empire, had, during four or five Centuries, been continually thickening over the nations of Europe, seems at length to have passed its meridian; and henceforth we may easily observe the gradual and unintermitted progress of returning day. The first dawn indeed of this revival was perceptible in the Century immediately preceding. Letters were as yet cultivated by few without the pale of the Church; but a visible improvement had already taken place in the Schools of France and Italy. These were no longer confined to the walls of Monasteries; seminaries of general Learning were opened in many of the principal Cities of those Countries; and Science, such as it was, was now taught in a better method and on more enlarged principles, by Professors both Lay and Ecclesiastical; several of whom had accomplished their course of study in Spain, under the Arabian masters, at that time the chief depositories of profane or Philosophical Learning.* Latin translations had been early made of the principal Treatises of the Saracenic Doctors. It was, in fact, by this circuitous route that the Western world again obtained access to the Mathematical, Medical, and Astronomical writings of the ancient Greeks, and to those of Aristotle himself; the second publication, so to call it, of whose Works may be said in a short time to have produced an entire revolution in the studies of the Age; and during several successive Centuries continued to exercise a most remarkable influence upon all the researches and operations of the Human Intellect.

Improved state and means of Learning. In no department of general study was the effect of this change more immediately, or more powerfully felt, than in the Schools of Divinity. At the beginning of the last Century the public lecturers upon that Science had, for the most part, contented themselves with retailing to their hearers the explanations and illustrations of the Holy text which were to be found in the writings of the Fathers; without attempting to give either order or consistency to their glosses upon Scripture; much less to work them up into any thing like a regular Body of

Divinity. But before the end of the same Century this method had given place to one of a much more ambitious character;† the mysteries of Religion were no longer stated merely as Articles of Faith, but it was endeavoured to examine and explain them upon the principles of the Dialectic Science which had become a fashionable; the doctrines of Religion were expounded with all the formalities of Scientific distribution; and the foundation was thus laid for that scheme of Scholastic Divinity, which, in its various ramifications, occupies so large a portion of the Literary and Theological History of the succeeding Centuries.

A fresh impulse was in this way given to the Human Mind, which began to devote itself to the acquisition of knowledge with a zeal and avidity proportioned to its long privation of that its natural aliment. The Church, and more particularly the Papal Court, was foremost in encouraging and rewarding this new ardour of study; and as yet no apprehensions were entertained that either the doctrines of the one, or the pretensions of the other were likely eventually to suffer from that vivacity of research which they were thus promoting. Of the Colleges or learned Societies which were now established for the dissemination of knowledge in the principal Cities of Europe, that of Paris was become particularly conspicuous, as well by the number and ability of its various Professors, as by the great concourse of students who crowded thither from all parts to imbibe Science under their tuition.‡ Of the other Schools of France, Angers became famous for the study of Law, and Montpellier for that of Medicine. In Italy, the celebrated Academy of Salerno was wholly devoted to this last Profession, while Bologna took the lead almost of every other European seminary in the profession of Jurisprudence;§ a study the revival of which is generally ascribed to the discovery of the Pandects of Justinian, when Amalfi was captured by the Pisans in 1135|| Bologna also became equally distinguished for its teachers of Canon Law. To that branch of Academical Learning, likewise, something of method and system had been given by the famous *Epitome*, or *Decretals*, which Gratian, a Monk of Bologna, had drawn up about the year 1130,¶ from the Pontifical archives; and which continued, down to a very

* This was the case with the Professors whose precepts gave such celebrity to the Medical School of Salerno. See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 395.

• See De Boulay, *Historia Academiæ Paris.* tom. i.

† *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 65.

‡ De Boulay, tom. ii. p. 215.

§ Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 890.

|| See p. 631 of this volume.

¶ Under the title of *Concordantia Canonum*, a *Scriptum*

History.

recent period, to be the standard text-book of the study, in most of the Universities of Catholic Europe. The Work, indeed, became early a great favourite with the Roman Pontiffs, whose pretensions it supported throughout, and to their utmost extent; and often, as might be expected, by a considerable falsification of documentary evidence.

Account of the Papal succession.

We have seen in what manner the spirit of Papal ambition, after the more gradual encroachments of preceding Pontiffs, had almost attained the fullest accomplishment of its purposes, from the bold, active, and undaunted genius of Gregory VII.; inasmuch that, at the commencement of the present Century, almost every Ecclesiastical affair, down to the most minute, was brought more or less immediately within the jurisdiction of the Papal Court. Hence it is that the Civil and External History of the Church at this period is almost entirely included in that of the See of Rome. On this account, therefore, and also as affording the best and most obvious principle of perspicuity and order in our summaries, we shall make the succession of Pontiffs the groundwork of that general view of Ecclesiastical events which it is our business to exhibit.

Paschal II.

A. D. 1099.

Urban II. died in July 1099. He was succeeded by the Cardinal Rainer, by birth a Tuscan, a man of virtue and ability, whose talents and character had early attracted the favour of Pope Gregory VII. He had scarcely assumed the tiara, under the name of Paschal II., when Rome and all Christendom were gladdened by the tidings of the reduction of Jerusalem, which was taken by assault, on the 15th of July, by the Crusading armies under Godfrey of Bouillon. Shortly after the commencement of his Pontificate, the Antipope Guibert, who had been chosen by the Imperial party, and supported by their intrigues and power, since the time of Gregory VII., died in Calabria; and, although three successive candidates were within a twelvemonth brought forward by the Imperialists to supply his place, their pretensions were almost immediately suppressed by the vigorous measures adopted by Paschal, and they themselves were driven into obscurity.

Account of the nature and origin of the dispute respecting Investiture.

As the dispute concerning the right of Investiture was that which chiefly contributed to disturb the peace of the Church, and indeed of Christendom, during the present Century, it may be right before we proceed further to give a somewhat fuller account of the nature and origin of it* than we have before had an opportunity of doing. The controversy itself naturally resulted from the political circumstances in which at this period the Clergy found themselves placed. From the earliest period of her establishment, the Church had jealously excluded the Civil power from any right of direct interference in the nomination to Ecclesiastical dignities; and so long as these involved only a spiritual jurisdiction, the State was not indisposed to acquiesce, in appearance at least, in the exclusion. But when, by the successive and constantly accumulating endowments of Princes and Nobles, the higher Orders of the Clergy became possessed of fiefs and territories involving large wealth and considerable secular influence, the Feudal Superior began to claim an interest in the disposal of these

benefices, grounded upon the equally unquestioned jurisdiction which belonged to him, over all the territories subjected to his authority; and thus it was that a field was opened for perpetually recurring conflicts between the Ecclesiastical and Civil powers of the community.

Of the Christian Church.

The term Investiture* itself, implies the grant, or more strictly, perhaps, the mode of granting, of any estate, fief, dignity, or privilege by the King to his subjects, or a Chief to his vassal, on the necessary conditions of fealty, homage, and feudal service; a ceremony which was usually performed by bestowing upon the person so favoured some material mark, as the token of his Investiture. This, in the case of a territory or estate, was often a piece of turf, or bough of a tree; while in the instance of a place of trust or dignity, some characteristic part of the dress, or ensign of the office, was chosen as the distinguishing symbol. When the Bishops and Abbots of the Church became possessors of territorial revenues and jurisdictions, they were of course, as such, subjected to the same rules which applied to all lay holders of rights or property; and were not considered as legally possessing those properties, until they had formally done homage for the same before their Superior, and received from his hand, in return for their oath of allegiance, the appropriate symbol of the legal transfer of them. What was the ceremony at first used in the Investiture of Ecclesiastical dignitaries seems not altogether ascertained. Probably it varied in different places, or according to the fashion of the time, or the fancy of individuals. We read that the Emperor Henry II. bestowed the Bishopric of Paderborn upon Meinvercus, by the token of presenting him with a glove; and there is reason to believe that in the first instance, neither the ring, nor the crosier, nor any other emblem peculiarly characteristic of the spiritual privileges of the Bishop, was employed, to signify the execution of a transfer, which professedly referred only to the conveyance of secular jurisdiction.

Ceremony of Investiture.

The right of interference thus exercised by laymen in the promotion to Ecclesiastical dignities was, therefore, one only of sanction, and not of direct nomination; yet, as might have been foreseen, it soon tended practically to resolve itself into the same thing, and as such, became early, and naturally, a subject of jealousy and opposition on the part of the Church. These feelings waxed stronger when the laity, in the exercise of their privilege prostituted it, as they soon did, to purposes of the most flagrant and shameless Simony. With the view of eluding this abuse,† the Clergy in many instances upon the death of a Bishop or Abbot, after electing a successor, proceeded immediately to his consecration; of which ceremony the delivery of the ring and crosier, as the ensigns of Episcopal function, was an essential part. By this proceeding, the interference of the Feudal Superior was at once excluded, since, after consecration, the election became irrevocable. The secular power, however, soon took an effectual method to obviate this stratagem; by ordaining, that immediately upon the death of a Bishop, those ensigns of his function should be taken possession of by the authorities of the Episcopal City, and forthwith transmitted to the keeping of the Prince; who thus retained in his hands an effective control

Abuse of the power of Investiture by laymen.

Investiture by ring and crosier.

which sufficiently indicates the nature and object of the book. Gratian is said to have employed no less than twenty-four years in its composition.

* Much valuable information on this subject, although, as might be expected, tinged with a decided Papal bias, is to be derived from Cardinal Noris's *History of Investitures*.

* See INVESTITURE in our *Miscellaneous Division*.

† A very clear and satisfactory statement of the facts of this part of the subject is to be found in Mosheim, (*Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 290. MacLaine's translation,) together with ample references to original authorities.

History. over the election of the Clergy. It was by the delivery of the ring and crosier to the favoured candidate, that the Sovereign, in effect, designated the new Bishop, who proceeded to place these badges of his dignity in the hands of his Metropolitan, from whom he again received them, in the final ceremony of consecration.

We see, then, that the whole controversy upon this subject was the natural consequence of the compound character which the higher Clergy at this time began to assume: as being not merely the Spiritual Pastors, but, in many instances, the Territorial Lords of their people; and of the difficulty in reconciling the claims which either party might justly prefer, to interpose in the elections in question. That the Prince should claim a right of interfering in the disposal of dignities which, in fact, conveyed to the persons holding them large temporal wealth and power, was natural and indeed necessary. At the same time it was impossible but that the Clergy should be in the highest degree jealous of the exercise of the prerogative which was thence usurped by laymen to confer absolutely and arbitrarily all the spiritual offices of the Church; especially when they saw the privilege abused, as it was sure to be, in the hands of the Lay Superior, to purposes of the most sordid and profligate selfishness. But although the Church, and particularly the Roman Pontiffs, had long entertained these feelings, it was Gregory VII. who first gave vent to them, by openly attacking the practice itself. This he did in the bold and uncompromising spirit which usually distinguished his proceedings. He at once, and absolutely, prohibited all Investitures of Benefices whatever, and even it is said forbade Bishops to take oaths of homage or fealty to their Princes; claiming to himself as the Universal Bishop and Head of the Church their undivided faith and allegiance.* Some writers, however, deny that Hildebrand did in fact carry his audacity to this extent; but it is certain that his successor (the next but one) Urban II. did not hesitate to do so; for we find the latter, in the Council of Clermont, expressly including in his anathema, not merely the act of Investiture by a layman, but even the oath of fealty on the part of the Bishop to the Prince; an extremity of pretension so obviously unreasonable in itself, that we cannot but suspect it to have been put forward by the Pontiffs not so much in the hope of actually obtaining that extent of immunity, as with the purpose of preferring a claim, the subsequent concession of which might the better enable them to compromise for the abandonment, on the part of the secular power, of its interference in respect to Investitures.

Investiture by ring and crosier forbidden by the Council of Clermont.

A more rational and better founded objection on the part of the Clergy, was that which referred to the mode of Investiture exercised by Princes, by personally conferring the crosier and the ring, which were peculiarly, and exclusively, symbolical of the spiritual authority exercised by the Bishops. It does not appear that this was made matter of especial controversy till the time of Paschal II., who, in the Conference which he held with the Emperor's deputies at Chalons in 1107, more particularly insisted upon the abandonment of this ceremony, as implying pretensions on the part of the State altogether inadmissible.

Of the controversies, and indeed we may say, the wars,

* See Dupin, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. x. p. 32. See also Mosheim, *ibid.*

of which this subject was the occasion between the Popes Gregory, Urban, Paschal, and Calixtus, and the Emperors Henry IV. and V., a full account may be found under our ANNALS OF GERMANY; at present, we shall merely allude to some of the principal results of those transactions. By the Treaty which Paschal, under the compulsion of personal captivity, was compelled to sign with Henry V. at Rome in April 1111, the humbled Pontiff consented to an entire abandonment of his opposition to the right, as claimed by the Emperor, of investiture by the ring and crosier.* This Treaty, however, extorted by violence, was immediately and loudly exclaimed against by the Clergy throughout Italy and Germany; and in the following year, was solemnly annulled in a Council held in the Church of the Lateran.† It was not till the year 1122 that a new and more satisfactory settlement of the dispute was arranged at Worms between the Emperor and the Legate of Pope Calixtus II. By this it was agreed, "that for the future all Bishops and Abbots should be chosen by those to whom the right of election belongs, i. e. by the Canons and Monks of their respective Chapters and Communities, but that the election should take place in the presence of the Emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose; that any dispute arising among the electors should be decided by the Emperor; that the Bishop or Abbot elect should take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor, and do homage to him for the temporalities (*regalia*) which he should receive from his hands; which, however, were to be conferred by the Emperor, not by the crosier and ring, (the badge of spiritual function,) but by the *accepte*, as the more appropriate symbol of Investiture into rights and privileges in themselves merely temporal. This Concordat was soon after solemnly confirmed by the General Council; which was summoned to meet in the Lateran in the year following.

The subject of Investitures had never been the occasion of any contest between the Popes and the Crown of France. The right was one which had always been enjoyed by the French Kings, undisturbed even by a Papal remonstrance; though they early desisted from exercising it by the obnoxious emblems of the crosier and ring, contenting themselves with signifying the collation to benefices in their dominions by verbal or written declarations. In England, as we have seen, it formed a principal point of the quarrel between William Rufus and Archbishop Anselm; and such was the violence with which that brutal Prince enforced his pretensions, that Anselm found it prudent to leave the Kingdom and take refuge in France. On the death of Rufus, Henry I., his successor, anxious to conciliate as far as possible the suffrage of the Clergy to his usurpation of a crown which of right belonged to his elder brother Robert, recalled

* The following are the terms of the Treaty. After certain preliminary expressions of attachment and gratitude on the part of the Pontiff towards the Emperor, the former goes on to say, "We, therefore, grant to you that prerogative which our predecessors have granted to you, namely, that you invest the Bishops and Abbots of your Kingdom with the staff and ring, provided they shall have been elected freely and without Simony, and that they be consecrated, after you shall have invested them, by the Bishops whose province it is. If any shall be chosen by the people and the Clergy without your approbation, let him not be consecrated till you have invested him."

See Bower, *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 391.

† Council, tom. x. p. 767.

‡ *Ibid.* tom. x. p. 894.

Of the Church.
Treaty between Paschal II. and the Emperor Henry V.
A. D. 1111.

annulled by the Council of the Lateran.
Council.

that for the future all Bishops and Abbots should be chosen by those to whom the right of election belongs, i. e. by the Canons and Monks of their respective Chapters and Communities, but that the election should take place in the presence of the Emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose; that any dispute arising among the electors should be decided by the Emperor; that the Bishop or Abbot elect should take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor, and do homage to him for the temporalities (*regalia*) which he should receive from his hands; which, however, were to be conferred by the Emperor, not by the crosier and ring, (the badge of spiritual function,) but by the *accepte*, as the more appropriate symbol of Investiture into rights and privileges in themselves merely temporal. This Concordat was soon after solemnly confirmed by the General Council; which was summoned to meet in the Lateran in the year following.

See also the Concordat of Worms.
Concordat of Worms.
A. D. 1122.

History Anselm, and reinstated him in the Primacy. The Archbishop returned, but when required, after the example of his predecessors, to do homage for his See, he positively refused : " and the King, unwilling at that critical juncture of his affairs to come to an open breach with the refractory Primate, consented to refer the matter to Rome. The answer returned by that Court may readily be guessed; it fully approved and confirmed the refusal of Anselm. The King, however, still insisted on his rights, but reluctant to push things to extremities, he suggested that Anselm should himself proceed to Rome to take the opinion of the Sovereign Pontiff;† more, it is believed, as a pretext for getting rid of the presence of the obnoxious Churchman than from any hope of benefit to be derived from the employment of his services in the negotiation. The result of this second appeal was such as must have been foreseen, and neither party being willing to recede from their pretensions, Anselm remained abroad till 1107; when the inconveniences resulting both to the Church and the Crown from the continuance of this state of affairs becoming daily more aggravated, a sort of compromise of the conflicting claims took place; the right of Investiture on the part of the Crown was abandoned by the Prince; and, on the other hand, the Bishops were allowed to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges; and by this means, the Sovereign retained an indirect control over the elections of the Bishops, at the same time that he forebore the invidious exercise of any thing like immediate nomination.

Final settlement of the dispute with Anselm.
A still more memorable controversy between the English Crown and the Church took place in the course of the present Century; but the story of Thomas à Becket forms so remarkable a Chapter in the Civil History of the Age, and as such is so familiar to the general reader,‡ that we shall not in this place dwell upon the details of it. It will be sufficient to our present purpose to state shortly the original grounds and final issue of the quarrel. Henry II., a bold, able, and politic Prince, had early felt the embarrassment and dangers resulting to the Royal authority from the late encroachments of the Church, and, accordingly, made it one of his first objects to take measures for reducing her pretensions within stricter and more definite limits. With this view, he summoned a great Council of his Nobles and Clergy at Clarendon,§ (January, 1164,) when a Body of Constitutions, sixteen in number, was unanimously voted, by which the privileges and immunities of the Church were restrained and defined; the Clergy themselves were effectually brought under the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts; and the right of the Crown to interfere in the election to any vacant dignity in the Hierarchy was clearly and fully provided for. These laws were unanimously agreed to by the Council, the Primate Becket himself, though with the utmost reluctance, having been induced by his brethren to sign them; but when sent to the Pope (Alexander III.) for ratification, they were by him at once and indignantly rejected. Upon this, Becket immediately retracted his assent, and imposed on him-

self the severest penance for the weakness by which he had been betrayed into giving it. Henry, enraged in the highest degree at this conduct on the part of a subject whom he had loaded with obligations, and whom, in fact, he had elevated to his present station, in the confident expectation that he would cooperate in those very measures which he was now so effectually thwarting, availed himself of every means, whether legal or otherwise, of humbling and annoying the Primate; inasmuch that at length he was driven to take refuge on the Continent. There, supported by the King of France and by the Pope, who had invested him with a Legatine commission over England, he launched a sentence of excommunication against all those Ministers, whether Laymen or Clergy, who had been instrumental in furthering the King's designs; levelling at the same time a similar censure against Henry himself, and which he suspended only to give the Monarch time for repentance. Henry, after in vain endeavouring to bend the purpose of his refractory subject, was at length driven, by the difficulties of his situation, to consent to a compromise. In return for the absolution of his Ministers from the excommunication under which they lay, Becket and his adherents were, without further submission on their part, restored to the full possession of their benefices; and it was at the same time agreed that all the questions which had given rise to these disputes should be buried in oblivion. Becket, however, was so little disposed to act in the spirit of this last provision of the Treaty, that his first act after his return was to publish a sentence of suspension or excommunication against the Archbishop of York, and such Prelates or officers as had been concerned in the coronation of the King's son, Prince Henry; a ceremony which had taken place during his absence, but the solemnization of which he claimed as the exclusive privilege of the See of Canterbury. The anger of the King at this new instance of turbulence on the part of Becket, and the manner in which his unguarded expression of his feelings led to the assassination of the Archbishop, (December 29, 1170,) are well known to every reader. In the accommodation which Henry was subsequently (1172) so happy to conclude with the Court of Rome, he contrived, after making every personal atonement for the crime of which he had been the involuntary occasion, substantially to save all the material prerogatives which had been established by the Constitutions of Clarendon, with the exception of the prohibition of appeals to Rome; a privilege, the abuse of which, however, was, in a great degree, provided against, by the clause which gave the King the power of exacting from all such appellants a sufficient security that they should not attempt any thing inconsistent with the rights of his Crown.*

To return to the succession of the Popes in this Century. Paschal II. died in the very height of the contest with the Emperor, in January 1118, but his death, instead of tending to appease the heats which his measures had so materially inflamed, only occasioned a new schism. Six days after his decease, John of Caieta was elected Pope by the Cardinals, under the name of Gelasius II. The election, however, was violently opposed by the Imperial party, under Cenci of Frangipani, who caused Burdinus, Archbishop of Braga, in Portugal, to be proclaimed Pope, taking the name of Gregory VIII. After

Of the Christian Church.

A. D. 1118. Antipope Burdinus.

* See Kadner, *Hist. lib. iii.*

† *Ibid.* p. 70.

‡ *Ibid.* See also Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I. p. 292.

§ See, in particular, Hume, of the early part of whose Work the story of Becket forms one of the most interesting and spirited passages.

|| See Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. in which these Constitutions are given at length.

* See Collier, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 379.

- History. some scenes of mutual violence, Gelasius was compelled to take refuge in France, where he died in the Abbey of Cluny, on the 29th of January following, designating as his successor, Guy, Archbishop of Vienne; a choice which was immediately sanctioned by the Cardinals at Rome and at Cluny. The new Pontiff, who assumed the name of Calixtus II., was the son of William, Count of Burgundy, and nearly related to the Emperor and to the King of France, and the ability, courage, and moderation which he displayed, did equal honour to his exalted birth and station. He soon made himself master of Rome, drove out with ignominy his competitor Bardinus, and, as we have seen, brought the existing contest with the Emperors to a successful adjustment by the Treaty of Worms. He died, after a short reign, in 1124. His successor was Lambert, Bishop of Ostia; who took the name of Honorius II., and owed his election chiefly to the management of the Imperial party, but subsequently contrived to conciliate the suffrages of the Cardinals also. Upon his death, in 1130, Gregory, Cardinal of St. Angelo, was elected, under the name of Innocent II., by one party of the Cardinals, at the same time that another faction in the College chose Peter of Leon, who assumed the Papal title, under the name of Anacletus. The latter had the stronger party at Rome, and his competitor was obliged to fly to France, although his title was acknowledged by all the Princes of Europe, except the Kings of Sicily and Scotland. Upon one occasion, the Emperor Lothaire established him by force in the Vatican; but he was almost immediately driven out again by Anacletus, who maintained his ground till his death, which happened in 1138. This, in effect, put an end to the schism, in spite of a feeble effort on the part of his friends to continue it, by another election; and Innocent returned to Rome, where, in the next year, he presided at the second Council of Lateran. He died in 1143. Celestin II., his successor, filled the See but a few months. On his decease, the choice of the Cardinals fell on Gerard, who took the name of Lucius II., whose short and stormy Pontificate was terminated, in 1145, by his death; occasioned by the blow of a stone which he received while endeavouring to repress a tumult among the people. A party had at this time been formed in Rome to restore the power of the Senate by reducing, or even wholly taking away the temporal authority of the Pontiff. It was this faction which gave so much trouble to Lucius; and which continued, under the famous Arnold of Brescia, to embarrass the Government throughout the whole Pontificate of his successor, Bernard of Pisa, (a scholar of the distinguished Saint and Doctor of the same name, and who, on election, took the title of Eugenius III.,) inasmuch that he was repeatedly obliged to fly the City, in order to avoid their violence. He died in 1153; his successor, Anastasius IV., survived his election little more than a year; and in December, 1154, was succeeded by Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman, the only one of that nation who ever attained the Papacy, and who took the name of Adrian IV. Of the disputes which ensued between this Pontiff and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, an account will be found elsewhere. They were cut short by the death of Adrian, in 1159; when, however, a new source of trouble was opened to the Church in the schism that broke out respecting the election of his successor. Alexander III. was supported by the People of Rome, and by the Kings of France and England; he was, however, for many years kept out of his See by the violence of the Emperor, who declared for his competitor Victor, and afterwards for Paschal and Calixtus, who, on the decease of Victor, were successively elected by the same party in his room. Alexander, however, eventually triumphed over his competitors and the Emperor himself, and after a reign of unusual length and almost incessant turmoil, died in August 1181, in full and peaceable possession of his See. The troubles so continually occasioned by disputed elections, of which he had himself so painfully experienced the effects, suggested the decree which at his proposal was sanctioned in 1179 by the third Lateran Council; and by which the nomination of his successors was vested in the College of Cardinals alone, the suffrages of a majority of two-thirds of the Sacred College being deemed necessary for the successful candidate.*
- But this regulation, however salutary, was far from being popular with the Roman Clergy and People, who were thus excluded from their former share in the election of the supreme Pontiff. Lucius III., the successor of Alexander, who was chosen by the suffrages of the College alone, was repeatedly driven from the See by the disaffected populace, and died at Verona in 1185. Of the succeeding Pontiffs, Urban, Gregor, Clement, and Celestin, little remarkable is recorded; Celestin died in 1198; and was succeeded by Lothar, Count of Segni, who took the name of Innocent III. His Pontificate is one of the most memorable in Papal Annals, but the record of it belongs rather to the History of the following Century.
- Such was the succession of the Roman Pontiffs in the present Century, during the whole of which, their power, notwithstanding occasional checks and humiliations, may be considered as being substantially and gradually on the increase.† If we view the fact in a purely Religious light, the success of their pretensions, founded as they were on wholly false assumptions and the most obvious perversion of Scriptural authority, must no doubt be considered as among the grossest corruptions of Christian Truth; otherwise it is not so clear but that in an Age of barbarism like that of which we are treating, this or any other power, which could successfully appeal from the violence of brute force to something like Opinion, was productive of political advantages to the people which more than counterbalanced the evils of its abuse.
- The same remark is in like manner applicable to another of the abuses to which the prevailing corruption of Religious Truth gave rise; we mean the Monastic institutions. However mistaken might be the devotion which either founded or filled these communities,

* Concil. tom. x. p. 1607.

† Before the close of the Century they had effectually established their authority as Sovereigns in the City of Rome, as well as their independence of the Emperor, and the weight of their power and influence in matters Secular as well as Ecclesiastical was felt throughout Europe. Most of the Councils which took place were convoked either by them immediately, or by their Legates; and the decision of these assemblies was commonly the result of their dictation. By the encouragement given to appeals to Rome, almost every matter of Ecclesiastical resort was brought immediately within their jurisdiction; indeed, the inconvenience resulting from this practice were so strongly and early felt, that St. Bernard warmly exclaimed against it; and accordingly, in the third Lateran Council, it was attempted to give some check to the abuse by the VIII Canon, which annulled all appeals entered before the sentence was pronounced, as well as those which were not prosecuted within a limited time. See Dupin, vol. x. p. 208.

History.

increase of
the Military
Orders.
The Cister-
cians.

A. D.

1098.

Order of

Premonstr.

A. D.

1120.

Orders of

Grandmont

and Fon-

tercauld.

Carmelites.

Military

Orders.

St. John.

Knights

Templars.

Teutonic

Order.

Doctrine of

the Church

in this Cen-

tury.

Transub-

stantiation.

they cannot be denied to have afforded, in the darkness and lawlessness of the times, not only the best nurseries for Literary and Theological Learning, but almost the only asylums, which then existed, against the rapine and violence of Power. In the course of the present Century, both the number and wealth of these establishments were greatly increased; and several new Orders were added. That of the *Cistercians*,* under the auspices and guidance of St. Bernard, spread itself rapidly throughout Europe; and almost immediately took that place in public respect and reverence, which the Order of Cluny had hitherto occupied, but which it had thus early began to forfeit, by the indolence and dissoluteness of its members. A new congregation was added to the Order of Regular Canons by Norbert, a German Nobleman, who had embraced a Religious life, and who became afterwards Bishop of Magdeburg. In the year 1120 he established the Order of *Premonstré*, (so called from the place of its foundation, in Picardy,) which in a few years attained to enormous wealth, and extended itself to almost every part of Europe. Its rule, with some slight alterations, was the same with that of St. Augustin. The celebrated *Orders of Grandmont*, founded by Stephen of Muret, of *Fontevraud*, by Robert of Arbrisselles, and that of the *Carmelites*, which it is affirmed originated from an assemblage of Hermits on Mount Carmel, whom the Patriarch of Antioch, about the time of the first Crusade, had formed into a sort of community; took their rise soon after the beginning of the present Century.†

To the same period we must refer the original establishment of the *Military Orders*, which in the first instance were subjected to the rule of St. Augustin, modified, of course, in some degree, by the peculiar object of their institution. Of these the most ancient is that of the *Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem*, who were established in the first instance for the reception and care of the Pilgrims visiting the Holy City. The object of the institution of the *Order of Templars* was to act in a military capacity for the protection of the same class of travellers. The foundation of the *Teutonic Order*, which originally combined the accomplishment of both these services, took place somewhat later.‡

Neither the doctrine nor the discipline of the Church during the present Century presents any very remarkable novelty. The doctrine of the corporal presence in the Eucharist, as it is at present held by the Roman Church, was by this time very generally received; and the term Transubstantiation, by which it is endeavoured to express, or rather to designate that extraordinary tenet, was for the first time brought into use. Many, however, still adhered to the opinions of Berenger upon that mysterious

subject. We may observe that the early, and indeed Apostolical practice of giving the communion in both kinds to the laity, continued throughout the present Century; though in some places the method was adopted of soaking the bread in the wine, previous to its delivery to the communicant.

The morals and conduct of the Clergy were upon the whole in a course of amendment, a natural result of the progressive civilization and instruction of the Age.

It was in this Century that the odious practice of granting *Indulgences*, by which the penances imposed for the commission of sins were commuted for a sum of money paid to the Church, may be said to have taken its rise. One effect of this abuse was almost wholly to abolish the wholesome usage, so early established in the Church, of public acts of Penitence. The profits of this traffic were in all instances confined to the Bishops; but they soon became so large, as to attract the cupidity of the Pope, who soon preferred a claim of exclusive monopoly in the issue of these Indulgences, and subsequently, in the natural progress of their impious presumption, extended the application of them to the remission, not merely of all penalties pronounced upon sin by the Church on Earth, but even those which were to be dealt upon iniquity by the sentence of our Heavenly Judge hereafter. It was to give some colour to this absurd and impious assumption on the part of the Pontiffs, that the doctrine of *works of supererogation* was invented, by which it was supposed that the Saints had been enabled to perform a multitude of pious works beyond those necessary to their own salvation; all which formed a treasure in the hands of the Church, and were by her applicable to the relief of sinners, upon such terms and conditions as she might please to impose.*

Another source of revenue to the Clergy was now found in the permission given to Priests to receive alms for the performance of Masses, but they were as yet forbidden to exact them.

We have already adverted to the increase which took place in the number and riches of the Monastic Societies during this Century. The multiplication of these institutions was from the beginning studiously favoured by the Popes, who sought to attach the members to the interests of the Roman See, by exempting them as much as possible from the jurisdiction of the Ordinaries. An attempt was made in the third Lateran Council to limit the abuses arising from the privileges obtained by the Monks, and they were strictly forbidden the administration of the Sacraments; but these, like the other equally wholesome reformations enjoined by that Synod, were for the most part evaded in practice; and this the more easily, as the abuse was one which the Court of Rome found its interest in encouraging.

We cannot take a better opportunity than this to give some account of the Councils held in the XIIth Century.

Of these, there were three called General Councils; although since the separation of the Greek Church that term is no longer applicable in the *ecumenical* sense in which it was given to the earlier Synods of the Catholic Church. The three assemblies in question were all convened at Rome in the Lateran Church, from which

Of the
Christian
Church.

Doctrine of
works of
supereroga-
tion in-
vented.

Alms for
Masses.

* Founded in the year 1098 at Cîteaux, in the Diocese of Châlons, by Robert, Abbot of Molesme in Burgundy. The rule was that of St. Benedict, but loaded with many additional austerities, the observance of which, though strictly adhered to under Harding and Bernard, became gradually relaxed as the wealth of the community increased. It is said, that, within the first Century after its foundation, this Order could number not less than eighteen hundred Abbeys, its offshoots in different parts of Europe. See Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medi. Ævi*, tom. i. for a list of the numerous Institutions of the Order.

† See Dupin, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. x. p. 218.
‡ See Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires*; a Work of great fulness and accuracy of research, for a complete account of the origin, nature, and progress of these several institutions.

* See Mosheim, *Ecc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 421, and the authorities there cited by him.

History.
First Lateran Council.
A. D.
1123.

circumstance they take their name; and they consisted wholly of Western Bishops. The first of them, as we have before mentioned, was summoned by Pope Calixtus III., in March 1123, for the purpose of sanctioning the Treaty concluded with the Emperor respecting the right of Investitures. Beside the arrangement of this matter, the Council took this opportunity of publishing twenty-two Canons, upon matters chiefly relating to the rights and discipline of the Clergy. Of these the most material are the III^d, which renews the prohibition of marriage to the Clergy; and the XXth, which is the first Canon which not merely forbids all such marriages, but declares them null and void when made.*

Second Lateran Council.
A. D.
1139.

The second Lateran Council was convened by Pope Innocent II., in April 1139, and consisted, it is said, of above a thousand Prelates. Thirty Canons were the result of their deliberations, which refer almost wholly to matters of discipline and internal regulation; and are often merely repetitions of those published by the former Council.†

Third Lateran Council.
A. D.
1179.

The third General Council of Lateran met in 1179, under Pope Alexander III. Its principal object was to take measures for reforming sundry crying abuses which had crept into the Church; and in the Canons which it established for this view, it is impossible to mistake the operation of a real anxiety for the effective amendment of the Church. Twenty-seven capitulares, or Articles of Canons were decreed by this Council. The 1st of these is one to which we had occasion to allude before, by which it was declared that the votes of two-thirds of the Cardinals were necessary for the election of the Pope. Some of the others are worthy of notice, both as illustrating the manners and position of the Clergy, as well as the kinds of abuse which then prevailed in the Church. Thus by the IVth Constitution, the number of horses which Prelates may maintain for their visitations is limited, in the cases of Archbishops to forty or fifty, and about half that number to Cardinals or Bishops. By the XVth it was declared that the estates and monies which Clergymen had saved out of their benefices should fall to the Churches to which they belong, notwithstanding any testamentary disposition on their part to the contrary. The XIIIth and XIVth strictly prohibit the holding of a plurality either of prebends or benefices by the same individual. The XVIIth orders the settlement in every Cathedral Church of a schoolmaster for the instruction of youth, with the allotment of a benefice of sufficient revenue for his maintenance. The XIXth prohibits, under anathema, the imposition, on the part of the secular power, of any taxes upon Churches or Ecclesiastical persons; unless in cases in which the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy, in consideration of the exigencies of the State, have previously consented to the same.‡

The last Canon of this Council was directed against the Waldenses, Albigenses, and other Heretics of the times, of whom it is necessary that we should give some short account, before we conclude our abstract of Ecclesiastical History for the present Century.

HERESIES OF THE XIIth CENTURY.

PETROBRUSIANS.
HENRICIANS.
CATHARI.
ARNOLD OF BRESCIA.
WALDENSES.

Of these Heresies, the first which gave any considerable disturbance to the Church was broached in the South of France by one Peter of Bruis, and his disciple Henry. We are indebted for an account of their doctrines chiefly to their adversary, Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, in whose refutation they are classed under five principal heads; viz. 1st, they opposed Infant Baptism, claiming the administration of that rite to adults only; and rebaptizing all persons previous to the admission of them into their sect; 2^{dly}, they condemned as unscriptural the use of all Churches, Temples, and Altars, and emphasized their conviction on this head by destroying wherever they had the power; 3^{dly}, they rejected the adoration of Crosses, and broke them on all occasions; 4th, they declared against the Mass as useless; and 5^{thly}, they taught that alms and prayers for the dead were unavailing. These doctrines they not only taught, but proceeded to put into execution wherever they possessed the opportunity; so that throughout Provence and Languedoc for some time nothing but confusion and violence prevailed; the Churches were profaned or pulled down; the Altars destroyed, and the Crosses burned; the Priests were ill-treated, and in some cases compelled to marry; and all the ordinary ritual of the Church abolished. The authorities, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, found it at length necessary to take rigorous measures for the suppression of these disturbances; the principal authors of them were seized; and among them Peter himself, who, after a ministry of above twenty years, was burned alive at St. Gilles, in Languedoc, in 1130.

A Heresy, of somewhat similar character, and manifesting itself by like violence, broke out soon after in Perigueux. A contemporary writer; describes its followers as affecting a strictly Apostolic life, eating no flesh, drinking no wine, or scarcely any, praying almost incessantly, and renouncing all right of property. They disregarded the Mass, and denounced the adoration of Crosses and Crucifixes as idolatrous. "This sect," continues the same writer, "increases greatly, and is followed not only by many persons of quality, who leave their estates, but by many Ecclesiastics both secular and regular." "Tis a hard matter," he adds, "to take them, for whenever they are apprehended the Devil helps them out of prison." He adds, that they performed miracles, and that the name of the head of their sect was PONTIUS.

Doctrines, substantially the same, seem to have been promulgated about this time in Flanders, and in parts of Germany, by a teacher named Tanquelmus. A similar

* *Concil. tom. x. p. 291.*

† *Ibid. p. 1102.*

‡ *Ibid. p. 1517.*

* Some Writers (see Moishim, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 448) question the fact that Henry was a disciple of Peter, on the ground of certain material differences in the doctrines which they taught. Henry was brought before a Council, presided over by Pope Innocent III., at Rheims, in 1148, and afterwards committed to prison, in which he died.

† See Haugage, *Histoire des Eglises Reformees*, Period ii. p. 148.

‡ A Monk of the name of Herbert. See Dupin, vol. x. p. 67, who however, does not state the name of the Work from which this citation is derived.

History.
Cathari.

spirit was manifested in Italy; in many parts of which the sect of the *Cathari* continued to prevail, and to occasion considerable embarrassment to the Church. It is palpable from the common character which prevailed among all these sects, that their proximate cause is to be sought in some circumstances of general operation; of these there can be no doubt but that the principal one was the sense which so naturally began to prevail of the corruptions and abuses existing in the Church; and of the glaring and barefaced perversion of Scriptural doctrine which so many of her tenets involved. It was impossible that any one could open that Book, which the Clergy still professed to consider as the standard of their Faith and practice, without perceiving not merely how grossly they had degenerated in both from the purity and simplicity of their Master's precepts, but that in a large proportion of instances they were in fact acting and teaching directly in contradiction to them. Hence it was that a teacher, however humble or uninstructed, had only to profess a doctrine somewhat more obviously accordant with the spirit of the Gospel, and whatever might be his errors on other subjects, or however absurd his pretensions,* he was immediately surrounded by a host of followers. These, on their part, were easily excited to express their disgust at the corruptions of the Church, by acts of violence against her property and members, and thus afforded to the Ecclesiastical authorities but too fair a pretext for calling in the arm of the State to assist in the suppression of them.

Besides the doctrines we have here mentioned as referring to the discipline and system of the Church, and which were common to all these sects, there were others connected with the fundamental Articles of Faith, by the entertainment of which, perhaps, they more strictly deserved the name of Heretics. We have already mentioned their errors on the subject of Infant Baptism and the Eucharist. Some of them are said to have questioned the divinity of our Saviour; others to have entangled themselves in certain Manichean notions respecting the attributes of the Deity; but upon all these points, as our accounts of them are derived almost exclusively from their adversaries, we must make allowance for a considerable spirit of exaggeration, if not of misrepresentation, in the statements which have come down to us.

It is not clear whether we can strictly reckon among this class of heretics the celebrated Arnold of Brescia, who gave so much trouble to the Papal Government during the Pontificate of Eugenius III., though he has been accused of participating in the opinions we have mentioned respecting the Lord's Supper and Infant Baptism. The distinguishing feature of his doctrine, however, and that by the promulgation of which he most peculiarly excited the alarm and vengeance of his ene-

mies, was the tenet which he fearlessly proclaimed, that Ecclesiastics should not be allowed to hold property of any kind, beyond the voluntary oblations of the faithful. It must be admitted by every one who calmly considers the abuse which the Clergy of those Ages made of their privileges and opulence, that the doctrine of Arnold upon this subject was not without a plausible foundation both in fact and reason; though the manner and the means by which he proceeded to enforce the practical application of it to the Court of Rome were somewhat too undistinguishing in their violence. Notwithstanding the temporary success of his enterprise, he was, after a long struggle, seized by the Governor of the city in the year 1155, and put to a cruel death. His party, however, outlived him, and continued from time to time to occasion considerable disturbance to the Papal Court.

But of all the sects that arose in the course of this Century, the one which, as well by the purity of its doctrine as by the ability and courage of its leaders, attracted the greatest number of followers, and exercised the most permanent influence, was that of the Waldenses. The accounts given of the birth of this sect are various. By some they are said to have derived their origin and name from the valleys of Piedmont, the inhabitants of which, called the *Vaudois*, had, up to this period, retained in their inaccessible fastnesses the primitive doctrine of Christianity, uncontaminated by the corruptions with which it had everywhere else become infected. Others ascribe its commencement to the exertions of Peter Waldo, an eminent merchant of Lyons, who having employed a Priest to translate for him into French a great part of the Holy Scriptures, together with portions of the comments of the early Fathers, was so struck with the difference thus presented to him, between the doctrine of the Gospel, and that of the Church, that he was impelled to devote himself to the duty of recalling his contemporaries to the knowledge and practice of the Religion of Christ. With this view he gave up his business, distributed all he had among the poor, and putting himself at the head of a few followers, began to travel from place to place, preaching everywhere what he considered to be the pure doctrine of the Scriptures. This was about the year 1150.* The attempts made by the Clergy to suppress the new sect in its beginning, only gave it additional vogue; but the story of these exertions, as well as of the subsequent progress of the Waldenses, belongs more properly to the following Century.

We shall only add here a short account of their tenets, Their as well as we have been able to ascertain their nature amid the confused, and often contradictory accounts of the various writers who have undertaken to describe them. Their distinguishing character seems to have consisted in a strict adherence to what they considered to be the doctrine originally delivered by Christ to his Apostles; and nearly all their errors are to be traced to the adoption of a too literal interpretation of the words of the Gospel; without sufficiently considering how far the sense of particular precepts was to be limited or modified, not merely by the general sense of the particular passage, or by the apposition of others, but often also by the peculiar circumstances under which they were first spoken, and the proper office and function of the persons to whom they were addressed. It was thus that

* One of the most striking illustrations of the prevailing fanaticism of the Age is to be found in the success of a certain crack-brained gentleman of Brittany, of the name of Eon, who, bearing in Church these words chanted, "*Per Eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos*," took it into his head that he was the person thus designated. Accordingly, he made public his pretensions as such, and they were immediately admitted by a great multitude of followers, who revered him as the Son of God. He was seized, and brought before Pope Eugenius III. at the Council held at Rheims in 1148, and condemned to close confinement, in which he soon after died; but his madness survived in a considerable number of his disciples, many of whom were content to undergo death at the stake, rather than abandon their belief in him. See Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 68.

* See Bagnage, *Histoire des Eglises Reformees*, tom. i. p. 329. See also Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 452. with MacLaine's Note.

History.

taking, as they did, the Sermon on the Mount as the great summary of Christian duty, they conceived themselves bound by its injunctions to abstain from all warfare, whether just or unjust, whether private or public; from all resistance of injury; from suits of law; from oaths upon any occasion; and from all care for their worldly substance, beyond that provision which their daily labour afforded for the day passing over them. But whatever were the extravagances into which they were betrayed on these points, it is impossible not to respect their very errors, springing as they did from a spirit of the purest self-denial, and a sincere anxiety to tread, as they conceived, as strictly as possible in the footsteps of their Divine Master. Upon other matters, their opinions do not seem to differ materially from those of the Reformers, who in a later Age, and upon grounds substantially similar, conceived themselves obliged to separate from the Church of Rome.

It remains only to add to these sketches of the various aspects of Ecclesiastical affairs during the XIIIth Century, a few biographical notices of the principal Theological Writers who then flourished. These, however, will be but short, as in truth much of the matter that might have been arranged under this head, has in some degree been anticipated in our previous allusions to the various controversies which sprang up during the same period.

GREEK ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE XIIIth CENTURY.

PETER CHRYSOLANUS.
EUSTRATIUS.
EUTHYMIUS ZYGABENUS.
PHILIP THE SOLITARY.
MICHAEL GLYCAS.
CONSTANTIUS HARMENOPULUS.
JOANNES CINNAMUS.
JOANNES ZONARAS.
THEODORUS BALSAMON.
MICHAEL ANCHIALUS.
HUGO ETHERIANUS.
THEORIANUS.

PETER CHRYSOLANUS,

about the beginning of this century, was chosen Archbishop of Milan, and was sent as Legate by Pope Paschal II. to Constantinople, in the reign of Alexius Comnenus. A Discourse in which he refuted the Greek errors respecting the Procession of the Holy Ghost, is to be found in Baronius and Leo Allatus.

EUSTRATIUS

was Archbishop of Nice, and wrote an Answer to Chrysolanus, which is still extant in manuscript. He is the author also of certain *Commentaries on the Analytics and Ethics of Aristotle*.

EUTHYMIUS ZYGABENUS,

a Greek Monk of the Order of St. Basil, wrote among other Works a Treatise against Heretics, under the title of *Panoplia Dogmatica*, and a copious *Commentary on the Psalms*. He lived early in the century.

PHILIP THE SOLITARY,

FLOR. CIRCITER A. D. 1105,

also a Monk, as his appellation denotes, is the author of a Moral Treatise, written by way of dialogue between the soul and body, under the title of *Dioptron*, or the *Rule of Christian Life*.

MICHAEL GLYCAS,

FLOR. CIRCITER A. D. 1150,

who is generally considered as belonging to this Century, was by birth a Sicilian, and composed a Work of *Annals*, in five books, treating of the History of the World since the time of the Creation to the reign of Alexius Comnenus.

CONSTANTIUS HARMENOPULUS,

FLOR. ABOUT A. D. 1150,

was by profession a lawyer; and the author of a *Dictionary of Civil Law*, and also of a *Collection of Canons*, both of which are esteemed. Some Theological Treatises of no great importance may give him a place here; though we are not aware that there is the same excuse for the insertion of the name of

JOANNES CINNAMUS,

DIED CIRCITER A. D. 1190,

surnamed the Grammarian, who was Secretary to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, and composed a History of that Emperor, as well as of his predecessor John Comnenus. Nicephorus Bryennius has written the Byzantine History from the year 1057 to 1081; and having mentioned these, we cannot omit the name of the celebrated Anna Comnena, wife of this last, and daughter of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, to whom we are indebted for the History of the reign of the Prince. To this Century also belongs Eustathius Bishop of Thessalonica, the author of the well-known Commentary on Homer.

JOANNES ZONARAS,

FLOR. CIRCITER A. D. 1120,

was originally Secretary to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus; but he subsequently became a Monk, and, beside his compilation of *Annals*, wrote *Commentaries on the Canons of the Apostles, and of the Councils*.

A Work of a similar kind is still extant from the pen of

THEODORE BALSAMON,

DIED IN A. D. 1214,

who was titular Patriarch of Antioch during the occupation of that City by the Latins, and who undertook it at the order of the Emperor Manuel, and of his Patrons,

MICHAEL ANCHIALUS,

at that time Patriarch of Constantinople, and himself the author of certain Tracts relating to the Ecclesiastical transactions of his time.

HUGO ETHERIANUS

was a Latin by birth, being born in Tuscany; but he spent his life at Constantinople, where he was particu-

Good To
know
the XIII
Century

History. larly in favour with the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. He seems, notwithstanding, to have retained his Latin opinions on Theological inquiries, for his principal Work is a Treatise vindicating the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father. He wrote also a Work on the state of the Soul after death.

THEORIANUS

is known as an author only by the interesting account he has left to us of the mission into Armenia, on which he was sent, in the year 1170, by the Emperor Manuel, with a view of bringing about a reunion of the Armenian with the Greek Church. His narrative contains a very clear and satisfactory statement of his various conferences with the Armenian Patriarch; in the course of which both parties seem to have argued the differences existing between the two Churches with exemplary temper and liberality. The dispute, it is known, chiefly turned upon the Monophysite doctrine, which was generally held by the Armenians; though, if we may trust the statement of Theorianus, the Patriarch, upon this occasion, was induced to acknowledge the decision of the Council of Chalcedon on that point; and to promise to use his endeavours to get it admitted as the standard of Faith by the rest of his Church. The narrative itself is to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

general observations on the state of the Greek Church. The scanty catalogue which we have here given of the Greek Writers of the XIIIth Century, sufficiently indicates how much the Eastern Church had already fallen off from that ardour of disputation and copiousness of production which had in former Ages distinguished her members. This was no doubt in a great degree to be ascribed to the blighting and darkening influence of Mohammedan domination. The Provinces which were formerly most fruitful in Theological talent, Egypt, Africa, and Syria, had now been long subjected to that worse than barbarous oppression, and Cities, the Seats of which have been rendered illustrious by the genius and learning and piety of Cyprian, Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Augustin, were doomed to languish in dread and silence under the sway of a fanatical and ferocious soldiery. The Imperial Metropolis, indeed, the Theological Schools of Constantinople had never equalled those either of Carthage, Alexandria, or Antioch, in the number or learning of the Doctors bred under their auspices. Under the Comneni, however, some encouragement was given to Learning, and still more to Controversy; the passion for which still remained undiminished in the Byzantine People, during the sensible decay of every other intellectual pursuit. The Emperor Manuel Comnenus himself took a warm interest in casuistical disputes and subtilities; and reposed with so much confidence upon the conclusions at which he arrived in these refined researches, that in one case,* he denounced capital punishment against all who should presume to teach any other but his own explication of the difficulty, to which he had condescended to apply his autocratic criticisms. His successor Andronicus, with similar violence, but somewhat more of impartiality, not merely abrogated this arbitrary decree, but issued another, prohibiting, under

penalties of almost equal severity, all further agitation of the question.

The schism which continued to separate the Greek and Latin Churches involved a controversy of more importance in its practical object, though turning upon doctrinal differences in themselves not less subtle and unimportant. Several attempts were made in the course of this Century to bring about the reconciliation of the two Churches; a consummation which the Greek Emperors themselves were particularly anxious to accomplish, with a view of drawing closer the ties of political alliance with the Western Nations, of whose support they felt they were likely soon to experience the most instant need. But the lofty pretensions of the Roman Pontiffs, which at this time were culminating to their highest point of exaggeration, precluded all chance of an accommodation, so evidently desirable to both parties; nor, it must be confessed, did the Greek Doctors themselves evince any material disposition to concession with respect to those doctrinal points upon which their division from their Western brethren had originally turned; and the result of these attempts at reconciliation was by their failure, only still further to aggravate the original asperities of the quarrel.

Latin Ecclesiastical Writers of the XIIIth Century.

Attempts to reunite the Latin and Greek Churches.

LATIN ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE XIIIth CENTURY.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAL.....	DIED A. D. 1153
PETER ABELARD.....	1142
GILBERT DE LA PORREE.....	1154
IVO, BISHOP OF CHARTRES.....	1115
GEOFFREY OF ANDERS.....	1132
JOHN OF SALISBURY.....	1181
PETER OF CELLES.....	1187
PETER OF CLUNY.....	1156
PETER OF BLOIS.....	1200
PETER COMESTOR.....	1198
HONORIUS OF AUTUN.....	
RUPERT OF DUYT.....	1135
HUGH OF ST. VICTOR.....	1134
RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR.....	1173
PETER LOMBARD.....	1164
ROBERT PULLEN.....	1150

The Writers of the Western Church during the XIIIth Century were much more numerous than those of the Eastern, and among them are to be reckoned many of distinguished learning and ability. It is to these last, for the most part, that we shall henceforth confine our notices, whether biographical or bibliographical: in truth, from this period the number both of books and of authors becomes so considerable, that any other method would hardly be consistent with the plan and limits of our Work.

Upon this principle of selection, the first place is undoubtedly due to the celebrated

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAL,

a man who, in every point of view, must be considered as one of the first of his Age, and who, indeed, may be said to have exercised a greater personal influence over his contemporaries than has ever belonged to a private Churchman either before or since. This remarkable

* That of the sense in which we are to understand our Lord's saying, "My Father is greater than I."

History.

man was born in 1091, of a noble family, at Fontaine in Burgundy. At the age of twenty-two, he with his five brothers left his father's house to take the Monastic habit in the Convent of Clieaux, which had only a short while before been founded by Robert of Molesme. The Convent was then under the government of Stephen Harding, an Englishman, who may more truly be considered as its founder, by the system of discipline which he introduced, and which continued permanently to form the rule of the Cistercian Order. Two years after, upon the foundation of the Monastery of Clairval, Bernard was appointed the first Abbot : and the reputation which he had thus early acquired for Learning and Piety was so great, that within a short time his Convent was filled with votaries from all parts; and during his lifetime he had the satisfaction of seeing a Pope, six Cardinals, and more than thirty Bishops, chosen from among the number of his disciples. His fame was now spread throughout Europe, and scarcely any affair of importance was transacted in which he was not consulted. He was specially summoned to assist at the Councils of Troyes and of Châlons, in the years 1128 and 1129; and it was by his personal influence and persuasion, primarily and chiefly, that Innocent II. was acknowledged as Pope, in preference to his competitor Victor, whom he finally induced to make a voluntary abdication. His talents and influence were afterwards employed, and almost always successfully, in the settlement of most of the differences which took place in his time, either among the Princes of Europe themselves, or between them and the Pope. It was at his instance, and by his preaching, that the second Crusade was undertaken; the result of which, however, was far from answering the expectations which had been entertained of it. Nor was he less indefatigable or less dexterous in the defence of the doctrines of the Church. It was to him she looked, almost upon every occasion, for the refutation of the various errors or heresies which from time to time made their appearance; as was particularly evinced in the controversies which he maintained with the celebrated Peter Abelard, and with Gilbert, Bishop of Poitiers. Bernard died at Clairval on the 20th of August, 1153, leaving not less than one hundred and sixty Monasteries, which owed their foundation and establishment to him. His Works are comprised in two volumes folio, and consist of a great number of *Letters* addressed to the leading persons of his time on Ecclesiastical and public affairs, of *Sermons*, and of some devotional and controversial Tracts.* All of them are distinguished by marks of a solid judgment, warm feelings, and a profound knowledge of Scripture; and, considering the barbarism of the Age, are written in a style deficient neither in purity nor clearness. He is called the last of the Fathers; and, in fact, may be considered as the latest of the Writers who followed their method of treating or discussing subjects in Divinity, in contradistinction to the *scholastic*, or *dialectic* method, which was now become fashionable, and of which one of the earliest and most distinguished leaders was the famous

Divine was born in 1079, in a village near Nantes, and early distinguished himself in the Schools, as well by the novelty and boldness of his opinions, as by the subtlety and force of the Logic with which he defended them. He had already acquired a high reputation, and his Theological lectures at Paris were crowded with students from all parts, when his too famous adventure with a female pupil, Heloise, the niece of one of the Canons of Paris, involved him in embarrassments and difficulties which may be said to have embittered the rest of his existence. After the mutilation which the vengeance of his wife's relations had inflicted upon him, he betook himself to a Monastic life at St. Denys, at the same time persuading Heloise to take the veil. He did not stay long at St. Denys; a community to which he gave offence, as well by his censure of their irregularities, as by some doubts he ventured to throw out respecting the identity of their Patron with the Areopagite of the same name; but retired to Provins, where he opened a school which speedily became famous. The opinions, however, which he ventured to advance respecting the Trinity, in a Work which he published on that subject, involved him in new difficulties. A Council was held at Soissons which compelled him to recant his errors, and to burn with his own hands the book which contained them. He was now sent back to St. Denys, but the disgusts he received there again drove him to seek refuge in the Diocese of Troyes, where, by the assistance of some friends, he built a small oratory, called the Paraclete, which the affluence of scholars who flocked to him, and who erected cells around his dwelling, soon swelled to a considerable Convent. After a short time he transferred the care of this new foundation to Heloise, and accepted for himself the Abbey of St. Gildas in Brittany. Here again his repose was disturbed by doubts raised as to the soundness of the doctrines which he continued to teach. It was at this time that St. Bernard found it necessary to send him an admonition on the subject, which proving ineffectual, he formally complained of him to Pope Innocent II., accusing him as well of a leaning to Pelagianism in his doctrine of Grace, as of a tincture both of Arian and Nestorian heresy, in what he taught of the Trinity. A Council was held on the subject at Sens, in 1140, when Bernard produced the obnoxious passages from the writings of Abelard, and called upon him to retract. Abelard did not attempt to explain or defend them, but contented himself with appealing to Rome. The Council condemned the propositions in question; a sentence which was afterwards confirmed by the Pope; upon which they were disowned by Abelard, who did not long survive the transaction. After a short retreat at Cluny, he died in 1142, in a Monastery, to which he had been consigned, near Châlons, being then in the sixty-third year of his age. His body was sent to be interred at the Paraclete, where Heloise survived him above twenty years, and was afterward buried in the same grave.*

Let it be
remembered
that the
Middle Ages
were a
time of
great
learning
and
piety.

PETER ABELARD,

whom we have already mentioned as having been engaged in controversy with St. Bernard. This celebrated

* A very minute and ample account of the Works of Bernard, particularly of his Letters, is to be found in Dupin, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. x.

* See Dupin, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. x. p. 111. for a very satisfactory abstract of the Works and doctrine of Abelard. The summary given in the following sentence of the kind of objections to which he had laid himself open, is too characteristic to be omitted. "St. Bernard, in general, accuses Abelard of treating of the Trinity like Arius, of Grace like Pelagius, and of the Incarnation like Nestorius; of having boasted that he was ignorant of nothing, and of never being willing to say *aviso*, on any subject; of attempting to expound inexplicable things, and to comprehend incomprehensible

History.

St. Bernard, who had taken so leading a part in the condemnation of the errors of Abelard, was equally active in procuring that of

GILBERT DE LA PORRE'E,

a native of Poitiers, who, after having taught Philosophy and Theology in that City, was chosen Bishop of the same Diocese in 1141. He is admitted to have been one of the most able and learned men of his time; but his attempt to explain some of the mysteries of Christianity rather according to the Philosophy of Aristotle, than to the language of Scripture and of the Fathers, led him into considerable errors; or at least into modes of expression which were calculated to shock the received opinions on the subjects of which he treated. He was accused more particularly of asserting in his Commentaries on the Works of Boethius, these four propositions respecting the Trinity: 1. that the Divine Essence was not God; 2. that the properties of the Divine Persons were not the Persons themselves; 3. that the Divine Persons were not an attribute in any proposition; 4. that the Divine Nature was not incarnate. The three former of these propositions, whether accurate or not, would seem to involve matter rather of Metaphysical, or indeed Grammatical, than of strictly Theological consideration; and perhaps the same remark is equally applicable to the fourth; though this would appear to imply a coincidence with what is called the Nestorian Heresy. In a Council held at Paris in 1147, under the presidency of the Pope himself, the alleged errors were formally condemned, and Gilbert compelled to recant. Nothing, however, was attempted against his person, and he returned to his Diocese, where he died about seven years after. His writings, we believe, have never been printed.

We must not here omit to mention the celebrated

IVES, YVES, OR IVO, BISHOP OF CHARTRES,

though by far the greater part of his life belongs rather to the preceding Century. He was born at Beauvais, of a noble family, and studied Divinity under Lanfranc, in the Abbey of Bec. In 1078, he was appointed Abbot of St. Quentin, a Monastery to which he gave all his property; and the members of which, under his government, became remarkable for their regularity and learning. Fourteen years after, (1092,) upon the deposition of Geoffry, Bishop of Chartres, for Simony, Ives was chosen by the Clergy and people of the Diocese to fill his place. His Metropolitan, Richer of Sens, however, refused to consecrate the new Bishop, on the ground that his predecessor had not been canonically deposed; and it was only after a long struggle that the direct interposition of the Pope enabled Ives to take possession of his See. In the exercise of his Episcopal functions, he displayed the same zeal, activity, and courage, as well for the maintenance of Ecclesiastical discipline, as in vindication of the rights of the Church, which had uniformly distinguished him; and this spirit is eminently ob-

servable in his *Letters*, a large collection of which have come down to us. He has also left two collections of Ecclesiastical Canons, under the several titles of the *Pannormia*, and the *Decretum*; the former of which, however, has by some been attributed to another hand. See Dupin, *Éccl. Hist.* vol. x. p. 22.

Latin Ecclesiastical Writers of the XIIth Century.

GEOFFRY OF ANGERS, CARDINAL, AND ABBOT OF VENDOME,

was much employed, both by the Popes and by the King of France, Lewis the Fat, in various Ecclesiastical and Political transactions, and died about 1132. His Works consist chiefly of *Letters*, and short Treatises on the various subjects of controversy that occurred in his time. They are interesting chiefly as illustrative in many respects both of the History and Theology of the Age in which he lived.

A Writer of much greater intrinsic interest is the celebrated

JOHN OF SALISBURY,

the friend and biographer of Thomas à Becket, and himself one of the most acute and penetrating geniuses of his time. He was elected Bishop of Chartres in 1177; assisted at the Council of Lateran in 1179; and died in 1181. His principal Work, however, entitled the *Policraticon*, or *De Nugis Curialium*, is rather Moral and Satirical than Theological; but contains many passages of deep thought and original observation. Traces of the same vigour of mind are to be found in his *Letters* addressed to various distinguished contemporaries, which are still extant to the number of three hundred. He was succeeded in the Bishopric of Chartres by his pupil,

PETER OF CELLES,

himself a Writer of some distinction in his Age, but whose Works, consisting for the most part of *Letters*, *Sermons*, and *Devotional Tracts*, are now chiefly remarkable as being among the first in which the word *Transubstantiation* is employed. He governed the Church of Chartres five years, and died in 1187.

PETER OF BLOIS,

so named from the place of his birth, who, after having been in the service of William II., King of Sicily, passed, at the invitation of King Henry II., into England, where he was appointed Archdeacon, first of Bath, and afterwards of London. He died in the year 1200. Of his writings, as of those of most of his literary contemporaries, his own *Letters*, addressed principally to public persons, and on public matters, form the largest and most interesting portion.

Few Authors of this Age acquired more celebrity than

PETER, SURNAMED COMESTOR, OR THE EATER,

who was born at Troyes, and became Canon and Dean of that Chapter, and afterwards Chancellor of Paris. He died in 1198. His principal Work is an abridgement of Sacred History, from the Book of *Genesis* to the *Acts of the Apostles*, under the title of *Historia Scholastica*; though this title, it has been supposed, was afterwards

See also Bayle, *ed. v. Abelard*,

History. attached to the Work from the circumstance of its being commonly read in schools.

PETER OF CLUNY,

surnamed the *Venerable*, a native of Auvergne, who took the Religious habit in the Monastery of Cluny, and so early distinguished himself among his brethren by his Learning and Piety, that he was elected Abbot and General of his Order in 1121, when he was not more than twenty-eight years of age. He took an active part in the refutation and suppression of the errors of the Petrobrussians and Henricians, and died at Cluny, in 1156. The Works of his which are still extant, consist chiefly of *Letters* and *Homilies*.

HONORIUS OF AUTUN,

surnamed the *Solitary*, flourished early in this Century. Little is known of his life; but he has left some Devotional and Theological Treatises, which, particularly that on *Predestination and Free Will*, are marked by considerable power of reasoning.

The same is observable of the Writings of

RUPERT OF DUYTZ,

a learned Flemish Benedictine, and Superior of the Abbey of that place, near Cologne, whose *Commentaries* on the Scripture afford the first instance of the application of the Scholastic method to the exposition of the Sacred Text. He is also the author of a Treatise *De Officiis*, in which he discourses of the ceremonies of the Divine services, and assigns the mystical reasons of their adoption. He died in 1135, aged forty-four.

With him must be associated another celebrated Commentator on the Bible; we mean

HUGH OF ST. VICTOR,

also a native of Flauders, who took the Monastic habit in the Abbey of that name at Paris, where his Theological teachings acquired him such renown that he was called the new Augustin; the style as well as doctrine of which Father he sedulously imitated in his writings. Of these, the chief is a Treatise on the *Sacraments*. He became Prior of his community, and died at the early age of forty-four, in 1142. Another distinguished ornament of the same community was

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR,

of which Abbey he died Prior, in 1173. He was a Scotchman by birth, and may be considered as the lead-

ing Writer among the mystics of this Age; nor are his critical Works, of which many are yet extant, deficient either in learning or judgment.

To the above we must add the names of two celebrated Scholastic Divines, whose Works continued for a long while to constitute text-books in that department of study in the Universities of Europe. Of these, the first is

PETER LOMBARD,

a native of the North of Italy, as his surname indicates. After commencing his studies in the University of Bologna, he proceeded to finish them in that of Paris, where he so distinguished himself that he was shortly nominated to the Divinity chair; and, in 1159, was elected Bishop of the City. He died in 1164. His great Work is the celebrated *Book of Sentences*, in which he treats of all the principal questions which were then debated in the Schools, and illustrates them by a copious and methodical collection of apposite passages from the Fathers, chiefly from Hilary, Jeron, Ambrose, and Augustin. This Work soon became classical, and was made the subject of voluminous Commentaries by most of the great scholastic Divines in that and the following Centuries.

The other Writer of this kind whom we propose to mention is,

ROBERT PULLENS,

or Pullus, an Englishman by birth, who also studied at Paris, and became Professor of Divinity in that University. He was at the same time Archdeacon of Rochester, and his Diocesan summoning him to reside, upon pain of sequestration of his revenues, he appealed to the Pope, who not merely justified his absence, but called him to Rome, where he was made Cardinal, and Chancellor of the Roman Church. He died about 1150. He also was the author of a *Book of Sentences*, bearing the same title as that of Peter Lombard, but formed on a different plan; as he does not, like the latter, confine himself merely to the illustration of the various questions in hand, by passages from the Fathers, but attempts to resolve them either by reasoning, or by reference to Holy Scripture.

This enumeration of Ecclesiastical Writers might be greatly lengthened; but we believe we have now touched upon the chief of those who treated directly of Theology. Other distinguished Churchmen there were, whose Works on History or Jurisprudence are among the most valuable productions of that Age. But upon these, as not falling properly within the scope of our present purpose, we forbear to dwell.

Let it be
remembered
that the
Writings of
the Middle
Centuries

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE ANNALS OF ENGLAND, FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE ACCESSION OF RICHARD I.

FROM A. D. 1066. TO A. D. 1169.

WILLIAM, Duke of Normandy,* was no sooner informed of the death of his Royal kinsman Edward, and of the seizure of the English Crown by Harold, than he immediately resolved to enforce his own pretended claims to the succession. His first measure was to despatch a Norman Monk as his envoy to England, to insist upon the intentions of the late King in his favour, to protest against the usurpation of Harold, and to demand of that Prince the fulfilment of the vows of fealty and service which he had so recently sworn. It was easy to anticipate the indignant reply of Harold. He denied both the obligation of oaths which had been extorted in his captivity, and the validity of forced promises to assist in conferring a Crown which had not been his to bestow. He vindicated the sufficiency of his own subsequent title to the Throne in the free election of his Countrymen; and declared his determination to maintain the common rights and independence of his new subjects and himself by the sword.†

That this, indeed, alone must be the arbiter of their pretensions, both rivals were already fully aware; and on both sides the vain interchange of verbal formalities was instantly followed by the most active preparations for war. These, on the part of William, were of a magnitude less suitable to the narrow resources of his Duchy, than to the importance of an enterprise, which was in every respect the mightiest effort of the Age. To levy a great army adequate to the conquest of the English Kingdom, he relied not so much merely on the services of his Norman subjects, as on the renown of his own personal prowess and talents, on the martial spirit of adventure which animated the Feudal Nobility of France, and on the temptation which, under his able guidance, the expedition itself would offer to their ambition and cupidity. That the additional incentive of a Religious sanction to the war might not be wanting, he further, every where proclaiming Harold his perjured vassal, was careful to seek the Papal countenance for his own pretensions; and from Pope Alexander II., to whom by an embassy he adroitly appeared to submit the justice of his quarrel, he succeeded in obtaining the present of

a consecrated standard for the expedition. Thus, while, on the one hand, Harold was represented as a forsworn and traitorous usurper, who had violated the most solemn obligations of Religion and Honour; on the other, the claims of William acquired a twofold aspect of strength and legitimacy in the protection and approval of the Church.‡

The preparations of the Duke of Normandy were fatally assisted by the deadly enmity which Harold had excited in the bosom of his own brother. That Noble was Tostig, the deprived Earl of Northumbria, who, repairing to the Court of William from his exile in Flanders, offered, on conditions which are not stated, to cooperate in the invasion of England, by inducing some of the Scandinavian Princes to make a simultaneous descent upon the Northern coast. William eagerly accepted the proposal; and Tostig, though he failed in his persuasions upon the King of Denmark, gained a promise of powerful support from Harald Hardrada, King of Norway. Without waiting for the arrival, however, of that Sovereign, the exiled Earl, himself collecting some sixty vessels in the ports of Flanders, appeared in the English Channel, and commenced hostilities by plundering the Isle of Wight. The approach of his brother with a superior fleet, admonished him to direct his course Northward; and he next attempted a landing on the Eastern coast in Lindsey; but there, being vigorously encountered by the Earls of Mercia and Northumbria, he was defeated with so much loss, that he was abandoned by his followers, and compelled to fly for refuge to one of the ports of Scotland, where Malcolm Ceanmore, the reigning Prince, gave him protection until the arrival of his Norwegian confederates. The Summer was far advanced before Harald Hardrada had collected the promised armament; but the amount of its force of three hundred sail explained the delay in the

* Guillelmus Pictaviensis, p. 106, 107. Malmesbury, p. 99. Dr. Lingard (*History of England*, vol. i. p. 442.) is willing to doubt whether this present of a consecrated banner might be more than "a return of politeness on the part of the Pontiff." But it is very unlikely that so solemn an offering should have been made in mere compliment; and there is much more consistency with the views of temporal aggrandizement over the thrones of Europe, which the Pope had already formed, in Home's supposition, (*History of England*, vol. i. p. 247.) that Alexander II. hoped, by promoting the Duke of Normandy's success, to bring the English Church under closer subjection to the Papacy than had yet been effected.

* Some account of the birth, youthful exploits, and reign of William in Normandy, has already been given in p. 526, 527 of this volume.

† Matt. Paris, p. 2. Eadmer, p. 5. Matt. Westminster, p. 434. Will. Malmesbury, p. 99.

History.
From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1159.
Activity of
Harold.

magnitude of the preparation; and the Norwegian Sovereign, leading his fleet and army in person, and depositing his Queen and daughters, who had come over with him, in the Orkney Islands for safety, at length joined the outlaw Tostig off the Northumbrian shore.*

Meanwhile Harold had neglected no measure to improve his questionable title, and to strengthen his insecure position on the English throne; and he was already prepared to defend the Crown which he had seized, with an energy and courage equal to his ambition. In the Southern parts of the Kingdom, where his family influence had long been established, and his personal popularity was unbounded, his authority had been at once joyfully recognised; and his first act, after his Coronation, was to undertake a journey into the North, in the course of which, by his bland and politic demeanour, he overcame some reluctance which the Northumbrians had shown to his accession, and apparently gained their affections. In the same visit, he further secured the adherence of the powerful family of Algar, (whose two sons, Edwin and Morcar, now held the great Earldoms of Mercia and Northumbria,) by marrying their sister Editha. Returning to London, and assembling the national forces of the Southern Provinces, after chasing Tostig with his fleet out of the Channel, he took up a position with his army on the coast between Hastings and Pevensey, and there eagerly expected the threatened descent of the Duke of Normandy.

He marches
to repel the
Norwegian
army.

It was in this situation that he received the news of the appearance of the King of Norway and his armament, in concert with Tostig, on the Northumbrian shore; and his first intimation of danger from that quarter was quickly followed by further accounts of the landing of the confederates in the Humber, of the defeat and flight of Earls Edwin and Morcar, after a vain effort to arrest the advance of the invaders to York, and of the surrender of that city to the Norwegian Prince. Roused, but still undismayed, by the report of a calamity which so unexpectedly distracted his attention and aggravated his peril, Harold, with instant decision, broke up from his camp at Pevensey, and hastened with his troops to the North by forced marches to meet and repel the invaders. Such was the rapidity of his movements, that he reached the vicinity of York four days only after the late battle, and found the King of Norway and his brother Tostig unconscious of his approach, and employed in securing the fruits of their victory. As soon as the confederates perceived his arrival, they abandoned their conquests, and slowly retired to concentrate their scattered forces, until they reached Stamford on the river Derwent, where the Norwegian King ranged his forces in battle array, and awaited the assault of the English.

Battle of
Stamford.

The encounter which followed was deemed memorable even in Scandinavian song by its surpassing slaughter; and the distinction obtained by its fatal event in the Norse traditions is attested in the minuteness with which its particulars have been collected and related by the earliest among the national Annalists of that People. The Norwegian army was drawn out in the form of a hollow ellipse, with the Royal standard, under the tremendous designation of the "Scatter of Lands," in the centre. The ranks were dense; the

shields of the warriors overlapped; and the deficiency in cavalry, which their debarkation from a long voyage had been too recent to supply, was, as much as possible, repaired by covering the whole exterior of the circle against the charge of the Saxon horse with a row of spears, firmly planted in the earth and pointed towards the assailants. The King Hardrada himself, distinguished by his lofty stature, his resplendent helmet, and his mantle of blue, was riding in front of the line, when his charger fell under him. Harold saw the accident, and inquired the rank of the warrior. Being informed that it was the Norwegian King, he observed, "His form is majestic: but his fall portends his approaching fate." Before the armies closed, Harold sent a messenger to Tostig, with a tender of the Earldom of Northumbria, if he would come over from the Norwegian camp. "The offer," said the exile, "is well; and if made last Winter, might have saved the lives of many brave men: but, should I now accept it, what will Harold give to the King of Norway?"—"Seven feet of earth for a grave, or, as he is above the common stature of men, it may be a little more!" Tostig, in reply to this taunt, as contemptuously, spurned the proposal to abandon his ally; and Harold immediately led his troops to the attack. But so firm and close was the array of the Norwegians, that the first furious onset of the Saxons was repulsed on all sides; their cavalry were unable to penetrate the line of implanted spears; and the assailants began to retire in confusion. At this critical moment, the Norwegians, in the confidence of victory, were tempted to quit their vantage ground and rush forward in pursuit: but their dense order was no sooner loosened, than the Saxon horse, returning to the charge, and bursting through the intervals, carried havoc into the centre of the broken host; and, at the same moment, Hardrada received his mortal wound from an arrow. Tostig, now taking the command, bravely supplied his place; and the retreat was suspended for a brief season by the arrival of a reinforcement of Norsemen from their fleet. But the resistance of the routed army though desperate was unavailing; and the death of Tostig, who was slain after indignantly rejecting the renewed offers of his brother, terminated the struggle.

The flower of the Norwegian Nobles had perished with their Monarch; and half a Century afterwards the piles of human bones which bleached on the plain still recorded the immensity of the slaughter. But some remains of the Norwegian host accepted the mercy of the conqueror; and the humanity and generosity of Harold were as conspicuous in success, as his gallantry and conduct had been in the field. The capture of the Norwegian fleet, which was an immediate consequence of the victory of Stamford, placed the widowed family and retinue of Hardrada in his power: but instead of adding the misery of captivity to their late misfortunes, he sent for Olave, the youthful son of the deceased Monarch; contented himself with requiring an oath in the name of the Norwegian nation to abstain from further hostilities against England; and placing the young Prince with all his family and surviving followers in some of their own ships, nobly dismissed them, unransomed and uninjured, to their native land. After thus gloriously consummating his triumph, Harold returned to York, as well to refresh his exhausted troops with some season of repose, as to receive the joyous congratulations of the loyal citizens; and here he was still feasting with his faithful Nobles, when the banquet was suddenly inter-

* *Chron. Sax.* p. 172. *Ordericus Vitalis*, p. 492. *Guil. Gemmeticensis*, p. 255. *Nalmsbury*, p. 94. *Snoorty*, (*Hist. Regum Norveg.*) vol. iii. p. 146—150.

Engl.
—
Fm
1. 1.
1066.
3
A. 2.
1159

History. rupted by the arrival of intelligence that the Duke of
From Normandy and his host, four days after the battle of
A. D. Stamford, had accomplished their landing on the South-
1066. ern coast.*

By its composition and force, the army with which
to William of Normandy had effected his descent on the
A. D. English shores was probably the most formidable which
1189. Europe had seen collected since the settlement of the
Landing of the Duke of Gothic Nations. Such was the eagerness with which
Normandy with his Nobles of France and the adjacent Provinces of the
host Low Countries and Germany with their feudal retainers
its composi- flocked to his standard, that he found himself at the
tion and force. head of no less than fifty thousand mailed cavalry, led
by the flower of the European Knighthood, and attended
by a body of ten thousand archers and other footmen.†

The necessary number of vessels of all sizes provided
for the transport of this great army across the British
Channel is variously estimated by different Chroniclers
at from one to three thousand; and during several
months every port on the Norman coast had resounded
with notes of preparation. In August, some weeks be-
fore the Norwegian invasion of England, the naval
equipments were completed, the shipping concentrated
at the mouth of the River Dive, and the troops in readi-
ness to embark: but adverse winds had fortunately pre-
vented the armament from sailing, until the Saxon fleet,
which Harold had stationed in the Channel to oppose
the passage, was compelled to disperse for want of pro-
visions; and until that Prince and his army had
marched against the Norwegians, and left the Southern
coast totally unguarded. With the first favourable
change of wind, William impatiently put to sea: but
the elements themselves now appeared to war against
him; a violent storm arose; and many of his vessels
were stranded on the French coast, with heavy losses
of men and stores, before the armament succeeded in
reaching St. Valori near Dieppe. Here the Duke, to
allay the superstitious fears with which his followers
began to be affected by so ominous a prelude to their
enterprise, caused the aid of Heaven to be invoked by
a procession of the relics of St. Valori and by the public
prayers of the army. It was on the eve of the Feast of
St. Michael, the tutelary Saint of Normandy, that these
supplications were made; and the wind suddenly mo-
derating and changing to a favourable breeze, the
soldiery joyfully hailed the coincidence as an assurance
of the Divine favour. The Duke at once took advan-
tage of their recovered spirit. The fleet setting sail
immediately stretched across the Channel; its course
was continued throughout the night; the morning dis-
covered the English shore; and on Michaelmas day the
whole army disembarked without opposition near Pe-
vensey in Sussex.‡

The first motions of William after his landing were
marked by a prudent regard to the security of his future
possession. William
Harold.

* Chron. Sax. p. 172. Flor. Wig. p. 429. Ingulf. p. 69.
Hunt. p. 367, 368. Malmabury, p. 94. Snorre, vol. iii. p. 151—165.

† M. de Sismondi (*Histoire de France*, vol. iv. p. 353.) has re-
duced the army of William to twenty-five thousand men. But the
statements of the original authorities, if we receive their evidence at
all, are too explicit for rejection on this point. William of Poitou
twice mentions expressly "*milia milium quingenta*," (*Pict.* p.
106) and "*virorum sexaginta milia*," (p. 112.) And Orderic still
more plainly distinguishes the proportion of cavalry, "*quingenta
milia milium, cum equis peditum*," (p. 500.)

‡ Guil. Pict. p. 109. Guil. Gem. p. 286. Orderic. Vit. p. 496.

§ Guil. Pict. p. 106—112. Orderic. Vit. p. 493—501. Matt.
West. p. 435. Guil. Gem. p. 286.

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operations. Marching along the coast to Hastings, he
threw up works both at that port and at Pevensey for
the protection of his shipping; and the appearance of
the English fleet in superior force soon proved the neces-
sity of such defences. He caused the adjacent country
to be scoured for provisions; and as if anticipating the
rashness of his opponent, and unwilling to engage his
own forces in a decisive encounter out of reach of the
coast, he halted to observe the proceedings of Harold.
That Prince displayed the same impetuous activity
which had been crowned with such complete success
against the King of Norway; but he had now to con-
tend with an adversary far more dangerous by his skill
and resources. Hastening by long marches from York,
the instant that he heard of the Norman descent, and
directing the forces of the Southern parts of the King-
dom to assemble in London, he found himself, in a few
days after his arrival in that Capital, at the head of an
army sufficiently numerous to cope with the invaders.
By Saxon writers, naturally anxious to ascribe the sub-
sequent calamities of their race to any cause rather than
to the superior prowess of their conquerors, he is accused
of having provoked the disgust and occasioned the deser-
tion of his troops in the North, by his avarice in deny-
ing them the spoils of the Norwegians; and it is pre-
tended that, thus weakened by the loss of his veteran
bands, he presumptuously risked the safety of his Crown
and the independence of his Country by rushing to the
encounter with a raw and unexercised army, hastily
levied and inadequate in numbers.* But the confidence
with which Harold had been inspired by recent victory,
may find its justification even in the duration and obsti-
nacy of the last fatal struggle; and the enormous
slaughter which the Saxons inflicted upon their con-
querors seems in itself to refute the tale of numerical
disparity.

Whatever were the errors of the Saxon Prince, it is
admitted that in the crisis of his fate he displayed a
spirit worthy of the occasion. To the superstitious
anxiety of his brave brothers that, as he had unfortunately
sworn allegiance to the Norman, he should evade the
guilt of perjury by absenting himself from the field, he
turned a deaf ear; to the haughty demand of William
that he should either resign the Crown, submit his title
to the arbitration of the Pope, or meet him in single
combat, he calmly replied that the God of battles alone
should judge between them. Consulting only the high
dictates of his magnanimous courage, he advanced to
the vicinity of the Norman camp and posted his army
on a wooded eminence facing the invaders, about nine
miles from Hastings. Here, William, who trusting to
the superior equipment, skill, and discipline of his
forces, desired nothing more than the opportunity of
deciding the war in a general battle, immediately pre-
pared to attack him. If we may believe an often quoted
authority, the brief suspense of a single night was passed
by the two armies in a widely different manner: by the
English in feasting and noisy mirth, by the Normans
in the solemn silence of devotional exercises.† With
the earliest dawn William drew out his host: in advance
were posted the archers and other lightly armed foot;
for their support, and immediately in their rear, were
formed the heavier mail-clad infantry; and in a third
line, of which both wings extended far beyond the flanks

England.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Return of
the latter to
the South-
ern coast.

His ad-
vance to en-
counter the
Normans.

* Malmabury, p. 94—100. Matt. West. p. 434.

† Malmabury, p. 101.

History. of the foot, were arrayed the whole numerous force of the Norman, French, and Flemish chivalry, the nerve and trust of his enterprise. The consecrated Papal banner was borne aloft in the van; and on the signal of attack, the army raising the chant of Roland, the fabled Norman Paladin of Charlemagne, eagerly moved forward towards the Saxon position. The order in which Harold had resolved to await the assault, was prudently regulated by regard to the superiority of the invaders in cavalry. He had arrayed his whole army on foot in one compact mass on the brow of the hill: himself with his brothers Gurth and Leofwin setting the example by dismounting from their horses: the flanks and rear were covered by woods and intrenchments, and the front presented a bristling and impervious surface of spears and battle-axes. In the van, their long arrogant post of honour, stood the men of Kent; the citizens of London also enjoyed an ancient privilege in the guard of the Royal standard which occupied the centre;* and beside it were placed the King himself and his brothers.

Battle of
Hastings,
October
14th.

A. D.
1066.

As the hostile armies closed to the encounter, they set up their respective war-cries: the English, "the Holy Rood, the Rood of God;" the Normans, "the Lord is our help." The onset of the invaders was fierce and impetuous; its reception firm and undaunted. When the Norman archers had delivered their flight of arrows, they made way for the advance of the more heavily armed infantry: but the effort of these troops upon the Saxon front was repelled with immediate slaughter; and the contest only became dubious when the Norman Knighthood, led by the Duke himself to the support of the foot, rushed in one immense body upon the English line. The physical weight of this mass of iron-clad chivalry, the solid array of the Saxon foot, and the common desperation of both hosts, rendered their collision tremendous. But favoured by the advantage of their elevated position, their serried order, and their steady footing, the English sustained the shock in impenetrable strength. The furious charge of the Norman horse broke and recoiled before the points of their projecting spears; and their sharp battle-axes cut with dreadful execution through the strongest armour of the riders. Repulsed and dismayed, the assailants everywhere began to give way; and the commencement of a general panic and rout was quickened by the cry that their leader himself had fallen. But in this hour of need, William showed himself gifted with all the courage of a hero, and all the calmness of a great commander. Removing his helmet to display his countenance, he galloped along the broken lines, exclaiming aloud that he yet lived, and by the blessing of God he yet would conquer. His indignant menaces to the fugitives arrested their flight; his presence, his voice, and his exertions rallied the wavering spirit and restored the confidence of his whole host.

Vicissitudes
of the con-
flict.

But all his efforts might still have been vain, if the English, in the ardour of success and the recklessness of their courage, had not, unmindful of recent experience, committed the same error which had proved so fatal to their Norwegian enemies. Instead of remaining firm on their own ground, numbers broke from their ranks to chase the Norman horse down the hill. In the same instant in which the Duke succeeded in

rallying his followers, he wheeled them round upon their pursuers, now disordered and breathless, and cutting them off to a man, took a bloody vengeance for his repulse. Still the main body of the English stood immovable; and a second general onset of the Norman chivalry proved equally unavailing and disastrous with the first. But hopeless of breaking the hostile phalanx by any direct attack, William was now stimulated by despair to practise upon the rashness which had already betrayed a portion of the English to their destruction. He ordered the Count of Boulogne, with a thousand horse, to make a feint of charging a third time; but on reaching the English line to flee as if in confusion. The stratagem succeeded: again the English incautiously pursued; and again were they intercepted and mowed down by another division of cavalry before they could regain their position. Yet once more, such was the want of discipline and the overweening confidence of the English, a similar artifice was successfully tried, and a similar penalty paid for their temerity.

But notwithstanding their disasters, the centre of the English army, where Harold commanded and fought, was firm and unshaken. The two valiant brothers of that Prince had long since fallen by his side: but while the dauntless Monarch lived, no Saxon heart doubted of victory. The sun was already setting upon the esanguined field; no less than fifteen thousand of the Normans had swelled its slaughter; William himself had had three horses killed under him; and all the valour that his personal efforts and example could inspire, all the expedients which his skill could suggest, only held the event in suspense: until it was decided by the random shot of an arrow which pierced the eye and entered the brain of the Saxon Prince. His fall spread an immediate panic, which favoured a last charge of the Norman horse; twenty cavaliers who had sworn to capture the Royal standard, succeeded, notwithstanding the loss of half their numbers, in penetrating to the spot and seized their prize; and the English, as the shades of night closed upon the combat, broke and fled in all directions. They were pursued for some time with merciless carnage: yet even in their flight some bands held bravely together, attempted to rally, and while the victors were entangled in the obstacles of the country, achieved more than one expiring effort of vengeful despair. But William, unconscious of fatigue and unsatiated with slaughter, still urged his cavalry upon the track of their reluctant retreat; his ardour animated his followers to complete the hardly earned victory; and darkness alone saved the wretched remains of the vanquished army.*

Such was the issue of the great and decisive battle of Hastings: an event ever memorable in the History of our Island; and worthy, as a celebrated Writer has justly observed, through the heroic valour displayed by both armies and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a mighty Kingdom. So equally was it contested, that the death of Harold† seems alone to have turned the

* Guill. Pict. p. 127—138. Orderic Vital. p. 501, 502. Malmsbury, p. 101, 102. Matt. West. p. 436—439. Hunt. p. 363. See also the evidence of the famous Tapestry of Bayeux, as collected by M. Lancelot, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. ii. p. 536—561, vol. xii. 369—468.

† The dead body of Harold was found after the battle and brought to the Norman camp. It is singular that, while Malmsbury, (p. 102.) and later Saxon Writers after him, attribute to William an act of generosity in addressing the corpse of the fallen

* On this spot the Conqueror afterwards erected a Monastery, in celebration of his victory, Battle Abbey; the original splendour of which is still attested by very extensive remains.

History.
From
A. D.
1066,
to
A. D.
1169.

scale of victory; and but for the fall of the Saxon Prince, it may be doubted whether, after so tremendous a conflict, the diminished forces of his rival would have sufficed for the successful prosecution of the work of conquest. By the Norman Chroniclers it is acknowledged that one-fourth part of the victorious army had perished in the field: the amount of the English loss is not stated. But, though in the battle and the pursuit, the slaughter was probably greater than that in the Norman ranks, and though it is said to have included all the Nobility of the South of England, the military force of the Northern Provinces was yet entire; the Kingdom itself remained unsubdued; and the ancient experience of the Danish wars had shown that the national independence might survive a hundred defeats. By Saxon Writers, therefore, the panic with which the loss of a single army now filled their race, is regarded as a special work of Providence to deliver them into the hands of their enemies.* The death of their Prince was an irretrievable misfortune; for no leader of sufficient ability or influence was left to succeed him. The two great Northern Earls, Edwin and Morcar, who had followed Harold from York too late to share his defeat, endeavoured, indeed, on their arrival in London, to uphold the national cause by placing the Crown on the head of its legitimate heir, the Etheling Edgar. But the same youthful incapacity which had made it easy for Harold to set aside the pretensions of that last descendant of the House of Cerdic, rendered the Etheling utterly incompetent to sustain the falling fortunes of his Country. William, however, was, it seems, at first, far from considering the contest as decided. In addition to his heavy losses in the battle, his army was still further weakened by the alarming prevalence of dysentery; and before he ventured to advance towards the Capital, he hastened to secure a place of safety for the reception of his sick and reinforcements from the Continent, by the capture of the Castle of Dover. That impregnable fortress was surrendered on his first appearance before it; and he then directed his march upon London. Though his cavalry easily dispersed a body of the armed citizens, he found the gates of the Capital closed against him; and hesitating to tempt the dubious issue of an assault upon the walls, he contented himself with burning the suburb of Southwark, and drew off his troops to the ravage of the adjacent Counties. The good policy of this measure was shortly proved. Disension, distrust, and fear were paralyzing the Saxon counsels; the Earls Morcar and Edwin set a fatal example of desertion by retiring from the Capital; and Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, then repairing to the Norman quarters, made a merit of being the first to tender his submission to the Conqueror. William was crossing the Thames at Wallingford when he was joined by the Primate; and on his arrival at Berkhamstead, he was met by the

Attempts at
further re-
sistance,

followed by
a submission
of the
English.

Prince for interment to his mother without ransom, the authorities in the Norman interest assert that the Conqueror barbarously refused her offer of its weight in gold for that melancholy gratification, and ordered the body to be ignominiously burned on the sea-shore: whence, however, it was afterwards removed to the Church at Waltham which Harold had founded. Guil. Pict. p. 135. Orderic. p. 502. One apocryphal tale that the mangled body of Harold could only be recognized by his mistress; and another that, though wounded, his life was preserved and prolonged in seclusion to the reign of Henry I., may be suspected to be equally the inventions of a later Age, and, nay, although gravely adopted by the credulity of some modern Writers, more of Romance than History.

* Malsbury, p. 102. Hunt. p. 369.

Etheling Edgar himself, Edwin, Morcar, and others of the Saxon Nobility and Prelates, and citizens of London, with an offer of the English Crown.*

The Conqueror was satisfied to receive, by the apparent gift of the Nation, the Kingdom which he had won by the sword. He accepted the proffered allegiance of the English; appointed the approaching Festival of Christmas for his Coronation; and, while he omitted no precautions to secure his Government against treachery and revolt, seemed anxious, by the equity of his administration, to reconcile the natives to a foreign yoke. Although he proceeded to confiscate the estates of many of the adherents of Harold who had fallen in the late battle, and gratified his principal Norman followers with the spoil, he left to the English Nobles in general the undisturbed possession of their property. Many of them, including the Etheling Edgar, he continued or installed in high offices of state and trust; and to the citizens of London he granted several new and important immunities; at his Coronation he freely took the usual oaths of the Anglo-Saxon Kings to govern according to the national laws; and he endeavoured, by the vigilance and impartiality of his administration, to protect the rights and to win the affections of all classes of his new subjects.† In his own person he granted a ready access to every petitioner; and, if we may believe one contemporary Historian, he even made some efforts, though from his time of life ineffectually, to learn the English language in order that he might the better administer justice by understanding every man's complaint in his own tongue.‡

But however sincere were these good intentions, they were soon frustrated by the inevitable consequences of his position between a victorious army and a subjugated population. The arrogance and cupidity of his Norman followers could neither be repressed nor satisfied: the natural hatred with which his English subjects repaid the insolence and oppression of their conquerors, extended itself to his Government and person. Even during the ceremony of his Coronation in Westminster Abbey, the Norman troops stationed without pretended to mistake the acclamations of the English in the Church for treasonable clamours, and immediately began to plunder and fire the adjacent houses: the natives on their part suspected a concerted design of pillage and massacre.§ The King with difficulty appeased the tumult; and this ominous occurrence was only the forerunner of other disorders which increased the mutual animosity and mistrust of the two races. William instituted many regulations to restrain the excesses of his foreign army; but even his presence and vigour were not always sufficient to curb the want of discipline in followers, whose past claims he found it difficult to repay, and whose future services, either by disgusting or dismissing them, he could not safely afford to lose. But when, early in the Spring after his accession, he paid a visit to his continental Duchy, the oppression of the Norman officers and garrisons which he had stationed in the principal towns, increased in his absence beyond all bounds, and maddened the people into a general insurrection. They were destitute of any leaders of ability or hereditary influence, for the King had been careful

England.
From
A. D.
1066,
to
A. D.
1169.
Coronation
of Wil-
liam I.

Equity of
his early
reign.

Insolence of
his follow-
ers.

Unsuccess-
ful insurrec-
tion of the
English.
A. D.
1067.

* Guil. Pict. p. 138—141. Orderic. p. 503. Flor. Wigorn. p. 634. Hoveden, p. 450.

† Guil. Pict. p. 141—150, *passim*. Orderic. p. 506. Flor. Wigorn. p. 634.

‡ Orderic. p. 520.

§ Guil. Pict. p. 145. Orderic. p. 503. Flor. Wig. ubi *supra* 4 q 2

History.

From
A. D.
1066,
to
A. D.
1189.

Change in
the policy
of William.

Grievous
tyranny of
his subse-
quent Go-
vernment.

A. D.
1068.

Repeated
revolts of
the English.

A. D.
1069.

Completely
suppressed.

to lead the principal English Nobility in his train to Normandy; and his return was immediately followed by the suppression of the revolt.* But from this period William completely changed the character of his administration, which had hitherto been temperate and forbearing, into an aspect of unmitigated despotism. Exasperated at the rebellion of a people whose attachment he had vainly striven to gain by kindness, and stimulated by the interested representations of his Norman Chieftains, he indulged the dictates of a temper naturally harsh and suspicious, and sternly resolved henceforth to bend or break the spirit of the subjugated Nation under a yoke of iron.

The first measure by which he evinced his altered policy was the imposition of an onerous tax upon the English. His next was to deny to Earl Edwin the hand of his daughter, with which he had promised to reward his submission. That powerful Noble and his brother Morcar immediately resented the injury by exciting a revolt in their Northern possessions; but the King, anticipating their design, marched against them with so much celerity, while they were still unprepared for resistance, that they were compelled to yield to his mercy. He spared their lives and affected to leave them in possession of their honours; but seized the occasion of their rebellion to erect castles, which he garrisoned with his Norman followers, in all the principal towns of Mercia and Northumbria. He no longer cared to restrain the excesses of his foreign retainers; and from this period the English, finding themselves delivered over to the insolence and oppression of their tyrants, were provoked to continual revolts, which, being undertaken without concert and quelled in succession, served only to rivet their chains and to complete their misery. The whole Body of the Saxon Nobility was goaded by injuries to participate in these popular revolts, and then by disgrace and confiscations systematically devoted to ruin. Many of them, and in the number the Etheling Edgar, retiring to Scotland, found refuge at the Court of Malcolm, and thence, in the third year after the Conquest, attempted the most formidable enterprise with which the power of William had been menaced.

While supported by Malcolm, the fugitives entered Northumbria, and, being joined by insurgents in that Province, captured the Norman garrison of York, an immense armament of three hundred sail, despatched by Sweno King of Denmark, who had been invited by others of the English Nobles to accept the Crown, appeared off the Eastern coast; and at the same time the three sons of Harold, who, on the fall of their father, had fled to Ireland, landed on the shores of Devonshire with a Body of forces. Yet the vigilance and activity of William, and the superior qualities of his veteran troops, rendered him more than a match for these numerous but ill united enemies. The sons of Harold were surprised in a predatory descent near Plymouth, their followers destroyed or dispersed, and themselves compelled to fly to their ships in such a state of destitution, that they finally withdrew in despair to Denmark. The very appearance of William with a well-appointed army in the North was sufficient to strike terror into the confederates. The Danes, who had already landed, retired to their ships; and their leader being either intimidated by the fame of William or bought off by his gold, after hovering a few months on the coast and

committing some devastation, reconducted his armament home. Relieved from this danger, William, although the spirit of revolt had spread throughout all parts of England, found little difficulty in overpowering the insurgents. By himself in person, or by his officers, they were everywhere defeated; and the recapture of York completed his triumph.*

This success was followed by an act of cold-blooded vengeance, which should cover his memory with eternal infamy. As the Northern Provinces had been the repeated scene of most obstinate resistance to his authority, he resolved to punish the insurgents, to strike terror generally through that part of England, and to protect his garrison at York from further incursions, by utterly destroying the whole country from the Ouse to the Tyne with fire and sword. Throughout an extent of sixty miles, the houses and provisions were burned; the inhabitants slaughtered, or, if they escaped pursuit, left to die by hunger and cold; and so horribly complete was the work of desolation, that while no fewer than one hundred thousand persons are declared to have perished at the time, the whole fertile district from York to Durham remained for years a scathed and barren solitude.† After this barbarous and fearful burst of vengeance, William proceeded with more excusable severity to chastise the Scottish King, both for the aid which he had given to the insurgents, and for the predatory incursion into the English Provinces by which he had affected to support their cause. At the head of a powerful army which bore down all opposition, the Conqueror, entering Scotland, ravaged the whole country as far as the Tay; and desisted not until Malcolm, coming in person to his camp, swore allegiance to him, solemnly did homage for his Kingdom, and declared himself a vassal of the English Crown.‡

By the suppression of the late general revolt, the whole English race were now laid prostrate before the Conqueror. The Etheling Edgar with other Nobles fled to Scotland; the rest of the insurgents again submitted their necks to the yoke; and William, after a further brief interval of dissimulation, proceeded systematically to fulfil his design of removing every Englishman from political office or power. The two Earls, Edwin and Morcar, though they had taken no part in the recent insurrection, were doomed to destruction; and though, when the tyrant ordered their persons to be secured, they escaped from his hands for a time, the first was slain in his flight, and the second was eventually compelled to surrender, and imprisoned for life.§ At a later period, Earl Walthef, another powerful Saxon Noble, though he had received the King's pardon, and even with it the hand of his niece Judith, was betrayed by the adulterous perfidy of that Princess; and on a charge of no more than misprision of treason, in having concealed his knowledge of a conspiracy to which he had refused to become a party, he was condemned and executed.¶ Hereward, the last English Chieftain, who bravely endeavoured in the fens of Cambridgeshire to maintain the cause of national independence, was reduced to offer a

* Orderic. p. 511—514. Malmabury, p. 103, 104. Herodotus, p. 451.

† Orderic. p. 515. Malmabury, p. 103. Simeon Dunelm. p. 199. Ingulf. p. 79. Chron. Sax. p. 174. Herodotus, who says, Simeon Dunelm. p. 203. Malmabury and Ingulf, who repeat.

Chron. Sax. p. 181.

§ Orderic. p. 526. Ingulf. p. 68—70.

¶ Orderic. p. 536. Malmabury, p. 103.

* Guill. Pict. p. 151—163. Orderic. p. 507—510.

History. tardy and indignant submission; and the Conqueror, touched with admiration for his valour, and confiding in his good faith, treated him with unusual generosity.* An opposite feeling of contempt which William entertained for the imbecile character of the Etheling Edgar, procured for that Prince a similar lenity. By the advice of Malcolm of Scotland, who had espoused his sister Margaret, the last male descendant of Cerdic ignominiously sued for pardon from the oppressor of his race, and accepted a courtly establishment from the bounty of the Norman Conqueror who had usurped his hereditary rights to the Crown.†

The purpose of William to transfer every place of dignity from natives to foreigners was extended even to Ecclesiastical offices; and in this part of his policy he was freely assisted by the Papal authority. At his request, the reigning Pontiff, Alexander II., sent Legates into England, who, taking advantage of the irregular means by which Archbishop Stigand had obtained the pallium from the Antipope Benedict, deposed that Prelate; and the King immediately promoted Lanfranc, a Milanese Monk, to the vacant Primacy. Upon less plausible pretexs many of the other English Prelates were next deprived of their Sees, which were given to Normans; nor were these violent ejections confined to the Episcopal Order; so that in a few years not only every Bishop, but every considerable Abbot of English birth had been replaced by some foreigner.‡ But though William had made the Papal authority thus subservient to his policy, he was not himself the more disposed to submit to its encroachments. While he allowed the Pope's Legates to minister to his own tyranny, he prohibited his Prelates from obedience to any Papal decrees until ratified by himself;§ and the energy of his character, as well as the respect which it inspired, was never more conspicuous than in the subjection in which he continued to hold the English Church, even after the accession of Gregory VII. to the Tiara, when the pretensions of the Papacy had been raised to their highest pitch by the bold and ambitious spirit of that celebrated Pontiff.

This exclusion of the native English from all dignities, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil and Military, completed the signal revolution which had only commenced with the victory of Hastings. The spectacle which it affords in the thorough subjugation of a great Kingdom and a brave and numerous People by a foreign and detested enemy, whose strength probably never exceeded its original array of sixty thousand men, is in itself so extraordinary, as to have attracted the wonder and engaged the frequent inquiry of Historians. But the catastrophe, notwithstanding the disproportion of numerical force, is explained by the relative position and qualities of the victors and the vanquished. While the Norman conquerors had the advantages of union and discipline, under a single leader of indefatigable activity and consummate talents, the Nation which they subdued were destitute of any of these means of organized defence. The English had never been an united People; and at no period in the Anglo-Saxon, or rather Anglo-Danish Annals, had the natives of the Northern, Eastern, and Southern Provinces of the Kingdom—a fact which has seldom been

sufficiently considered—acquired a complete amalgamation of political and social feelings. Again, the frequent interruption in the legitimate succession of the Royal Saxon family, by the Danish conquest and the usurpation of Harold, had chilled all sentiments of hereditary attachment in the People to the line of their native Sovereigns; and the youth and imbecile character of the last male heir of the House of Cerdic, although that Prince was not deficient in personal courage, disqualified him for rekindling the popular loyalty and rousing the national spirit in a common cause. Thus it was that, after the fall of Harold, the English were left without a competent leader: for the few powerful Nobles who, under the weak sway of the Confessor, had divided with the great family of Godwin all authority in the State, were, by their mutual jealousies, each unable to secure the lead, and none willing to yield it to another. Their struggles for the national independence were therefore commenced without real union among themselves, and supported without hearty confidence by the People. To these general causes for the failure of every revolt are added, by a contemporary Historian,* the defenceless condition of the English towns,—for almost the only places of strength in the Kingdom were the castles erected and garrisoned by the Norman lords and their retainers,—and the consequent want of fortresses, as well as leaders, to sustain the desultory operations of the insurgents.†

Altogether, therefore, it may cease to excite our surprise that the English, notwithstanding the native valour of their race, were everywhere worsted in the struggle with their Norman oppressors; and that, after a few years of unavailing resistance, they yielded to their fate in sullen, hopeless despair. All their Nobility had either perished in the conflict, or been reduced to ruin by the loss of their dignities and the confiscation of their estates. Nearly the whole soil of the Kingdom, with the exclusive possession of all political power, had passed into the hands of foreigners; and the few native proprietors, who were allowed to retain their lands, held them only as Sub-vassals to the Norman Feudatories of William. From the tyranny of those Chieftains and their insolent retainers, the People were exposed to every species of rapine and indignity; and by the introduction of the Norman Tongue into all legal proceedings, their language itself seemed proscribed. Whatever was Saxon in lineage, speech, or manners, was in Norman estimation synonymous with degradation and barbarism; and the very name of an Englishman became, for above a Century, a term of contempt and opprobrium.‡ While the common mass of the Nation groaned under this bondage, some more generous spirits indignantly pre-

* Orderic. p. 511.

† The conquest of England was in fact only slowly completed by the successive suppression of these insurrections; and the struggle of the English for the recovery of national independence was, as a late Historian has insisted, protracted and honourable. (Mackintosh, *History of England*, vol. i. p. 106.) But that accomplished Writer, whose views of early English History are in general equally comprehensive and accurate, seems scarcely warranted in considering the chastisement of their revolts as rather "a series of wars," or regular campaigns of a foreign Prince against a people yet unsubdued. The allegiance voluntarily sworn to the Conqueror at his Coronation by the Body of the Saxon Nobility, including the great Northern Eorls, Edwin and Morcar, was as formal a recognition of his authority by every part of the Kingdom as any of his predecessors on the English throne had received.

‡ Ingulf. p. 61—71, &c. Orderic. p. 521. 523, &c. Eadmer, p. 110.

* Simeon Dunelm. p. 203. Ingulf. p. 71. *Chron. Sax.* p. 181.

† Malmesbury, p. 163.

‡ Heveden, p. 453. Malmesbury, (*De Gest. Pontif.*) p. 154.

§ Eadmer, p. 6.

England.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Submission
and despair
of the Na-
tion.

Trans-
ference of
all landed
property to
foreigners.

History. ferred exile to slavery; and a Body of Nobles and their followers sailing to the Mediterranean, found their way to the Court of Constantinople, and entered the service of the Eastern Emperor. In the wars of Alexius with the Normans of Italy, these English exiles displayed their valour and revenge against the kindred race of their oppressors. United with some Danish adventurers under the common title of Varangians, their descendants, preserving the Saxon name and language for a hundred and fifty years, proved the bravest and most faithful guards of the Byzantine Throne until the fall of Constantinople before the French and Venetian Crusaders.* Other Saxons of rank sought a refuge in Scotland; and being protected and gifted with estates by its Sovereign, became the founders of many of the most distinguished families among the Southern or Lowland Nobility of that Kingdom.†

The measures by which William cemented the fabric of his despotism, display him in the light of a crafty and far-sighted statesman, as well as a vigorous conqueror. While he rewarded his followers by gradually parceling among them the lands of the Saxon Nobles, and investing his chief officers with hereditary governments in the shape of Earldoms, he in general effectually prevented any of them from becoming too powerful by distributing their estates over various parts of the Kingdom. The further subdivision of their lands among their own retainers, in exchange for military service, was a necessary consequence; and the complete introduction of the

Feudal System into England was the natural result of the position in which the conquerors were placed. But while William was obviously led to establish that form of polity in his new dominions, to which his followers were already habituated by the practice of their own Country, he took care, as we have formerly observed,‡ by one signal innovation in the principles of Feudalism, to secure his own immediate authority over every class of landed proprietors: for he compelled not only his tenants in chief, but their Vassals also, to swear fealty to himself. He is believed to have divided the whole Kingdom into about sixty thousand Knights' fees: from each of which the service of a mounted soldier was due to the Sovereign, as well as to the Baron under whom the Sub-fief was held.§ By this means he could at all times call a numerous army into the field; nor did he trust only to such Feudal levies, for he besides kept large Bodies of mercenary troops in his pay.¶

These he was enabled to maintain by the extortions with which he swelled his revenues. The demesne lands of the Crown, increased by confiscations to nearly fifteen hundred manors, all which he retained for his own profit, and farmed out to the highest bidders, yielded him a great income.¶ The Feudal incidents which he rigorously levied from his great Vassals and their tenants, furnished also a continual source of revenue. Tallages, or aids in another form, with tolls and customs, were heavily exacted from the inhabitants of all cities, burghs, and sea-ports; and the whole rural English population was grievously taxed by the revival of the ancient imposition of the Danegelt, which we have

seen that the Confessor had abolished. From the aggregate of these extortions, the King is declared by a contemporary authority,* to have obtained sumptuous for the times, as to appear almost incredible; and being also a great economist, he became the wealthiest Prince in Europe.

The rapacious anxiety of William to frustrate all attempts at evasion, as well by his Norman Vassals as the subjugated English, in the payment of these extortionate dues to the Crown, gave rise to one memorable work of statistical labour. This was the compilation of that curious and celebrated record, known under the name of *Domesday Book*.† By the Royal command, Commissioners were employed to make an exact survey of all the lands in the Kingdom: their divisions and value; the nature and obligation of the tenures under which they were held; the amount of assessment for the Danegelt to which they were liable; the names of their proprietors; and the number and condition of all the inhabitants, both free and servile, of the towns and country. The information thus obtained by the official labour of six years, was collected into two volumes, which, under the expressive title of the Book of Judgment, were deposited in the Royal Exchequer; and this great Work, though its object renders it less honourable to the genius of the Conqueror than some Writers have imagined, is the most precious monument illustrative of the ancient condition of the Kingdom, which has been preserved to our times.‡

To complete the picture of William's despotism, one act remains to be recorded, which its very wantonness rendered far more inexcusable than the severest or most rapacious measures dictated by his policy. The love of the chase was, next to ambition and avarice, his strongest passion; and to gratify this he was not contented with the possession of the numerous Royal forests already reserved by the Saxon Sovereigns for their amusement in different parts of the Kingdom, but resolved to create a new wilderness in the vicinity of Winchester, his usual residence. He therefore caused above thirty square miles of the richest and most populous country in Hampshire to be laid waste for the protection of game. The inhabitants were cruelly expelled without compensation, their cottages and even Churches and Monasteries were burned, and the whole tract was abandoned to herds of deer and other wild animals.§ The name of the New Forest which, at the distance of seven centuries, the same district still retains, marks the scene of this atrocious caprice of his tyranny; and the sanguinary laws by which he guarded his pleasures are no less execrable memorials of his inhumanity. By these, in an Age in which even the crime of murder might be commuted by a pecuniary fine, the man who killed a bear or a wild boar on the Royal demesnes was punished with the loss of his eyes. The blood of his subjects, indeed, was considered of less value in his mind than the lives of these animals: for "so much he loved the high deer," says the simple language of the *Saxon Chronicle*, "as if he had been their father."||

Revenues and wealth of the Conqueror.

* Du Cange, *Not. ad Altered.* p. 236—238. *Idem* *sur Fillehardouin*, p. 296—298.

† Hume, *Hist. England*, vol. i. p. 330.

‡ Vide p. 457 of this volume.

§ Ordéric, p. 523. *Spelman, Glossarium*, in v. *TRUOVUM*.

¶ Ingulf, p. 79. *Chron. Sax.* p. 185.

¶ *Chron. Sax.* p. 189.

* Ordéric, p. 523.

† See that head in the *Miscellaneous Division*.

‡ Ingulf, p. 79. *Chron. Sax.* p. 190. *Munt.* p. 370. *Floresb.* p. 460.

§ Malmesbury, p. 111. *Hunt.* p. 731.

|| *Chron. Sax.* p. 191. See also *Yorke Laws* in the *Miscellaneous Division*.

England.
Frederick
A. D.
1066
to
A. D.
1189.
English
exiles at
Constanti-
nople,
and in Scot-
land.

A. D.
1168.

Leaving
waste of the
New For-

Sanguinary
Laws.

History.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.
maining
sections
Wil-
m's
gn.
bellion of
Norm-
an Be-
m.
A. D.
1075.

nd of his
last son.
A. D.
1076.

A. D.
1082.

ar with
e King of
ance.

The importance of that great revolution which was effected by the Norman Conquest, has demanded a detailed narration of the measures of the Conqueror: the remaining transactions of his reign may be more briefly dismissed. So effectually had the spirit of his English subjects been broken by the despotic force of his government that, after the submission of the brave Hereward, the tranquillity of the Kingdom was undisturbed even by a single tumult of the native population. But the arbitrary character of his administration was less patiently endured by his own followers; and in the tenth year of his reign, during his absence from the Kingdom, the discontents of some of his Norman Barons burst forth into open rebellion. The Royal authority, however, was too firmly established to be shaken even by the efforts of these powerful malecontents; and before William could return from Normandy, the insurgents had been defeated in the field by the Grand Justiciaries, William de Warrenne and Richard de Bienfait, to whom he had committed the government of the Realm.* A second invasion with which he was at the same time threatened by the King of Denmark, was averted through the mutiny and dispersion of the armament; and the immense force of mercenaries which he had levied to repel this foreign enemy, served only to astonish and overawe the subjects of both races by the display of his resources.† But his glory and fortune could not secure him from more afflicting hostility; and the decline of his life was disquieted by the domestic feuds of his own House. Robert Courthouse, the eldest of his three sons, disgusted by his partiality for the two younger, William and Henry, rose in arms against him in Normandy; and being supported in this unnatural rebellion by some of the Nobles of that Duchy, the Prince, though expelled from its territory, for several years braved his father's authority by desultory incursions from the neighbouring Provinces of France.‡ A reconciliation was at length effected;§ but William, probably, never forgave the countenance which he suspected that the King of France, Philip I., had afforded to his rebellious son. In this temper a silly jest which the French Monarch was reported to have uttered at his expense, sufficed to produce the first of a hundred wars between the two Crowns.¶ William's revenge was fatal to his own life. In entering the town of Mantes,

which had been burned by his troops, his horse, treading on the embers of the fire, suddenly plunged, and threw him with such violence on the pommel of the saddle as to produce a rupture and inflammation of the intestines. Perceiving his dangerous condition, he caused himself to be conveyed in a litter back to Rouen: where, after lingering for some weeks, he expired in the sixty-third year of his age, and the twenty-first of his English reign.*

On his death-bed the Conqueror, formally bequeathing the Duchy of Normandy to his eldest son, Robert Courthouse, who was absent, had at the same time declared his anxious wish that the Crown of England might devolve on his second and favourite, William: a disposition which, though suggested by partial affection, seems to have been justified by a recognised principle of Feudality, that, while he was bound to leave the inheritance of his fathers to his first-born, he was at liberty to bestow his acquired dominions on whomsoever he pleased. Robert no sooner heard of his death than he hastily emerged from a voluntary seclusion; and on his arrival at Rouen took peaceable possession of his Duchy. But if he were already inclined to dispute his brother's pretensions to the English Crown, he found his purpose anticipated by the activity of that Prince. William, from his ruddy complexion surnamed Rufus, or the Red, had by his fond parent's desire flown from his bedside to England, with a recommendatory letter from the dying Monarch to the Primate Lanfranc; and that Prelate exerting all the power of the Church in his cause, while his own fair promises won over the principal Nobility to his interest, he was proclaimed King without opposition, and crowned at Westminster in less than three weeks after his father's decease. The first open resistance to his title was raised by his uncle, Eudes, Bishop of Bayeux, and Earl of Kent, the uterine brother, and who had been successively, the rapacious minister, the bold enemy, and the captive of the Conqueror. The support which the Primate, Lanfranc, whom he personally hated, had given to the new King, was sufficient to induce the turbulent Earl-Bishop, now only released from his prison by a permission extorted from the dying Conqueror, to place himself at the head of a formidable party in favour of Robert. The virtues and vices of that Prince, whose portrait has been already sketched among the heroes of the First Crusade,† equally unfitted him to cope successfully with his active and crafty brother. Though he encouraged the Anglo-Norman Barons to appear in arms against the new King, he indolently delayed to place himself at their head, until William had crushed the insurrection, and driven Eudes and his principal associates into banishment. In his danger, the King had sought the aid of his native English subjects, whose hatred of their Norman oppressors induced them eagerly to answer the appeal by flocking to his standard; and he was indebted for his success chiefly to their services. These he indeed repaid only with empty thanks and hollow promises of future favour: but with the necessity which had obliged him to court their assistance, arose the first dawn of their deliverance from bondage. From this epoch, throughout the con-

England.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.
Death of
William.
A. D.
1087.
He assigns
Normandy
to his eldest
son, Ro-
bert, and
England to
the second,
William.

Accession
of William
II. (Rufus).

Abusive
conspiracy
against
him.
A. D.
1088.

* Orderic. p. 536. Ingulf. p. 73.

† Chron. Sax. p. 185—187. Saxo Gram. p. 217.

‡ Courthouse, or *Sherteheor*, so named by William himself, from his short, stout figure. *Genssaron*, or *Reynard*, another sobriquet which the Conqueror bestowed upon his eldest born, is equally expressive of his person, and of the coarse raillery which formed the courtly humours of the XIIIth Century.

§ Orderic. p. 545. Malmesbury, p. 106. Hoveden, p. 456, 457.

¶ Two circumstances illustrative of manners deserve to be rescued from the oblivion to which the other particulars of this petty and unnatural contest between father and son may be consigned. It was a frolic, or insult put upon Robert by his brothers, who emptied a pitcher of water on his head from a balcony, which produced the war. He rushed up stairs with his drawn sword to avenge the affront; and after the King had with difficulty saved his younger sons from the fury of their offended brother, the latter withdrew from his Court and commenced hostilities. In the course of these troubles, Robert unwittingly encountered his father in person, and wounded and unharned him before he recognised his countenance under his helmet. Horror-stricken at the discovery, he raised the aged King from the ground, threw himself at his feet, and with a flood of tears sued for pardon. William sternly replied only with a malediction; but the grief and entreaties of his Queen afterwards reconciled him to their common son. Flor. Wig. p. 619.

¶ See p. 528 of this volume.

* Orderic. p. 654—662. Kadiner, p. 13. Hunt. p. 371. Chron. Sax. p. 188. But some interesting particulars of the last illness, death, and burial of the Conqueror of England, will be found already related after Orderic, under the head of the French Annals, in p. 529 of this volume.

† Vide p. 593 of this volume.

History. tests by which the descendants of the Conqueror maintained their rival pretensions and desolated the Kingdom, the weight of the conquered race was more and more sensibly felt in the balance; and it was only in the quarrels of their Norman tyrants that the Saxons slowly recovered their independence.*

Not contented with expelling his brother's partisans from the Island, William crossed into Normandy at the head of an army, principally composed of his English subjects, and gained many advantages over the improvident though gallant Robert. A period was put to these hostilities by the exertions of the Norman Nobles, whose interest it was, as generally holding lands under both Princes in the Kingdom and in the Duchy, to preserve their possessions by maintaining their double allegiance. They, therefore, persuaded the brothers to conclude a pacification, by the principal article of which it was provided that the survivor of the two should succeed to the dominions of the other. The first use which Robert and William made of their reconciliation was to turn their arms against their younger brother Henry, who had hitherto taken part with the Duke.

Having received for his portion by his father's will only five thousand pounds of silver without landed domains,† this Prince had endeavoured to form an establishment for himself by the purchase of some territories from Robert. The elder brothers, who both were jealous of his talents and rising importance, united to despoil him of these estates; and expelling him from the Duchy, they drove him in great poverty to wander for some time over Brittany in quest of an asylum.‡ The perfidy of William in refusing to perform one of the stipulated conditions of the late Peace by delivering up the fortresses which he had acquired in Normandy, produced a second war between him and Robert, in which he maintained his advantage less by arms than by the dexterous application of bribes. The contest was terminated by the use of the same weapons in a different shape. Europe was now occupied with preparations for the First Crusade; and Robert, inspired with the general passion to engage in that enterprise, but ever straitened for money by his prodigality, offered with characteristic recklessness the mortgage of his dominions to his brother, to obtain the means of equipping himself for the expedition. For the inadequate sum of ten thousand marks, he offered him the Government of Normandy for five years; and William eagerly closed with a proposal equally advantageous to his wily ambition and grateful to his fraudulent and over-reaching temper. Hoping, doubtless, to convert the temporary pledge into a permanent possession of the Duchy, he extorted the money from his English subjects; and immediately assumed the administration of Normandy, which he continued to hold to his death.§

The reign of William was distinguished by few other events of importance. A war with the King of Scotland, a revolt of the Welch, and a second rebellion of some of his Barons, had consecutively divided his attention with his plans for the acquisition of Normandy. In revenge for the predatory incursions with which, during his absence in that Duchy, the Scottish King had afflicted the Northern Counties, William led an army

across the border, and obliged Malcolm to renew the homage which that Prince had formerly rendered to his Father. This submission did not prevent Malcolm from bursting into Northumberland two years afterwards with a numerous force; but while engaged in ravaging that County he was surprised and slain, together with his eldest son, by the troops of its Earl, Robert Mowbray; and the anarchy into which Scotland was plunged by this event suspended further hostilities.* The issue of William's contest with the Welch was less advantageous; for, in the attempt, after the example of Harold, to chastise their insurrections against his supremacy by the invasion of their Country, he was twice compelled to retreat both with loss and disgrace. But thenceforth resuming the wise policy of his father, he contented himself with strengthening the chain of fortresses which the Conqueror had constructed along the English frontier, or Marches, to restrain the incursions of wild enemies, who were themselves inaccessible to attacks.† Against his own Vassals, William was more successful. Their second rebellion was headed by Mowbray, the powerful Earl of Northumberland, and appears to have aimed at the dethronement of the King. But the activity of William disconcerted the conspiracy; Mowbray himself, after a vain resistance, was captured and imprisoned for the remainder of his life; and his accomplices were variously punished with death, banishment, or heavy fines on their estates.‡

The principal feature in the domestic administration of William's reign was unbounded rapacity; and his extortions reached every class of his subjects. But the wealth of the Church especially tempted his cupidity; and taking advantage of a schism and consequent weakness in the Papacy to refuse a recognition either of Urban II. or of the Antipope Clement, he kept many Sees and Abbeyes vacant, and appropriated their rich revenues to his own uses. The death of the virtuous and able Primate Lanfranc, whose services in obtaining for him the Crown he repaid with the basest ingratitude and oppression, removed every obstacle to his schemes of spoliation and left the English Church at his mercy. He refused for four years to fill up the vacant Archbishopric: until during a fit of remorse, produced by a dangerous illness, he was persuaded to name, as successor to Lanfranc, an Ecclesiastic of similar character, the learned and celebrated Anselm. But with returning health, he began to oppress the new Primate as he had done the last; and by persecuting him with demands for money, which an impoverished See was unequal to supply, finally drove him to seek refuge from these exactions in a voluntary exile.§ The sums of which the King thus rapaciously plundered his Lay and Ecclesiastical subjects, he as prodigally consumed in the grossest debaucheries, or lavished on the vilest of minions. In the dark picture, indeed, which the Monkish Historians have drawn of his infamous life, they might be suspected, under a natural prejudice against an oppressor of their Order, to have exaggerated his vices; if the portrait were not both in harmony with every recorded transaction of his public reign, and fully confirmed by the

Mortgage of that Duchy by Robert to his brother.

A. D. 1096.

Wars of William against the Scotch and Welch.

A. D. 1091.

* Orderic. p. 662—669. Chron. Sax. p. 192—195. Melmsbury, p. 120. Matt. Paris. p. 10—12.

† Orderic. p. 660.

‡ Ibid. p. 696—698.

§ Orderic. p. 714—764. Chron. Sax. p. 198—204. Melmsbury, p. 121—123.

* Orderic. p. 700, 701. Chron. Sax. p. 197—199. Simeon Dunelm. p. 218, 219.

† Chron. Sax. p. 203—205. Simeon Dunelm. p. 219.

‡ Orderic. p. 702—704. Chron. Sax. p. 204. Simeon Dunelm. p. 221.

§ Orderic. p. 764—774. Chron. Sax. p. 198, 199. Melmsbury, p. 123. Eadmer, p. 15—43.

History.
From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

and violent
death.
A. D.
1100.

Accession of
Henry I.
(Beauchere)

report of the Saxon Chronicler, who, in the favour affected by William to the English race, may be supposed to have seen less reason for condemning his memory.* It cannot, therefore, be doubted, that the event which suddenly cut short his violent and flagitious career, was a happy deliverance for his People. After the deep carouse of his noonday meal at Winchester, he had gone into the New Forest to hunt, and had separated from his attendants in eager pursuit of the game, when at sunset he was discovered by some peasants lifeless and weltering in his blood on the earth, with the broken shaft of an arrow sticking in his breast.† In the same forest one of his brothers had formerly perished accidentally while engaged in the chase; and it could not fail to excite the remark of a superstitious Age that he was the second of his family, who, by the retributive vengeance of Heaven, met a violent death on the same scene which had been cruelly desolated for his pleasures.‡

Robert Duke of Normandy, both by the claims of primogeniture and the faith of treaties the rightful successor of William, was now on his return from the Crusade, in Southern Italy: where, in ignorance of the catastrophe which should have given him the Crown, he lingered to wed the fair and noble Sybilla, a maiden of the Norman race of Guiscard. His absence and indolence a second time produced his exclusion from the English Throne. Henry, his youngest brother, who seems to have reconciled himself with William, and was living at his Court, had gone with him to hunt in the New Forest on the day of his death; and no sooner heard that he was slain, than he galloped back to Winchester, possessed himself of all the money which the prodigality of the late King had left in the Royal treasury, and employed it with so much address and promptitude, as, only three days afterwards, to secure his Coronation at Westminster. In thus audaciously usurping his eldest brother's rights, he declared that he had received the Crown by the common consent of all the Barons of the Realm; and he immediately proceeded to conciliate both the Clergy and the Nation by promulgating a Charter of liberties, in which he bound himself to restore and respect the ancient immunities of the Church, to keep no Sees or Benefices vacant, to abstain from the arbitrary exactions with which his father and brother had burdened the Feudal Incidents, and to revive the Laws of King Edward with the Conqueror's amendments. While the first two of these provisions gratified the Ecclesiastical Order and the Crown Vassals

of Norman blood, the third was more especially acceptable to the whole English race, whose attachment to the Laws of their fathers had been increased to enthusiasm by the oppression of their foreign tyrants. The next measure of Henry was still more pleasing to his Saxon subjects. He espoused Matilda, or Maud, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, who, through her mother Margaret, sister of the Etheling Edgar, was descended from the Royal Saxon line, and destined by this marriage to mingle the blood of the House of Cerdic with that of the Norman Dynasty. The nuptials of Henry with this virtuous and beautiful Princess, long affectionately remembered by the English as "good Queen Molde," were solemnized by Archbishop Anselm, who had now returned from his exile; and she was at the same time crowned by the Primate with much formality.*

William had been dead only one month when Robert arrived in Normandy; but with his usual want of energy, instead of immediately asserting his right to the English throne, the Duke of Normandy allowed the usurper, by the completion of these popular measures, to establish himself firmly in his seat, before he could be roused to some tardy and insufficient exertions in support of his own cause. At length, by the suggestions of Flambard, Bishop of Durham, the infamous Minister of the late King's extortions, who had been imprisoned by Henry to gratify the People, but had effected his escape into Normandy, Robert was persuaded to claim the Crown of England. He therefore accepted the proffered allegiance and aid of many of the most powerful Barons in the Kingdom, who were either averse from the usurpation, or disaffected to the person of Henry. Landing at Portsmouth, he placed himself at the head of a party which embraced the majority of the Anglo-Norman Nobility; while the Clergy, headed by the Primate Anselm, and the native English in general, adhered to Henry. The undoubted martial talents of Robert, the renown which he had acquired in the Holy War, the justice of his pretensions, and the natural popularity of his generous temper, might seem to promise him an immense superiority in the impending contest over the unnatural brother, who had basely profited by his absence on the sacred service of Heaven to usurp his inheritance. But all these advantages were more than overbalanced by the artful ability of Henry, and the facile temper of Robert himself. The latter credulously acceded to the proposal of his wily brother for a personal conference; was reconciled to him at the first interview; and suffered himself to be beguiled into a Treaty by which, for a yearly pension of three thousand marks, he resigned all title to the Crown of England.†

Robert had no sooner returned to Normandy on the conclusion of this Peace, than Henry, in violation of one of its conditions, began grievously to oppress the Nobles of his party; and many of these powerful men were successively ruined, either by vexatious suits in the King's Court, or by bolder sentences of outlawry and confiscation. When Robert, with the generous desire of interposing his good offices in behalf of his friends, incautiously, and unattended by an armed force, made

England.
From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Robert of
Normandy
claims the
Crown;

and lands in
England;
A. D.
1101.

but con-
cludes an
accommo-
dation with
his brother.

* Orderic. p. 682, 763, &c. Hunt. p. 378. Malmesbury, p. 122. Matt. Paris, p. 46. Eadmer, p. 24. Chron. Sax. p. 208.

† According to the common tale, which originated in the report of the time, (Malmesbury, p. 126. Matt. Paris, p. 37, &c.) William was accidentally shot by Walter Tyrril, a French Knight, who, in dismay, immediately putting spurs to his horse, fled to the sea-coast and crossed to the Continent, where he joined the First Crusade as an expiation for this involuntary homicide. But Dr. Lingard (*Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 148.) has satisfactorily shown from a passage in Suger's *Life of Louis VI. of France*, that Tyrril on his return from Palestine, when he had no longer any motive of hope or fear in concealing the truth, made frequent and solemn declarations before Suger himself, that he never saw the King on the day of his death, or entered that part of the forest in which he fell. It may be suspected, from the hatred which his rapacious tyranny had provoked, that he died by treason; it was easy and politic to attribute his fall to an absent individual; and his successor, as Dr. Lingard has observed, was little solicitous to inquire into the real character of the event which raised him to the throne.

‡ Orderic. p. 781, 782. Chron. Sax. p. 201. Malmesbury, p. 126.

* Orderic. p. 780—783. Malmesbury, p. 156. Matt. Paris, p. 38—40. Eadmer, p. 56—58. Chron. Sax. p. 208. *Leyes Sax.* p. 233—283.

† Orderic. p. 784—788. Malmesbury, p. 156. Eadmer, p. 58. Chron. Sax. p. 209, 210.

History. a second journey into England, he found that instead of being able to intercede for others, he was himself in effect a captive. Nor did he recover his liberty until he had engaged to resign his pension, which, to cover its dishonourable exaction with the hollow semblance of gallantry, Henry compelled his Queen nominally to receive as a gift to herself. After this evil usage, Robert, full of indignation at the perfidy of his brother, retired to his Norman Duchy; and, in the protection which he now openly granted to the English outlaws, who had suffered from their assistance to his cause, Henry soon found or framed a sufficient pretence for hostility. Pronouncing the existing league of friendship between them annulled by the encouragement given to these traitors, and declaring that he came to relieve Robert's Norman subjects from the notorious and increasing disorders of his government, he landed in the Duchy with an army from England, and, after one indecisive campaign, succeeded in bringing the Duke's forces to action under the ramparts of Tenchebrai. Here, notwithstanding the brilliant valour and skilful conduct of Robert, which were never more conspicuous than in this, their last, fatal field, his troops, after a long and bloody contest, were completely routed, and himself was captured. By extorting from his prisoner an order for the surrender of all his fortresses, Henry now obtained complete possession of the Duchy; and the Norman Barons immediately swore allegiance to him as their Duke.* Robert was then conveyed to England, where, though detained in sure custody, he was for some time attended with the respect and indulgence due to his rank and misfortunes: until his brother, enraged or alarmed at an attempt which he made to escape from confinement, and now steered by successful ambition against every compunctious emotion of nature, ordered his eyes to be put out. The unhappy Robert survived the execution of this inhuman sentence nearly thirty years, which he passed in darkness and captivity; and at last died at the age of eighty, in his prison of Carliſſ Castle, about twelve months before his unnatural oppressor.†

Treachery of Henry. Henry, however, although triumphant over his reckless and ill-fated brother, was destined to reap little enjoyment from his success. On the surrender of the Norman fortresses after the capture of Robert, that Prince's infant son William, (afterwards surnamed *Cliton*, or *Court-cuisse*;) also fell into his hands; but under some momentary feeling of pity for the boy's tears, and distrustful perhaps of the darker impulses of his own heart, he placed his nephew beyond his power, by committing him to the guardianship of Helie de St. Saen, a Norman Lord, who had married the natural daughter of the deposed Duke. Of this act of mercy, the jealous tyrant too soon repented: but when he endeavoured again to seize the person of the child, Helie succeeded in withdrawing his charge from danger; and nobly preferring the abandonment of his own Fiefs to the betrayal of his trust, he fled with young William from Normandy. Wandering from

He invades Normandy;
A. D. 1105.

defeats and captures Robert; and obtains his Duchy.
A. D. 1106.

Cruel fate of Robert.

Subsequent transactions in Normandy.

one asylum to another, the generous guardian, despite of the familiarity of his barbarous times with the worst deeds of violence and wrong, won sympathy and protection for his innocent and helpless charge; and from mingled motives of compassion and policy, the rightful heir of Robert found some potent supporters in Louis V., King of France, and the Counts of Anjou and Flanders. The origin and particulars of the wars which soon arose in Normandy between Henry and that Prince have already been related in the French Annals;* but the issue of the contest was little favourable to the rights of William Cliton, who during its progress had grown to man's estate; and at the pacification which followed the Battle of Brenneville, Louis, by accepting the homage of Henry's son for the Duchy of Normandy, tacitly abandoned the rival cause of his nephew.†

The life of that young Prince presented some vicissitudes of fortune, remarkable even in an Age of romantic adventure. When deserted for a season by Louis, he still found protection at the Court of Flanders; and the following year produced an event which was calculated to rekindle the most ambitious of his hopes. This was the death of his cousin and namesake William, the only legitimate son of Henry; who, after receiving the investiture of Normandy, in triumphantly crossing to England from that Duchy with a splendid train of its youthful Nobility, perished by shipwreck, in the night near Harfleur, owing to the general riot and intoxication which prevailed on board his vessel, and amidst which she was suffered to run upon a rock. The young Prince, whose premature vices, as well as his avowed and insolent contempt of the English race, notwithstanding his maternal descent from the royal Saxon stock, had already excited gloomy forebodings of a tyrannical reign, now sacrificed his life in the performance of the only generous act which is recorded to his memory. He might have been saved, if the shrieks of his natural sister, Adela, Countess of Perche, had not induced him to return to the wreck, when the crowd which leaped into his boat immediately sank it. The ship itself soon after went down with all on board; and the only survivor of the whole party was a poor butcher of Rouen, who rescued himself by clinging to a spar. Fitz Stephen, the master of the bark, a stout swimmer, might have shared his preservation; but hailing the butcher from the water to inquire the fate of the Prince, and being told that he had perished, the luckless mariner exclaimed that he would not live him, and instantly disappearing never rose more. When Henry, who had preceded his son in the voyage, and had arrived at Southampton, received the news of this dreadful catastrophe, the shock struck him to the ground; and it is said that from that hour he was never seen to smile again.‡

The parental sorrow of the King was soon aggravated by fresh accessions of political disquietude. His only surviving legitimate child was his daughter Matilda, whom he had married to the Emperor Henry V.; and one of his bereavement of a male heir encouraged the pretensions of his nephew, William, to excite new commotions in Normandy. That young Prince was becoming daily more formidable, no less by the development of many

* Orderic. p. 788—833. Kadmer, p. 59—90. Malmſbury, p. 157—160. Chron. Sax. p. 211—214. Among the prisoners at the battle of Tenchebrai, was the Ebeling Edgar, who had long attached himself to the congenial fortunes and tenor of Robert, and had (perhaps) followed him to the First Crusade. This is the last time that the name of Edgar occurs in History. Henry, like his father, showed his contempt for the Saxon Prince by granting pardon and liberty to his insignificance; and he is said to have peacefully survived in neglect and obscurity to a great age.
† Matt. Paris, p. 52. Orderic, p. 900.

• Vide p. 613—616 of this volume.

† Orderic, p. 834—866. Malmſbury, p. 160—165. Matt. Paris, p. 43—47. Chron. Sax. p. 214—221.

‡ Orderic, p. 869. Hunt, p. 384.

§ Orderic, p. 867—870. Chron. Sax. p. 222.

virtuous, able, and enterprising qualities, than by the support which the French King again afforded to his just and dangerous pretensions. Louis bestowed on him the hand of his sister-in-law, with a large landed dowry on the Norman frontiers; and the great Fief of Flanders becoming vacant soon after by the assassination of its Count, his Royal benefactor also granted him the investiture of that Province, to which he had some claims by descent from his grandmother, Matilda, wife of the Conqueror, and daughter of a former Earl. Henry, indeed, succeeded in quelling a revolt of the Norman Barons in favour of his nephew; and Louis in a new war which he undertook, parily in the same cause, gained no decisive advantages. But in the growing fame and greatness of the new Earl of Flanders, his usurping uncle had increased cause to tremble for the safety of his continental domains: when the death of William from the effects of a slight but neglected wound, which he received in a petty skirmish against a Pretender to his Flemish Fief, unexpectedly relieved Henry from his dangerous embarrassments.*

The great remaining end of his reign was now to secure the succession to his dominions for his beloved daughter Matilda. After the untimely fate of his son, the King himself, already a widower by the death of the "good Queen Molde," concluded a second marriage with the young and beautiful Adela, daughter of the Duke of Louvain; but being disappointed of issue by this union, his whole affections, as well as his hopes of seeing his race perpetuated, rested on his daughter. As Matilda was without children by her first marriage with the Emperor Henry V., he had been anxious, after the death of that Monarch, to form a second alliance for her; and had therefore compelled her to marry Geoffrey Plantagenet,† eldest son of Foulques, Count of Anjou, the hereditary enemy of his House, whom he was desirous by this measure to detach from the interest of his nephew William. This second union was extremely distasteful to Matilda, whose haughty spirit ill disposed her to exchange the Imperial honours which she yet enjoyed in her German residence for the inferior state of a Countess, and still less to submit at her maturer age to the control of a wild and impetuous youth of sixteen. She however yielded to her father's commands; and though her own temper and that of Geoffrey tended equally to destroy their domestic happiness, and to afflict the old age of the King by their disagreements, their ill-assorted union was destined to give a long line of Princes to the English throne.

Both this intermarriage indeed with a hostile House, and the prospect of a female succession, as without precedent either in England or Normandy, excited equal disgust among the Anglo-Norman Nobility. But the King disregarding every murmur, had obliged an Assembly of Prelates and Nobles, comprising all the immediate Vassals or tenants *in capite* of the Crown, to swear fealty to his daughter, then still a widow, in case he himself should die without male issue. Subsequently he not only insisted upon his reluctant Vassals renewing their oaths on her marriage; but took advantage of the birth of her eldest son by Geoffrey Plantagenet, who

was named after himself, to convene a third general Council, at which all the Nobility and dignified Clergy again solemnly pledged their reversionary allegiance to her, and extended it to the new-born infant. A dispute for precedence, as first Prince of the Blood, which was maintained on these occasions, between Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, the King's Nephew, by Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, and Robert Earl of Gloucester, his own natural son, might have given Henry an ominous foreboding of the views which were concealed under this rivalry. The decision of the question in favour of Stephen, instructed all those who were averse from a female succession, secretly to look up to him as their future Sovereign; and the doubt respecting the claims of Matilda to the Throne entertained in that Age, although in modern views of Regal inheritance her right was unquestionable, predisposed the mass of the nation to acquiesce in the designs which the future usurper already cherished. Henry, however, seems to have been unconscious of the precarious tenure of those obligations by which he had attempted to settle the Crown on his daughter's head. For when, after an unquiet, though successful reign of thirty-six years, he found himself seized with a mortal illness—produced, as it is said, by having partaken too freely of a dish of lampreys—he tranquilly repeated his bequest of all his dominions to Matilda, and expired at St. Denis le Froment in Normandy, in the confident belief that he had secured her undisputed succession.‡

The character of Henry is, in many respects, sufficiently developed in the preceding sketch of his reign; and if the perfidious acquisition of temporal greatness were truly the evidence of wisdom, his memory might deserve the emphatic distinction, with which he is dignified by some contemporary Writers, as the wisest Prince of his times. But his abilities were exercised only in the artifices of a faithless and cunning policy; his triumphs over less wily antagonists were purchased, not by glorious achievements, but by bribes and seductions; and the lives of few Monarchs have better illustrated the trite but unchangeable moral, that the paths of ambition lead only to disquietude and misery. The enjoyment of his boasted success against his foreign enemies was blighted by his domestic calamities; his projects for the aggrandizement of his daughter produced nothing but vexation to himself and unhappiness to her; and even his political sagacity and foresight were mocked by the abortive issue of his solicitude for her interest. A cruel brother, a suspicious and tyrannical master, and an incontinent husband, his deep affection for his children was indeed the only redeeming quality of his heart.† He was celebrated in his own Age for his learning, which procured him the surname of Beauclerc; and he has been praised in later times for his vigilant execution of the laws: whereby he certainly so far conferred a benefit on his people, that the most flagrant and violent crimes of robbery and spoliation, which were rife in the land at his accession, became before his death almost unknown‡.

But his intellectual acquirements, whatever was their real extent, had failed to humanize his mind; the equity of his administration is stained with the reproach of

England.
From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Death of
Henry
A. D.
1135.

His character.

His administration of justice.

* Orderic. p. 870—886. Chron. Sax. p. 232. and p. 616 of this vol.
† This name, which the Royal descendants of Geoffrey covered with renown, was derived from his device, a sprig of broom, or *plante de grant*; or perhaps, as before hinted, (p. 618.) from the passion for the chase which detained him perpetually among the heathen.

* Orderic. p. 886—901. Hunt. p. 383—385. Malmesbury. p. 166—178.

† Yet even this praise must be contradicted by his cruel and indecent treatment of his natural daughter Juliana, which has been related in a former Chapter, (p. 615 of this volume.)

‡ Chron. Sax. p. 237.

History.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

His rap-
acity.

Spoliation
of the
Clergy.

unjust and ungrateful prejudices against his English subjects; and his activity in the punishment of crimes against the public peace, was sharpened by a rapacity which converted the sentences of the Courts to the profit of his Exchequer. Throughout his reign he systematically excluded the native English, to whose support and fidelity he was chiefly indebted for the success and security of his usurpation, from every Civil and Ecclesiastical office of trust or emolument.* He extorted enormous fines in commutation for all offences; and the riches which he accumulated in immense sums, considering the value of money at that epoch, besides his great expenditure in furthering schemes of Continental aggrandizement, were unfeelingly wrung from the necessities of an oppressed and impoverished people.† His extortion: were those of a despotic tyranny, which utterly neglected any equal adjustment of its burthens, and cruelly punished as a crime the poverty which it created. "It were not easy to relate," says Roger de Hoveden, "all that the land of Englishmen endured at this time (about the year 1103) because of the Royal exactions."‡ "God knoweth," exclaims the Saxon Chronicler, "how unjust a measure is dealt to this miserable People: first they are despoiled of their goods, then butchered. If a man possess any thing, it is taken from him: if nothing, he is left to die of hunger."—"This (1124) was a grievous year: whoever had any possessions remaining, now lost them by heavy taxes and iniquitous decrees."§ When we contemplate these simple and touching pictures of popular suffering, it is a small extenuation of the tyrant's guilt that he pursued public malefactors with so much rigour and severity as to be accounted by his terrified subjects the "Lion of Justice" foretold in the fabulous prophecies of Merlin; that he punished the licensed coiners for their debasement of the currency with death or mutilation; and that his vengeance equally overtook the purveyors and attendants of his own Court, whose spoliations and outrages during the Royal Progresses had compelled the inhabitants to flee and leave the country a desert before him.¶ It could scarcely improve the lot of his subjects that the King, himself the worst robber in his Realm, was determined to suffer no sharer in the spoil.

The Ecclesiastical affairs of his reign belong to another division of our subject; and it may suffice to observe in this place that the Clergy were not much more fortunate than other ranks of men in escaping his rapacity. One contemporary Writer, indeed, himself an Ecclesiastic, excludes the Norman superiors of his Order from the sympathy of his readers, by declaring that they were "rather wolves than shepherds:" but some curious instances are given of the King's expedients for plundering them. Notwithstanding his solemn promise on his accession, he imitated his brother's example by keeping many Sees vacant for years, that he might enjoy their revenues; and he usually sold the nomination of those which he filled up. When the Bishops in Council petitioned him to assist them in enforcing the Canon of celibacy, he gladly undertook the office, and exercised it in the sale of licenses to those Ecclesiastics who were willing to purchase the indulgence of retaining their wives. Upon an earlier occasion,

under the pretence of supporting the Decree of a Synod which had prospectively forbidden the marriage of Priests, he instituted a commission of inquiry into the conduct of the Clergy on this head: when finding, as it is said, the number of delinquents fall short of expectation, he was so determined not to lose the profit which he had anticipated, that he ordered a heavy fine to be levied on every Parish Priest without regard to the transgression or observance of the Canon.*

If there were any man whom Henry, having treated with unwonted kindness and generosity, might imagine that he had attached to the interests of his daughter by every tie of gratitude and honour, it was his sister's son, Stephen, the third whom she had borne to the Earl of Blois. As both he and a fourth son, Henry, an Ecclesiastic, were without patrimony, the King had charged himself with their fortunes: the latter he raised to the See of Winchester; but on Stephen he lavished every mark of parental fondness. For he not only gave him the Earldom of Moreuil in Normandy, but by subsequently obtaining for him the hand of Matilda, daughter and heiress of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, besides the vast domains conferred by the Conqueror on that Lord in England, he secured his succession to the title and territories of the Count's more princely French Fief. The character of Stephen, having gained the affection, might seem to justify the confidence with which the King regarded him as the future champion of his daughter's cause. He was by nature active and valorous, kind and generous, courteous and merciful; qualities which, besides the popular favour, won him the hearts of his friends, and were freely acknowledged even by his enemies.†

But in the most trying hour of his life, the ambition of the Earl of Boulogne proved too strong for his better feelings: and thus impelled, in shameless disregard of every oath and obligation, he was guilty of the blackest ingratitude to his benefactor, by usurping the inheritance of his daughter. He had not a shadow of just pretension to the Throne: for, if the claims of Matilda and her infant sons were to be set aside by the repugnance of the Nobles to a female succession or a minority, a prior title of hereditary descent from the Conqueror was vested even in his own elder brother, Theobald, Earl of Blois. But relying on his influence and popularity, and the advantage which, at the moment of Henry's death, his residence at Boulogne gave him over Matilda, who was living with her husband in the more distant Province of Anjou, he hastened to London, was received with acclamations by its citizens, and immediately caused himself to be proclaimed King of England. By the assistance of his brother, the Bishop of Winchester, that City, with its Castle and the Royal treasures which it contained, was betrayed into his hands; and the two powerful Prelates of Canterbury and Sarum also were gained over to his cause. The former, indeed, affected to feel some scruples in violating the oaths which he had taken to Matilda; but he allowed them to be removed by the audacious perjury of Bigod, steward of the late King's household, who, at the instigation of the Bishop of Winchester, deliberately swore that Henry on his death-bed had disinherited his daughter and appointed Stephen his successor; and upon pretence of being satisfied by this miserable fraud,

* Kadmer, p. 94—110.

† Chron. Sax. p. 211—213, &c.

‡ Hoveden, p. 470.

§ Chron. Sax. p. 228.

¶ Kadmer, p. 94. Chron. Sax. p. 212, 228, 229, &c.

* Kadmer, p. 67, 83, 84, &c. Chron. Sax. p. 234.

† Orderic. p. 810. Malmesbury, p. 179—192. Gesta Stephani; apud Duchesne, p. 328.

England.
—
From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Story and
character of
Stephen and
Henry's
reign.

His leg-
itimacy
and suc-
cession.

History. the Primate consented to place the Crown on the head of the usurper. The ceremony of his Coronation was performed at Westminster with indecent haste, before the other Prelates or the Barons of the Realm had time to arrive or declare their assent: but a lavish use of the late King's treasures, and the ready promulgation of a Charter promising to the Clergy, Nobles, and People a full redress of the grievances of the last reign, so easily reconciled all Orders of men to the usurpation that no attempt was made to oppose it; and even Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the natural brother and principal counsellor of Matilda, found it necessary to yield for a season to the general example, and swear allegiance to Stephen.*

Affairs of Normandy. Meanwhile the progress of affairs in the Continental dominions of the late King promised those possessions also to the usurper of his English Throne. When Matilda entered Normandy to take possession of that Duchy immediately after her father's death, she was at first peaceably received as its Sovereign: but being attended by a numerous Body of Anjevins under her husband, the insolent conduct of those followers towards her Norman subjects so exasperated the long-cherished animosity between the two races, that the People of the Duchy flew to arms. The Count of Anjou and his Vassals were ignominiously expelled; and the Norman Barons were on the point of offering their Ducal Crown to Theobald, Count of Blois, elder brother of Stephen: when an opportune message from the latter Prince determined them to maintain their connection with England by tendering their fealty to himself. Stephen, in order to sustain his Sovereignty, despatched a large force of Flemish mercenaries into the Duchy under William of Ipres; and Count Geoffrey, with his Anjevins on the other hand, frequently renewed his invasions in support of his wife's title. The whole Country, therefore, was for some years cruelly ravaged by foreign partisans who, on both sides, were equally odious to the natives. The Norman Barons, on pretence of supporting either cause, aimed only at making themselves independent of all control, and by their private wars aggravated and prolonged the public wretchedness: but between the two rivals for the Sovereignty, the advantage lay almost wholly with Stephen, who had not only obtained possession of the principal places in the Duchy, but had prevailed on the French King formally to grant him its investiture.†

Scottish invasions of England. Nor were repeated diversions which Matilda prevailed upon her maternal uncle, David King of Scotland, to make in her behalf on the English borders, more successful than the arms of her adherents in Normandy. The first of these attempts, a few months after the seizure of the Crown by Stephen, produced only some indecisive hostilities, and was closed by a Peace. But two years later, prompted either by regard to oaths which he had formerly sworn to Henry I. to support the succession of his daughter, or by resentment at the failure of Stephen to invest him with the Earldom of Northumberland promised by the late pacification, David undertook a new and more formidable invasion of England; and overrunning the Northern Counties with a great army of his barbarian Scots, he was unable to restrain them from the commission of the most horrible cruel-

ties. Churches, Monasteries, and whole Villages were subjected to a common conflagration, and their inhabitants to promiscuous slaughter. At length the Barons and people of Yorkshire, nerved by despair, and animated by the religious exhortations of their venerable Metropolitan, took post near Northallerton, in close, deep, and immovable array around a lofty mast, surmounted by a silver crucifix, which was fixed in the body of a waggon, and gave a lasting name to the "Battle of the Standard."‡ Here, the English awaited an assault with so much resolution, and in such impetuous order, that the invaders were defeated with tremendous slaughter; and the King of Scots and his son, with the remains of his army, not more than one half of whose numbers escaped from the flight and the pursuit, rallied not until they reached the border City of Carlisle. Early in the following year, the horrors of this Northern war were terminated by a second Peace, of which, notwithstanding the late victory, the terms were rather favourable than otherwise to the King of Scotland: but the attention of Stephen was now engrossed by the domestic troubles of his Government; and the calamities of a Civil war were already impending over his Kingdom.†

The causes of the dreadful miseries which followed must be sought, partly in a quarrel between Stephen and the Clergy, partly in the facilities which the weakness of a government founded on so fugitious wrong had afforded to the Nobility for the erection of private fortresses in every quarter of the Realm.‡ The origin of the disaffection, which it is certain that the Clergy in general had now conceived against the King, seems involved in much obscurity. But it has been conjectured with sufficient probability that Stephen had provoked the enmity of that powerful Order, by disappointing the expectations of an increase to their already enormous privileges, which had induced them originally to support his usurpation. However this may have been, we find that the King, on the occasion of an Assembly of Prelates and Barons, held at Oxford in the same year in which the Battle of the Standard was fought, outraged the whole Ecclesiastical Body by seizing the persons of the Bishops of Sarum and Lincoln, upon a charge of breaking the King's peace by the excitement of a tumult in his Court. At the same time the Bishop of Ely escaped only by flight from similar violence; and an immediate surrender of the fortresses of the captive Prelates—for, like the Lay Barons, even these Ecclesiastical Lords now possessed fortified Castles—was demanded and obtained by the King as the price of their lives and liberty. Amidst the indignation with which these proceedings were received by the Clergy, the Bishop of Winchester, who had lately been invested with the dignity of Papal Legate, probably found himself placed in a situation of extreme embarrassment between his relationship to the King and a

England.
From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Great Battle of the Standard.
A. D.
1138.
Defeat of the Scots.

Quarrel of Stephen with the Clergy.

* This standard with its carriage, as already noticed in p. 639 of the present volume, closely resembled the *Corporalis*, or Sacred Battle car, so often mentioned in the wars of the Lombard Cities. On the mast, below the crucifix, waved the banners, as they are described, of several Saints; of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon; and from the carriage itself, the Bishop of Orkney, as officiating for the aged Metropolitan, Thurstan of York, whose infirmities prevented his presence, pronounced an absolution and blessing upon the embattled host. Ricardus Hugustaldensis, p. 321.

† Orderic. p. 917. *Gesta Stephani*, p. 938, 939. Ricardus Hugus p. 312—330.

‡ *Gesta Stephani*, p. 935, &c. Malmesbury, p. 160.

* Orderic. p. 902. Malmesbury, p. 179. Matt. Paris, p. 52. *Gesta Stephani*, p. 928, 929.

† Orderic. p. 902, 903.

History. common interest and sympathy with his professional Brethren. But it is manifest that his attachment to his Order was stronger than the ties of blood: for, in his Legatine capacity, he summoned his brother before a Synod of Bishops, to answer for his conduct and make restitution of the Church property which he had seized; and the King, although he refused to give up the Castles which he contended that it was unlawful for Ecclesiastics to hold, condescended to plead by Counsel against the demand. But finding the Synod disposed to insist on his compliance, he forbade all further proceedings, and drove the Legate by his threats and demonstrations of military force to dissolve the Assembly.*

Landing of the Empress Matilda. Stephen had soon sufficient reason to repent the imprudent violence with which he had drawn upon himself the hostility of the Church. Within a month after the dissolution of the Synod, the Empress Matilda, (for she still bore that title,) whether invited by the Prelates or induced by knowledge of their disaffection to her rival, landed in England with a slender train of no more than one hundred and forty Knights: but her enterprise was supported by the presence of her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, and encouraged by the promised aid of numerous partisans.† Her arrival was the signal for the immediate commencement of Civil war in every part of the Kingdom; and as the strength or weakness of the contending parties was very equally balanced, the whole Country was for several years exposed to frightful devastation from both factions, without any decisive event. While the rightful pretensions of Matilda were now zealously supported by the Clergy, by the stout Earl of Gloucester, and by all the influence which he could command among the Nobles; the cause of the usurper was upheld by numerous partisans who had enjoyed, or who expected, his lavish bounty; by the citizens of London with whom he was personally popular; and by bands of Flemish and other foreign mercenaries, whom, ever since his accession, he had retained in his pay for the security of his ill-founded power. But the great Barons in general, retiring to their Castles, kept aloof from the contest, and either affected a complete independence and neutrality between the competitors for the Sovereignty, or embraced either cause only for the unrestrained indulgence of their private feuds, and their greediness for oppression and rapine. It would redound little to the pleasure or the instruction of the reader to rescue from oblivion the barbarous and desultory circumstances of a warfare, which was fertile only in crimes. But, in the third year of the contest, a signal advantage was gained by Matilda, which, but for her own misconduct, might have placed her in secure possession of the Throne. While engaged in the siege

Civil war.

Battle of Lincoln.
A. D.
1141

of the castle of Lincoln, the King's forces were attacked and totally defeated by her army under the Earl of Gloucester; and Stephen himself, after performing prodigies of personal valour, was wounded and made prisoner. He was conveyed in custody to Bristol, and soon after ignominiously thrown into a dungeon and loaded with chains.*

This misfortune of Stephen, as might be expected, overwhelmed his own party with despair, and induced most of the Barons, who had hitherto observed a suspicious neutrality, to offer their allegiance to his victorious rival. The faithful Queen of Stephen (who was also named Matilda) alone remained in arms in Kent, rather with the view of obtaining better terms for her husband, than with any serious hope of prolonging the contest: but the victors, despising the efforts of an adversary apparently so feeble, conducted the Empress to Winchester, where, after some negotiations, she was openly acknowledged as Queen by the Bishop-Legate, the Primate, and a Synod of the Episcopal and dignified Clergy. From that City she repaired to London to receive the Crown:† and her triumph seemed completed by the favourable reception with which she was welcomed by the citizens of the Capital, who already formed a Body of considerable power in the State, and had hitherto shown themselves the strenuous partisans of Stephen.‡

But when her fortunes had thus attained the ascend-^{ant}, they were suddenly humbled by her arrogant and vindictive temper. She offended the Bishop-Legate of Winchester by contemptuously refusing to accept Stephen's formal surrender of the Crown upon condition that his Norman Earldom and English domains should be secured to his son. And with equal imprudence, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the citizens of London, she not only instantly rejected their suit for the restoration of the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Conqueror, but imposed a heavy tax upon them as a punishment for their previous adherence to the cause of the usurper. The Bishop of Winchester immediately retired in disgust from her Court: but the citizens meditated a quicker vengeance; and animated by the opportune appearance of a Body of horse which Stephen's Queen had caused to approach the Capital, they so unexpectedly rose in arms, that the Empress only escaped captivity by a precipitate flight to Oxford. The Bishop of Winchester now once more espoused his brother's party; and the Empress assembling her principal adherents with their forces, attended by her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, and her uncle, David, King of Scotland, proceeded from Oxford to surprise the Bishop-Legate in his own City. But that Prelate escaped in time to join Stephen's Queen, who, at the head of the Londoners, and reinforced by other partisans of her husband, was advancing to his aid. The Empress and her friends were soon hemmed in on every side; and after enduring a seven weeks' siege in the Castle of Winchester, were compelled by hunger to attempt cut-

* Orderic. p. 919. *Gesta Stephani*, p. 943—945. Malmesbury, p. 182, 183. This last Writer was present at the Synod.

† A circumstance which attended the opening of the struggle is characteristic of chivalrous manners. The Empress on her landing repaired to the Castle of Arundel, the residence of her mother-in-law Adelais, Queen-dowager of Henry I, who was now married to the Earl of Sussex. Stephen soon appeared before the fortress with a superior force; and Adelais, dreading a siege, demanded free permission for Matilda to quit the Castle and join her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, in the West, which Stephen immediately granted; for, adds Malmesbury, no true Knight could in courtesy do less. This strange piece of gallantry, however, is rather referred by the anonymous Biographer of Stephen to an ill-judged expectation that, by allowing the Empress to withdraw, he should be enabled to cut off her communications with her partisans in the centre of the Kingdom, and confine her efforts within a distant Province. *Gesta Stephani*, p. 947.

* Orderic. p. 919, *ad finem*. Malmesbury, p. 184—186. *Gesta Stephani*, p. 946—952. At this crisis the valuable *Chronicle of Ordericus Vitalis* terminates.

† Hume has, however, fallen into one of his frequent inaccuracies in stating (*History of England*, vol. i. p. 487, that she was actually crowned.

‡ Chron. Sur. p. 242. Malmesbury, p. 187, who again describes as a witness the proceedings of this Synod at Winchester.

History.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Stephen ob-
tains his
release.

Final re-
sult of Ma-
tilda from
England.
A. D.
1147.

Loss of
Normandy
by Stephen.

Henry
Planta-
genet, son
of Matilda.

ting their way through their enemies. The effort was only so far successful that the gallant Earl of Gloucester covered the flight of his sister, by sacrificing himself with a chosen Body of Nobles and Knights to her safety. She escaped, while her whole escort, after bravely sustaining the assaults of her pursuers, were either slain, captured, or dispersed. The Scottish King himself was thrice taken, and as often extricated himself from the hands of the victors; but Robert of Gloucester was less fortunate, and with many other Nobles remained a prisoner.*

The Earl, however, had been so completely the soul of every enterprise, that his sister was glad to purchase his release by that of Stephen; and this exchange restored both parties very nearly to the same position in which they had been placed before the Battle of Lincoln. It is useless to pursue further the shifting vicissitudes of a struggle from which Matilda, after passing through many wild adventures,† was at last induced or compelled, by weariness of the struggle or despair of the result, to retire into Normandy. But she did not yield until a desultory and indecisive warfare of six years since the release of Stephen had tried and exhausted her endurance and hopes; and until, by the death of her brave brother, she had lost the firmest support of her cause. Meanwhile, the diversion produced by her having carried the war into England had not been without benefit to her rights over Normandy. For the usurper being too much occupied by the defence of his English Crown to support his Norman adherents, her husband Geoffrey had succeeded in reducing that Duchy to obedience; and thence Stephen, after a brief season of repose which succeeded the departure of the Empress, soon found himself assailed by a more youthful and formidable opponent.‡

This was Henry Plantagenet, eldest son of the Empress, who had already, when a boy, been conducted into England by his uncle, the Earl of Gloucester, and remained under his warlike tuition until the death of that Nobleman. Subsequently he had revisited the Island, and received his Knightly investiture at Carlisle from another uncle, David, King of Scotland. As he approached the age of manhood, the young Prince displayed talents and energies of the highest order. By the death of his father he had now succeeded to the Earldom of Anjou; in the name of his mother he held the government of Normandy; and by his unscrupu-

* The captive Earl of Gloucester was treated with all the consideration due to his valiant and faithful character; and the conduct of Stephen's Queen in this respect formed a generous contrast to that of the opposite party towards her unfortunate husband. The unshaken and devoted attachment of the Earl to the cause of his sister, and of the Queen to that of her Consort, render these two by far the most, perhaps the only, interesting personages in the perplexed and troubled drama of their times.

† Many of the incidents presented by this contest in common with the desultory vicissitudes of every partisan warfare, are not without Romantic interest, although too confused and inconsequential to be worthy of Historical record. On one occasion, after enduring a winter's siege in Oxford, the Empress effected her nocturnal escape, while the ground was covered with snow, by dressing herself, and three Knights her attendants, in white. After passing by this stratagem unobserved through the enemy's beleaguers, she was obliged to cross the Thames over the ice on foot. *Gesta Stephani*, p. 959. Another tale told by the continuator of Florence of Worcester, (p. 677.) of her being carried in a barge from Devizes to Gloucester after her flight from Winchester, should probably be rejected, as tacitly contradicted by the silence of other contemporary authorities of better credit.

‡ Malmesbury, p. 187—189. *Gesta Stephani*, p. 953—959.

lous union with Eleanor, the repudiated Queen of Louis VII. of France, which we have already recorded in the Annals of that Kingdom,* he acquired possession of the Duchy of Aquitaine, her inheritance. Attracted by the rising fortunes of this young Prince, the enemies of Stephen, who, unwarned by adversity, had imprudently embroiled himself anew with his Clergy and Barons, invited him again into England; and his landing produced an immediate renewal of the Civil wars. But when the armies of the hostile factions drew out against each other to dispute the passage of the Thames at Wallingford, many of the principal Barons on both sides suddenly showed their weariness of the long disorders which had afflicted the Realm. Agreeing in this feeling, they compelled the rival Princes to conclude a solemn accommodation, by which Stephen, on receiving the allegiance of Henry for his own life, adopted him as his successor. The ambition of Eustace, the King's eldest son, whom the Archbishop of Canterbury, although solicited by Stephen, had already refused to crown as his heir, presented the only obstacle to a settlement; but this was shortly removed by the opportune death of the young Pretender, who, withdrawing from the Court in furious indignation on the first proposal of the Treaty, suddenly expired in a paroxysm of phrency. The Duke of Normandy, after accompanying the King in an amicable Progress through the principal Cities of the Realm, returned to Normandy; and only a few months afterwards Stephen peaceably ended his distracted reign and troubled existence.†

The horrors inflicted on the Kingdom by his criminal and fatal ambition, cannot be more forcibly described than in the simple and coincident language of two contemporary Chroniclers; and the best personal qualities of a nature neither ungenerous nor cruel in itself, will poorly extenuate the guilt which his usurpation engendered. In the days of this King, say their faithful witnesses, all was feud and disorder and wickedness. Strong Lords, who heeded not the troth which they had sworn to him, built Castles and held them against him, filling these with evil and devilish men, by whose hands they seized and cruelly oppressed the poor folks of the land, forcing them to grievous labours; shutting up in dungeons full of noisome reptiles such as had gold or silver; and wringing out their spoils with strange and sundry torments. Some hanged they by the feet in deadly smoke, some by the hair, and the thumbs; some upon hot iron; of some crushed they the bodies in boxes of stones, or twisted knotted cords round their temples, or encircled their necks with spiked collars. Very many they vexed to death with hunger and thirst. And so it ever grew worse for all the years that Stephen was King. The towns were burned with fire, the lands left waste, the poor folks driven forth to starve. A whole day's journey might the traveller ride, and not find a man left in a town, nor a land in tillage.‡ It has been well observed, that by this language of general horror the universal misery of England is better expressed than would be possible by examples;§ but some signal examples of wanton devastation may still be selected from the long catalogue of ruin which was filled by the wickedness of

England.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.
invited by
her parti-
sans into
England.
A. D.
1152.

Accommo-
dation be-
tween him
and Ste-
phen.
A. D.
1153.

Death of
Stephen.

Horrors of
his reign.

* *Ibid* *supra*, p. 619.

† Malmesbury, p. 180, &c. *Gervas.* p. 1360—1376.

‡ *Chron. Sax.* p. 248, 239. *Gesta Stephani*, p. 961.

§ Macintosh, (*Hist. of England*), vol. i. p. 135.

History.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1159.

Causes of
its anarchy
and disorders.

Accession
of Henry
II.

A. D.
1154.

both factions. During the siege which the Empress sustained in the Castle of Winchester, the combatants on either side fired and plundered the City; and the extent of the conflagration in that ancient Capital of Wessex may be estimated by the fact, that it consumed no fewer than forty Churches and two Monasteries.* Worcester shared nearly a similar fate; and Nottingham, which had already become populous and wealthy for that Age, was the scene of a more horrid catastrophe: for the greater number of its inhabitants perished in the flames. Amidst these disorders even Churches and Religious Houses, of which the sanctity was wont to claim the awe and respect of a Christian Knighthood, and whose walls had often been the last refuge of the oppressed and defenceless, and afforded a secure asylum to female innocence and helpless age, were unscrupulously desecrated and remorselessly defiled with nameless atrocities.

Two circumstances may chiefly be remarked as the causes of these frightful disorders: the license of erecting strong-holds to secure an impunity for their crimes, which Barons of every degree assumed at the commencement of Stephen's usurpation; and the employment, not only by the King but by his Feudal supporters and opponents, of Bodies of Flemish mercenaries, or Brabançons as they were commonly called from the Province in which they were most numerous recruited. The number of new Castles alone, which these handitti were levied to garrison, exceeded one hundred and twenty; but, moreover, such Chieftains as were unwilling or unable to incur the expense or trouble of fresh constructions, not unfrequently seized on some neighbouring Church or Monastery; and in this manner it is especially recorded that the Abbays of Coventry and Ramsey, and the Minster of Bridlington, were converted into fortresses by three Barons, Robert de Marmion, Geoffrey de Granville, and William d'Aumerle. But, indeed, no dread of incurring the guilt of sacrilege, one of the few crimes which the tyrants and spoilers of the Middle Ages usually shuddered to perpetrate, any longer restrained the contending parties. Whether the objects of greedy rapacity, or more cruel passions, were contained within the walls of Lay or Ecclesiastical edifices, the Brabançons sacked, burned, murdered, and violated, with the same devilish ferocity, and the same impious scorn of all compunctious feeling. Nor were such crimes confined to these wretches: the Feudal Nobles, who sought their services, imitated their lives; and it is the indignant reproach of the Chronicler, that these Christian Knights made a shameless boast of atrocities, at which their Pagan forefathers might have blushed.†

The death of Stephen, and the energetic character of the youthful Duke of Normandy, inspired the English with eager hopes of deliverance from the long and frightful anarchy with which the misrule of the usurper had afflicted the Kingdom; and the accession of Henry Plantagenet to the Throne was welcomed with the universal joy of the Nation. Nor were their expectations disappointed. On his arrival from Normandy, after celebrating his Coronation, and securing the popular affection by a renewal of the Charter which his grandsire had granted and violated, the young King

proceeded to signalize the commencement of his reign by the most vigorous measures for the restoration of order. He immediately issued a Proclamation, commanding the foreign mercenaries, who had been the scourge and terror of the People, to quit the Country by an appointed day under pain of death. He reclaimed the possession of all the Royal castles and demesnes which the powerful partisans, either of his mother or of the usurper, had extorted as the price of their wavering allegiance; and he insisted on the demolition of the numerous private fortresses, which the adherents of both factions, amidst the public confusion, had illegally erected. These demands were not of a nature to require a voluntary compliance: but neither were they made until Henry had prepared to enforce them by the assemblage of a formidable army; and either aided by this display of the Royal power, or chastised by its exertion, each of the great Barons, who had so long reigned the tyrant of his Province, was successively compelled to submission or surrender. Royal garrisons were placed in all the Castles which had originally belonged to the Crown; and those which Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother, as well as many Lay Barons, had constructed, were everywhere razed to the earth. At the same time, an equitable administration of the laws was firmly established and rigidly observed; and under these salutary reforms the Kingdom soon began to recover from the calamities by which it had been oppressed. An insurrection of the Welch, who had often ravaged the English Marches with impunity during the life of Stephen, alone disturbed the national tranquillity. But, although the Royal arms were not eminently triumphant against that restless and inaccessible People, their depredations were severely chastised; and the war was successfully concluded by the submission of their Princes, who were reduced to swear allegiance to Henry, and to leave hostages in his hands for their fealty.*

While Henry had thus reestablished the peace and secured the possession of his Insular Kingdom, various circumstances had conspired to render him one of the most powerful Continental Princes of his Age. Including Brittany, always an *Arriere-Fief* of his Norman Duchy, and of which he found occasion to obtain a more effectual possession, he was master either by inheritance or by marriage of all Western France, in uninterrupted extent from the British Channel to the Pyrenees, and from the Atlantic coast to the confines of Flanders, the Orleansois, and Toulouse. These great possessions, which far surpassed in space and value the whole territory immediately subject to the French King, rendered Henry, though nominally the Vassal of Louis VII., in reality his political superior; and the hereditary office of Great Seneschal of France, which the English Monarch held by descent from his paternal grandfather, Foulques V. of Anjou,† as it strangely intrusted to his administration the highest judicial prerogatives of the Crown, without permitting an appeal to the Sovereign himself, completed his total independence of the nominal Lord Paramount. It is not therefore surprising that, as we have formerly observed,‡ the aggrandizement thus attained by a Vassal, and in a great degree at his own

* Matt. Paris, p. 65—81. Hoveden, p. 491. Guilielmus Norwicensis, lib. ii. p. 1—5. Gervasius, p. 1077—1080.

† Vide p. 614 of this volume.

‡ Ibid. p. 619.

* *Gesta Stephani*, p. 956.

† *Ibid.* p. 961—970, &c. *Chron. Sax.* p. 228, 239.

History.
From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.
His first
war with
Louis VII.
of France.

A. D.
1160.

Rise and
character of
Thomas à
Becket.

His promo-
tion to the
see of
Canterbury.

expense by marriage with his repudiated Queen, filled Louis VII. with alarm and jealousy; and these feelings, continually irritated by the ambitious projects of Henry, occasioned, throughout the reign of both Princes, a long series of quickly rekindling, though desultory contests. The first of these arose, as already related in the French Annals, from the claims which Henry laid to the County of Toulouse in right of his wife, whose father had once held it by marriage, but mortgaged it to Raymond, Count of St. Gilles. The French King himself, before his divorce from Eleanor of Aquitaine, had advanced the same pretensions on her behalf: but this did not now prevent him from extending that protection to Raymond, through which the design of Henry was finally frustrated. We have seen that the pacification which closed this war was almost immediately broken by the dishonourable fraud, through which Henry obtained possession of the Vexin as the promised dower of the infant Princess Margaret of France, the betrothed bride of his son, Henry Courtmanteau: but though Louis consented to smother for a season the indignation which he felt at having been overreached in this affair, and allowed himself, by the Papal mediation, to be again reconciled with his more artful and unscrupulous adversary, he subsequently found, and eagerly seized, a more promising opportunity of vengeance. This was afforded by the famous quarrel between Henry and Thomas à Becket.*

The conspicuous part acted by that extraordinary person in the Political and Religious affairs of the Reign before us, claims some particular notice of his personal history and character. Thomas à Becket was the son of a London citizen, of the native Saxon race;† and his fortunes present this, among other remarkable singularities, that the individual, who so long defied the power and embittered the existence of his Sovereign, was the first Englishman who, since the Conquest, had been permitted to attain any Civil or Ecclesiastical dignity. Becket was bred to the Church; and an early display of the abilities by which he was subsequently distinguished, recommended him to the notice of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury. Through the favour of that Primate he received some preferment, and was enabled to travel to Italy for the purpose of improving his knowledge of the Civil and Canon Law; which he studied under the famous Gratian at Bologna, the great seat of those branches of Learning. On his return, his patron, who found such acquirements useful in transacting the affairs of his Church, rewarded his services by obtaining for him the rich Archdeaconry of Canterbury, and introduced him to the special notice of the King.‡

The share of the Primate in securing the succession of Henry, gave weight to this recommendation; and the rise of Becket was thenceforth assured. Attracted both by his talents for business and his agreeable man-

ners, which at that period of his life were little restrained within the bounds of professional decorum, the King freely admitted him both into the confidence of his serious, and the familiarity of his lighter hours. The Royal Favourite was appointed Chancellor; received the Wardenship of the Tower of London and other lucrative offices; and was intrusted with the principal administration of all his master's dominions, both Insular and Continental. These dignities he supported with a magnificence more Regal than Clerical; maintained a sumptuous establishment and an immense retinue; dispensed a splendid hospitality, and lived on the easiest and most intimate terms with a Sovereign, who shared his pleasures too heartily to feel jealous of the style which they affected. The political abilities of the Minister were devoted to the service of his master, with as much success and with as little scruple as his convivial accomplishments; and it was by the adroitness of Becket, in an embassy to the French King, that Louis was induced to conclude that alliance of his infant daughter to the son of Henry, which subsequently cost him the loss of the Vexin. In the hostilities between the two Monarchs, Becket appeared in the new character of a warrior; and at the head of a large body of Knights and *gens d'armes*, whom he levied and maintained at his own expense, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, though the example was less uncommon than shameful among Churchmen of that Age, marched and fought with more reputation for martial conduct and prowess, than for religious propriety.*

While Becket publicly exhibited this unseemly spectacle of a dissipated, worldly, and militant Ecclesiastic, it is not wonderful that Henry, although himself a Prince of great sagacity, should have fatally mistaken the real character of the man, and expected to find, in the able and unscrupulous Minister, a ready instrument for the design which he had entertained, from the beginning of his Reign, of repressing the multiplied encroachments of the Church upon the Royal authority. The debt of personal gratitude which he owed to Archbishop Theobald, induced him to suspend the execution of his project during the life of that Prelate: but when the death of Theobald released him from his obligations, he resolved to forbear no longer; and to ensure the

* Stephan. p. 10—21. Several casual notices, not without interest in their way, of the manners of the times may be gleaned from this narrative of Fitz Stephen, the Secretary and Biographer of Becket. It was an instance of the sumptuous hospitality of the Chancellor, that his apartments were daily strewn with fresh rushes or hay, lest his guests, who were usually more numerous than could be accommodated with seats at his table, should dirty their clothes as they sat on the floor! Yet the costliness of his furniture, the luxury of his banquets, and the general splendour of his state, were the theme of contemporary wonder and admiration. When he went on an embassy from his master to the French King, he travelled with a train which astonished all beholders by its magnificence. He was preceded, on his entrance to every considerable town, by an incredible number of choristers or singing boys, who struck up some triumphant chant. These were followed by several wains laden with his plate, wardrobe, and bedding, and the utensils of his chapel and kitchen; not forgetting stores of ale to be distributed to the populace. Sumpter horses with led chargers, hounds, falcons, and monkeys, also figured in the procession, with a crowd of Knights, Esquires, and Clerks; and last of all rode the Chancellor himself, encircled by the principal members and attendants of his household. Henry was probably flattered by this imposing display of pomp in his Minister: for it was a common remark of the People in the French Provinces through which the embassy passed, that he must needs be a mighty Monarch, whose very servant was wont to maintain so Royal a pageantry.

* Hoveden, p. 492. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. p. 5—24.

† A curious and romantic tale has been sometimes copied from a Chronicler, (John of Brompton,) who lived scarcely within two Centuries of the event, ascribing the birth of Becket to his father's marriage with a noble Saxon dame; who had become acquainted with, and loved him, in the Holy Land, and found her way to rejoin him, after many marvellous and touching adventures, in London. But the story, of which all the details are highly improbable, was evidently unknown to the Biographer of Becket, or to any other extant Writers nearer to his times than Brompton; and may therefore be dismissed as utterly unworthy of credit.

‡ Stephanides, p. 1—9.

History.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.
Henry creates him
Archbishop of Canter-
bury.
A. D.
1162.

Total
change in
the conduct
of Becket.

Question of
its sincerity.

His quarrel
with the
King.

success of his intended measures, it seemed only necessary to elevate his compliant Favourite and Chancellor to the vacant Primacy. It is recorded to the honour, and, if true, it forms some extenuation for the subsequent conduct of Becket, that when the King announced his intended promotion, he at first, with a jocular allusion to his luxurious and unclerical dress, observed that there was little in that garb to indicate an Archbishop elect: but finding his master serious in his purpose, he as earnestly conjured Henry not to force him into the only situation, in which he might find his continued services to his benefactor incompatible with higher duties.* But the King would hear of no scruples, and Becket became Archbishop of Canterbury.†

From that hour the new Primate assumed a deportment, in every respect the most opposite from the whole tenour of his former life. He immediately changed the pomp of secular state and luxurious magnificence, for a yet prouder ostentation of humility and self-denial. He discarded his splendid retinue of Noble and Knightly dependents, his costly habiliments, his sumptuous fare, and his worldly amusements; he rejected the common attendance prescribed by his dignity, wore sackcloth next his skin, used only the most abstemious diet, inflicted on his body the severest penances which the fanaticism of his Age mistook for the means of sanctification, and diverted the prodigal expenditure of his recent hospitalities to as lavish a distribution of alms and charitable uses. His time was entirely occupied between devotional exercises and Ecclesiastical duties; and his desire thenceforth to abstract his mind wholly from mere temporal business was formally declared in the resignation of his office of Chancellor.† Much discussion has been wasted by Historians on the motives which produced this surprising change of conduct: for the subject has usually been converted into a party question between the champions and opponents of the Church of Rome. But when viewed apart, both from Religious prejudice and the worse affectation of an overstrained charity of judgment, a dispassionate survey of the preceding life and subsequent behaviour of Becket will supply to the common sense of mankind only one conclusion. The pious conversion of the new Archbishop was too sudden to be sincere: its exact coincidence with his elevation, and its necessity for his further aggrandizement, were too palpable not to betray the workings of a worldly and ambitious temper. The ambition of Becket, indeed, had nothing in it either sordid or vulgar. He was contented to forego the enjoyment of wealth, luxury, courtly favour, and homage, and even of political office and power: but it was only that he might exchange such toys of common-place passion for that unbounded spiritual ascendancy over the public opinion of his times, to desire which is most congenial to the loftiest natures. He surrendered, indeed, his influence over the affections of his Sovereign, and the temporal government of a Kingdom, but he aspired to gain the veneration of a devout People, the absolute rule of a triumphant Church, and the universal admiration of the Ecclesiastical Order throughout Europe, an Order which engrossed all the Learning and intellectual superiority of its Age.

The first circumstances which hastened an open quarrel

* This tale of the scruples of Becket, however, seems to rest only on his own assertion. St. Thomas, in *Hist. Quadr.* c. xxxiv.
† Stephan. p. 21—25. Gervas. p. 1384.

between the King and the new Primate have been variously related: but it would be to little purpose to inquire the ostensible cause of a rupture, which the position and views of both parties rendered inevitable. The sudden and ostentatious change in the deportment of Becket was sufficient to excite the suspicion and alarm of Henry; and some acts of covert hostility on either side completed the alienation of feeling between the Sovereign and his late Favourite. But the great and final subject of controversy was the extent of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The scandalous consequences of the exemption claimed by the Clergy from trial before any secular tribunals, furnished the King with a fair plea for entering on his long-cherished design of humbling their Order. As the Ecclesiastical Courts, while they pretended to the sole cognizance of offences committed by Clerks, were not vested with the power of inflicting capital or other sufficient punishments, their protection amounted to an impunity for the most enormous crimes. More than a hundred murders, it is said, had thus been perpetrated by Ecclesiastics, and visited with very inadequate penalties, since the King's accession;‡ and Henry, availing himself of the public indignation produced by one of these cases, now demanded that, whenever a Clerk was convicted of any atrocious offence against the laws of the Realm, he should, after degradation from his sacred office, be delivered up to the judgment of the secular tribunals. This reasonable proposal was immediately resisted by Becket; and the King, resolved at once to bring the whole question of Ecclesiastical usurpation to an issue, formally demanded of the Primate and his Bishops, whether they were willing to observe the ancient laws and customs of the Kingdom. They at first endeavoured to evade the demand, by qualifying their reply with a reservation in favour of the privileges of their Order; nor was it until the just anger of the King at this artifice had shown itself with so great violence as to terrify the Bishops, that the bolder Primate was induced by their entreaties to withdraw a saving clause which had been designed to nullify the apparent assent.†

But Henry, not choosing to rest the security of his prerogative even upon an unconditional concession, thus reluctantly yielded, was now determined both to define the ancient usages of the Kingdom, and to reduce the growth of Ecclesiastical pretensions within surer limits, by obtaining the formal sanction of national assent and enactment. For this purpose, he summoned one of those great Councils of the Realm, composed of all its Barons and Prelates, which in that Age were only convened on the most solemn occasions, and which, in the absence of any more direct form of public representation, were reasonably held to be invested with the supreme legislative authority of the Nation. In this Assembly, which met at Clarendon, the King proposed a series of Resolutions declaratory of those customs applicable to Ecclesiastical affairs, which, as derivable from the old Saxon laws, had received a full confirmation, however neglected in more recent practice, by the Charter of his grandfather. These propositions the Lay Barons, who appear to have sided on this occasion wholly with the King, at once cheerfully ratified; and the Clergy, though not without some murmurs, being overawed by the unanimity of the Nobles, attempted no resistance,

• Neubrig. lib. ii. p. 16.

† Stephan. p. 26—32. Gervas. p. 1385. Hoveden, p. 492, 493.

History. and subscribed to sixteen articles, which became deservedly memorable under the name of the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. By the most important of these Articles it was enacted, that all Clerks accused of crimes should, in the first instance, come before the King's Courts, and if there convicted, should forfeit the protection of the Church; that in each suit to which a Clerk was a party, it should be left to the Royal Justices to determine whether the matter properly fell under Civil or Ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that no Priest should quit the Realm nor carry an appeal from any Spiritual tribunal beyond the Archbishop's Court, without the Royal permission; that none of the King's tenants *in capite* should be excommunicated without his consent; that the custody and revenues of vacant dignities in the Church should be vested in the King; that elections to such vacancies should be made on his Writ and with his assent only, by the principal Clergy of the See, or Abbey, if of Royal foundation; that the individual elected should take the oath of fealty and do homage to the King as his liege lord; and that all Clerks holding immediately of the Crown should be subject to the same suit and service in his Courts as his Lay tenants.*

Resistance of Becket. It was not without the greatest reluctance, that Becket had been persuaded or compelled to give his assent to the Constitutions of Clarendon. But he had no sooner retired from the Assembly, than he openly condemned his own compliance; performed self-imposed penances for his weakness; suspended himself from the exercise of the Archbishop's office; and applied to the Pope, both to withhold his ratification from the Articles, and to grant him absolution for his own share in their enactment. The reigning Pontiff, Alexander III., doubtless had the sagacity to view the whole transaction as an important crisis in the great struggle of Civil and Ecclesiastical Power; and when solicited by Henry to confirm the Constitutions, he at once boldly espoused the cause of the English Primate, and rejected the most obnoxious of the Articles. This decisive measure was the less expected by Henry, as he had warmly supported the pretensions of Alexander against the Antipope Victor; and it accordingly filled him with the greatest perplexity and indignation. But his chief resentment was directed against Becket, whom he, not unnaturally, regarded as an ungrateful rebel to his former favour and present authority, and as the instigator of the Papal refusal.

Tyrannical measures of Henry against him. These irritated feelings hurried him into many acts of unjustifiable violence. Hitherto he had appeared to assert no more than those reasonable prerogatives of his Crown, which were necessary for the due execution of the laws; but he now commenced a course of petty persecution against the property of the Archbishop, which was equally iniquitous in itself, and unworthy of his own honour. He deprived Becket of estates which he had formerly bestowed upon him; harassed him with vexatious suits in the Royal Courts for the recovery of fictitious debts, which it was pretended that he had incurred in his Chancellorship; and employed every legal chicanery for his oppression and ruin. The Primate met these attacks with a dignified firmness, which placed his conduct in a striking and advantageous contrast to the meanness of the Royal revenge. Some of the King's unjust demands he satisfied, with a lofty de-

claration that money should never form a subject of contention between his Sovereign and himself; to others he demurred only when their enormous amount flagrantly exposed their design, and exceeded all possibility of payment. Against the partiality of the Royal tribunals, resistance was ineffectual; and it then became evident that flight was his only resource. Retiring secretly from the Court, before which he had been summoned at Northampton, he succeeded in reaching the coast in safety; and crossing the Channel to Flanders, proceeded first to visit the King of France, and afterwards the Pope, who was then residing at Sens. By both these Potentates, from different motives, he was received with the utmost distinction: In one case, as an ally who might be useful in the game of Political hostility; in the other, as a devoted champion to the cause of Ecclesiastical supremacy.*

The favourable reception thus accorded to his enemy was calculated to excite the most serious apprehensions in the mind of Henry, who was not ignorant of the rankling jealousy of the French King, and of the facility with which the turbulent and disaffected Vassals, of his Continental States in particular, might be absolved and seduced from their allegiance. But he met the danger with firmness and ability; and while he laboured to conciliate the Pontiff, took the most effectual precautions for defending his dominions, and for preventing the introduction of any Spiritual decrees into England, either from the Pope or the Primate. At the same time, he pursued the latter with unrelenting hostility; confiscated not only the revenues of his See, but the property of his friends; expelled all those attached to him from the Kingdom to share his exile; and even compelled the French Benedictines to refuse him a continued asylum in their Abbey of Pontigny, by the threat of seizing all the rich possessions of their Order in England. But the proud spirit of Becket mounted only the higher under these persecutions; and it may be believed that, brooding in seclusion over his sufferings, his heated imagination was gradually inflamed into fanatical enthusiasm, which really misled him to confound his cause with that of Religion and Heaven. Thus exalted by pride and passion, and emboldened by the Papal support, he proceeded solemnly to excommunicate all his personal enemies, and all who should maintain the Constitutions of Clarendon; he laid the whole of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canterbury, which embraced the greater part of England, under an Interdict; and while his Sovereign alone was still excepted from his anathemas, Henry was admonished that even this forbearance might have its term.†

But the vigour of the King's measures intimidated the English Clergy from observing the Interdict; and the more cautious temper of the Pope prohibited Becket from proceeding to the last extremity. The danger to Henry of a revolt in his Continental States would have been less easily surmounted, if the French King had been a Prince of more skilful and energetic character. But although Louis was not averse from using every weapon to harass so obnoxious a rival, he wanted perseverance and talent to improve the occasion; and after some years of irritating but desultory hostility, Henry

England.
From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Flight of the Archbishop.

His cause supported by the Pope and King of France.

Firmness of Henry.

Renewed hostilities between him and Louis VII. of France.

* Stephan. p. 32—35. Gervas. p. 1396—1398. Wilkins, *Leyes Sax.* p. 321.

* Stephan. p. 36—46. Gervas. p. 1399—1399. *Epistole St. Thom.* lib. ii. 5—33, &c.

† Stephan. p. 47—56. Gervas. p. 1399—1403. Ilroeden, p. 496—499. *Epist. St. Thom.* lib. i. 13—140, ii. 9—17, &c. *passim*.

History. had the address to lure him into a Peace by the offer of an advantageous Family alliance. By this Treaty, the English Monarch agreed to cede Aquitaine fully to his second son Richard, in order that, espousing a daughter of Louis, the young Prince should hold that great Fief immediately from his father-in-law. Henry flattered Louis still more, by proposing to make him the umpire of his quarrel with Becket; and several conferences were accordingly held upon the subject between the two Monarchs and the exiled Primate. On one of these occasions, Henry, with the appearance at least of great moderation, declared that he would be satisfied if Becket would so behave towards him, as the holiest of the Primate's predecessors had done to the meanest of his. But Becket insolently or prudently evaded a proffer, of which either his pride could ill digest the qualification, or his acuteness foresaw the insecurity.*

Peace of Montmirail. A. D. 1169.

Compromise between Henry and Becket.

At length, however, the meanness of Henry on the one hand, and probably the discovery of Becket on the other, that his protectors, the King of France and the Pope, were becoming equally weary of his quarrel, disposed both parties to an accommodation. But when the articles of a mutual compromise had been adjusted, the reconciliation was still for some time delayed, because Henry objected to afford a pledge of his sincerity by giving the Primate the customary kiss of peace. This he obstinately withheld on the excuse of a vow by which he had rashly bound himself in his anger; and the growth of Becket's distrust was naturally measured by the pertinacity of Henry's refusal. Such conduct in the King has been regarded as an evidence of dissimulation by some Writers, who have overlooked the obvious conclusion that the very avowal of a scruple must defeat any purpose of duplicity: but the circumstance is worthy of remark only as a proof of the importance attached, by the gross superstition of the Age, to a mere quibble of conscience. For, if sincere, Henry was contented to break the spirit, as long as he adhered to the letter of his vow: if otherwise, it was believed that he might more safely break his Moral faith and Kingly honour, than violate an oath of implacable resentment. But this difficulty, like the more material subjects of dispute, was finally waived. It was agreed tacitly to abandon all reference to the original grounds of the quarrel. No recognition of the Constitutions of Clarendon, or other submission, was required from Becket; and the Primate, upon restoration to his Archiepiscopal office and revenues, promised to serve the King with all honour and faithfulness. Upon this compromise, Becket returned to England, and took possession of his See.†

Intemperance of his subsequent conduct.

The first measure of the Primate on his landing is confessed, even by his advocates, to have been rash and intemperate.‡ Henry, according to the practice of that Age, had desired to see his eldest son crowned during his own life-time; and the Archbishop of York having accordingly performed the ceremony, at which it was considered the right of the Primate alone to officiate, the Pope had, at Becket's instigation before the late compromise, issued Decrees of Spiritual censure against the usurping Prelate and his assistants, the Bishops of London and Salisbury. These Instruments having been

originally intrusted to Becket, he no sooner arrived in England than he caused them to be publicly served upon the three Prelates. It is stated that he was provoked to this insult by intelligence that the Bishops, who knew that he carried the papers with him, designed to have seized them on his landing: but it is obvious that the use which he made of the Papal censures was a violation of the spirit at least of the recent Treaty. He shortly followed up this act of hostility by another, which still more plainly showed how little he was disposed to bury in oblivion the offences which had been committed against him by his enemies: for, from the pulpit of his Cathedral at Canterbury, he proceeded publicly to excommunicate two of the King's servants, Ranulf and Robert de Broc, for oppressing his Clergy by their master's command before the accommodation. When the first news of these outrageous aggressions reached Henry in Normandy, he resolved to encounter them by some legal proceedings against the Primate: but reiterated complaints from his servants, of the course which the vindictive Prelate continued to pursue, at length provoked the passionate and fatal exclamation, that "of all the cowards who ate his bread, there was none to rid him of a turbulent Priest."*

This inconsiderate burst of fury was interpreted to literally by four Knights of distinguished rank in the Royal Household, William de Tracy, Richard Brito, Hugh de Moreville, and Reginald Fitz-Urse, who immediately binding themselves mutually by oath to avenge the King's quarrel, quitted the Court in Normandy, and repaired to Canterbury. On their arrival in that City, they rudely thrust themselves into the presence of the Primate; and imperiously desired him to retract his late measures. The dauntless spirit of Becket rose with the very imminence of his personal danger; and he scarcely condescended to make any other reply than an indignant rebuke at the intrusion. Contenting themselves for the moment with menaces sufficiently intelligible, the four Knights withdrew; and their intended victim might either have securely guarded his person, or retired again from his See. But he magnanimously spurned every counsel of precaution; rejected the entreaties of his attendants to absent himself from vespers at the Cathedral; and even refused to allow the doors of the Church to be closed. He had scarcely entered the Choir, when the four Knights, with twelve attendants all in complete armour, burst with drawn swords into the Cathedral. To their loud demand, "Where is the traitor? where is the Archbishop?" he calmly replied, "Here am I, the Archbishop, but no traitor." They told him he must instantly absolve the suspended Bishops: he answered that he would not until they offered satisfaction. To one of the Knights, whose patron he had formerly been, he observed, "Thou I have rendered many services: what wouldst thou with me?" The only reply was an attempt to grasp his person as a prisoner: when, in a momentary ebullition of passion at the insult, he seized the assailant by the gorget, and violently threw him off to some distance. Then, as suddenly recovering his self-possession, he exclaimed that he was ready to die in the name of Christ and in defence of his Church; and bowing his head, he unresistingly awaited the repeated blows of his assassins. The first stroke,

* Gervas. p. 1408. *Epist. St. Thom.* lib. ii. 66.
† Stephan. p. 57—69. Gervas. p. 1412. Hoveden, p. 525.
Epist. St. Thom. lib. v. 21. 45, &c.
‡ Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. p. 23.

* Stephan. p. 70—77. Gervas. p. 1412—1414. *Epist. St. Thom.* lib. v. 34—73.

His.ory.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

General in-
dignation
excited by
this crime.

Danger of
Henry.

The Pope
reconciled
by his sub-
mission.

already aimed at him, having been partially warded off by the only faithful attendant who had not fled, and whose arm it broke, had wounded him but slightly; but the second brought him to the earth; and the third clave his skull and laid him prostrate at the foot of St. Bene's Altar. His murderers desisted not, until they had literally strewed the pavement with his brains.*

The news of this sacrilegious and shocking tragedy was received with universal execration. Among the Clergy throughout Europe, it excited all the indignation which was due to the fate of a man, who having been the most distinguished champion of their Order, was not unjustly deemed a martyr to their rights. By the superstitious Laity, the scene of its perpetration, and the sacred rank of the sufferer, were regarded as fearful aggravations of a crime, the real atrocity of which, divested of these circumstances, would probably have produced far less sensation. The catastrophe altogether had the effect of incapacitating men's minds for any calm retrospect to the original merits of the quarrel between Henry and the murdered Primate; and the triumph of the Church was completed in the one unmingled feeling of Religious horror, which superseded all differences of opinion on the question of Ecclesiastical encroachments. Henceforth, the King of England, instead of receiving the support of Princes and Nobles who were equally interested with himself in repressing the growth of Ecclesiastical usurpation, might expect to find the strongest sympathies of mankind enlisted against a cause, which his partisans had stained with so foul a murder. Henry was too quick-sighted not to perceive his danger, and too sagacious not to discover the only expedient for averting the storm which threatened to overwhelm him with destruction. He showed—and there appears no reason to doubt his sincerity—the deepest grief at the catastrophe; and immediately dispatched an embassy to the Pope to assert his own innocence of any participation in the deed, and to deprecate the vengeance of the Church against himself for the guilt of his servants. At the same time he confessed and deplored the unintentional encouragement, which he was sensible that his rash ebullition of anger had given to the assassins; and he declared that, on such account only, as a self-imposed penance for the intemperate language which had tended to the fatal result, he would submit to purge himself by oath, of the suspicion of having desired or designed the murder of the Primate.

The Pope, who saw that more was to be gained for the cause of Ecclesiastical supremacy by accepting his apologies than by pushing matters to extremity against him, improved the victory of the Church to the greatest advantage, while he affected to use it with moderation. He therefore contented himself with excommunicating in general terms the murderers of Becket and all their abettors.† He received by his Legates the solemn and

public purgation of the King, from whom, as the price of reconciliation, oaths were at the same time extorted; that he would render due obedience to Alexander III. as the true Pope; restore the possessions of the See of Canterbury; abstain from enforcing any customs which had not been introduced before his Reign, or from preventing appeals to the Holy See, in Ecclesiastical affairs; and assume the Cross against the Infidels, if called upon, for three years. Upon these conditions, absolution was finally granted to Henry; and a termination was put to a contest which had disturbed several years of his Reign, and latterly foreboded the most disastrous consequences to his life and fortunes.* The clause by which he might seem to abandon the Constitutions of Clarendon was far too loosely worded to convey any definite meaning; and the King, on his side, was probably, by this time, but too happy to close his struggle with the Church by an accommodation which, if it formally confirmed the Ecclesiastical immunities of preceding Reigns, left him at liberty in detail to contract their extent by disputing their prescription.

While his negotiations with the Papal See were yet pending, and probably as a means of escaping from the embarrassing position in which he was personally placed by remaining in his Continental dominions, Henry had undertaken an enterprise, which was destined to prove the most memorable of his Reign. This was the conquest, or rather an assumption of the paramount Sovereignty, of Ireland. It has been usual to introduce the details of that event by a long reference to the previous condition of the Island: but the early History of the Irish, like that of every People in a similar state of utter barbarism, is obscure and fabulous; their political Annals, if the term may be used, present nothing, so far as the genuineness of such records may be admitted, but a confused series of savage wars and petty revolutions; and the establishment and fate of the Christian Church in the Island, which was very early founded,—the only part of its primitive History which may claim any real interest,—belongs to the Ecclesiastical Division of our subject. It may, therefore, in this place, suffice to say, that the Irish People were evidently of the great Celtic race, with an admixture of colonies of Northmen, who had occupied parts of the sea-coast, and built several places of trade;† that the state of Society among the native Tribes was pastoral, predatory, and warlike; and that they were governed by a number of petty Chieftains, more or less subject to five Kings of as many Provinces: Connaught, Leinster, Ulster, and Tuamond and Desmond, or North and South Munster. But it may be discerned that, amidst the incessant vicissitudes of barbarian strife, a kind of paramount authority over the whole Island was usually conceded to the most powerful of these Provincial Sovereigns; and this supremacy, at the epoch before us, was claimed by the O'Connors, Kings of Connaught.‡

* Stephan. p. 77—85. Gervas. p. 1414—1417. Matt. Paris, p. 86, 87.

† The fate of the assassins of Becket was curious. They had at first fled to the Castle of Knaresborough in Yorkshire, which belonged to Hugh de Moreville, one of their number; but the King, though he abstained from punishing by the secular law the zeal for his service which had fatally prompted them, was compelled, lest he should appear to countenance their crime, to abandon them to the judgment of the Church. To obtain relief from the Papal sentence of excommunication, they then made a penitential journey to Rome, whence the Pope ordered them to proceed, in expiation of their guilt, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem: where some, or all, of

them died and were buried before the Gate of the Temple. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. p. 25.

* Gervas. p. 1417—1422. *Epist. St. Thom.* lib. v. 84, 85, 88, 89. Hoveden. p. 526—529.

† O'Connor, *Prolegom.* &c. *ob init.* It is remarkable that the Northmen, who, from the quarter whence they came, were here called Ostmen, or Eastmen, and who at first ravaged Ireland with their insatiable fury, no sooner became comparatively civilized, built towns, and settled permanently on the Coast, than they were attacked in turn and oppressed by the wilder natives. Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 750.

‡ O'Connor, *Prolegom.* lib. vii. lib. ix. Giraldus, p. 739.

England.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Ireland.

Retrospect
Irish, like that of every People in a similar state of its condition.

History.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Views entertained by the Anglo-Norman Kings for its subjugation.

Both the Conqueror of England and his sons appear to have entertained some projects for the subjugation of Ireland; from which probably they were only diverted by the distractions of their own unquiet Reigns. But Henry II., even from the first year after his accession to the English Crown, had evidently formed more serious intentions of prosecuting the same design: for one of the earliest acts of his Reign was to solicit and obtain from Pope Adrian III. a formal sanction for assuming the Sovereignty of Ireland. It has been disputed whether this suit was in submission to the right already claimed by the Pontiffs to dispose of the temporal Kingdoms of the Earth; or merely intended to propitiate the Papal support by the prospect of extending the Spiritual jurisdiction of the Romish See to an Island, by the Clergy of which the authority of the Popes had been very faintly, if at all, recognised. But it was natural that Adrian should in any case construe the application in the sense most agreeable to the Papal pretensions; and he issued a Bull accordingly, by which he granted the Sovereignty of Ireland to Henry and his heirs.* The King, however, found his Barons, whom he soon after assembled in a great Council to deliberate on the enterprise, averse from its prosecution; † and engaging in other designs on the Continent, he forgot or suspended his first scheme for many years: until, while he was residing in Aquitaine in the height of his dispute with Becket, his ambition was tempted by the appearance at his Court of one of the Irish Princes.

Occasion furnished to Henry for prosecuting their designs.

This was Dermot, King of Leinster, who, in consequence of a feud which he had originally excited by carrying off the wife of O'Ruarc, Chieftain of Leirrim, had, after some changes of fortune, been finally expelled from his dominions by Roderic O'Connor of Connaught, the King-paramount and supporter of O'Ruarc. Dermot, to secure the powerful protection of Henry, now came personally to do homage to him, and upon these terms obtained his consent to levy a force of English adventurers for the recovery of his dominions. With this Royal sanction, he found little difficulty in inducing Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, with two Knights, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, all three men of broken fortunes, to engage in his service. They successively enlisted and carried over small Bodies of troops to join the exiled Prince, who had secretly preceded them to Ireland; and by the aid of their mailed cavalry and archers, who easily prevailed over the brave but half-armed and undisciplined natives, Dermot was not only restored to his dominions, but gained many victories over his enemies. Wexford, Waterford, and Dublin rapidly fell by storm before the English auxiliaries; and in attempting to expel the invaders, Asculf, the Northman Chieftain of Dublin, the King-paramount O'Connor, and his dependant O'Ruarc, were severally defeated with fatal slaughter. Meanwhile Dermot, who had begun to aspire to the Sovereignty of the whole Island, died in the midst of these conquests; and the Earl of Pembroke, who had espoused his daughter Eva, with the promise of succeeding him, immediately assumed the Royal authority.‡

Jealousy of Henry.

But the fortunate adventurer had soon reason for alarm at the jealousy which was excited by his enter-

prise in his own Sovereign, with whom he had fallen into disgrace before these transactions. The distrust of Henry was with difficulty appeased by the politic submission of the Earl: who, returning to England to meet the King, assured him that he had effected his conquests only for his liege lord; and immediately surrendering Dublin and the other captured Cities to his disposal, did homage for the rest of his Irish possessions, as a Vassal in chief of the English Crown. Henry, at the moment glad to evade the expected visit of the Papal Legates, hastily assembled a large fleet and numerous land force at Milford Haven: whence embarking for Ireland, with the Earl of Pembroke in his train, he landed at Waterford; marched to Dublin; received the submission of most of the native Princes, who were overawed by the splendour of his Royal progress and the imposing array of his troops; and before his departure, though he added nothing to the conquests of Strongbow, extended his real or nominal supremacy over four out of the five Provinces of the Island.* A few years afterwards, having obtained a Papal Bull authorizing him to erect his conquests into a great Fief of the English Crown in favour of one of his sons, he bestowed it upon the youngest, Prince John; and sent him over to assume the government with the title of Lord of Ireland and a numerous force. But such were the disorders caused by the dissensions of the English adventurers under the feeble rule of the youthful Prince, that his father was compelled within a few months to recall him, and to appoint in his room Hugh de Lacy, a Nobleman of courage and ability, as Lord Deputy:—a title under which the government long continued to be administered by an English officer. But the effective authority of the Lord Deputy did not reach beyond the pale of the English conquests, which, during the Age before us, comprehended little more than the Eastern coast, with a connecting chain of fortresses from Downpatrick to Cork; the intruders were engaged with various fortune in perpetual hostilities against the native Princes; and so obstinate was the resistance of a gallant though uncivilized and divided People,—so slow, notwithstanding the superiority of their enemies in arts and arms, the progress of permanent conquest,—that the total subjugation of Ireland was scarcely effected at the distance of four Centuries from the original settlement.†

The paramount Sovereignty of Ireland, therefore, was long a barren honour of the English Crown. But as an undue importance was at first attached to its acquisition, it conferred a momentary splendour on the Reign in which it was effected, and dazzled the Age with the semblance of a glorious conquest. In this respect, the enterprise was eminently serviceable to Henry. For having thus easily enhanced the fame of his policy and arms, being now freed from the disquietude of his long struggle with Becket, and relieved by his reconciliation with the Papal See from the dangerous consequences which the murder of that Prelate had threatened, he seemed to have attained the summit of fortune and greatness. He had, in fact, become the most successful and powerful Prince in Europe; and as such was equally respected and feared by his contemporaries. But he was destined, among a thousand other examples of Royalty, to prove and to feel the vanity of human grandeur;

* Giraldus, p. 787. *Irish Sax.* (quod Wilkins) p. 319.

† *Chron. Norman.* p. 290.

‡ Giraldus, p. 760—775.

* Giraldus, p. 775, 776. *Gervas.* p. 1420. *Guil. Neubrig.* lib. ii. p. 26.

† Giraldus, p. 777—807. *Howden.* p. 322—328.

History. and from the very season at which he had gathered the full harvest of ambition, the declining years of his existence began to be harassed by machinations of foreign hostility, and by the more cruel persecution of filial ingratitude. The natural jealousy with which the preponderance of his vast possessions, and his personal talents and prosperity, were regarded by other Princes, caused an extensive confederacy to be organized against him, with closer concert and greater secrecy than was usual in the loose combinations of that rude state of political society. The French Monarch was the principal mover of the plot; the assistance of the King of Scots, William the Lion, was engaged, partly through alarm at the increasing power of a formidable neighbour, partly by the hope of obtaining Northumbria for his share of the spoil; and the Earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois were tempted by similar views, the first of receiving the County of Kent, and the two latter of dismembering the Continental Provinces of a common enemy.*

ellion of But the confederates relied less on their own united arms, than on their success in dividing the power and breaking the spirit of the English King, by the agency of the unnatural foes whom they stirred up in the bosom of his own family. Whatever political motives had mingled with his parental affection, Henry had deserved the gratitude of his children by the splendid establishments which he had fondly prepared for them even during his own life. Henry Courtmanteau, the eldest, he had caused to be crowned as his successor to the English throne; Richard, the second, he had invested with the great Fief of Aquitaine; and for Geoffrey, the third, he had secured the Duchy of Brittany by betrothing him to his Ward Constance, the heiress of that Province.† The first practices of the French Monarch were tried upon Courtmanteau, as his son-in-law; and the young Prince was easily instigated, first, to demand from his father the complete possession either of Normandy or of England for enabling him to maintain the dignity of his nominal Crown, and on meeting with a refusal, to throw himself into the arms of the confederates. But the bitterest enemy of Henry was his own Queen Eleanor, whose affections he had long alienated by his numerous infidelities;‡ and who had learned to

regard him with all the hatred, which the sense of injury could inspire in a passionate and unprincipled woman. She it was, who not only encouraged the rebellion of her eldest son, but induced his two younger brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, then mere boys, to imitate his example, and herself fled from her husband's Court.*

Henry was more heart-stricken by this unnatural combination against him in his own House, than appalled by the formidable array of his foreign and domestic enemies. On his very Vassals he could place no dependence; for they had been seduced from their allegiance by his wife and children. But with the courage and activity which always distinguished him, he immediately by his god levied a great army of the Flemish mercenaries, or Brabançons, and soon made head against all his Continental opponents. The person of Eleanor, by a lucky chance, fell into his hands at the commencement of hostilities; his rebellious children were thus deprived of her evil counsels; and he detained her in captivity, with one short interval, during the remainder of his life. Without any single action of importance, his forces were every where victorious in the Continental war: but in England the confederates had succeeded in throwing the whole Kingdom into confusion; and while malecontent Barons appeared in arms in every quarter upon pretence of supporting the cause of Henry Courtmanteau, that young Prince himself was preparing an invasion from the French ports; and the Scottish King had poured his barbarous forces into the Northern Cantons.†

On the report of these complicated dangers, Henry flew from Normandy to England; and his presence alone sufficed to overawe the rebels and paralyze the designs of the invaders. The first act of the King after landing at Southampton may be received as a striking proof of the degree, to which the strongest minds of that Age were the slaves of a grovelling superstition. Instead of attributing the ingratitude of his children to his own false indulgence and crooked policies, or the hostility of his revengeful Queen to the provocation of his dissolute life; instead of seeking in his own ambition and misconduct for the seeds of all the retributive evil which had fallen upon him; he imagined that the wrath of Heaven had been kindled by an involuntary offence. He believed that his misfortunes were judgments of God against him for the rash exclamation by which he had unconsciously instigated the murderers of Becket. To expiate this guilt, he hastened to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Archbishop, whom the Pope had lately canonized; and the greatest Sovereign of Europe, barefooted and in the garb of a penitent, before the shrine of his ancient enemy, after publicly and solemnly appealing to Heaven that he was innocent of having designed the murder of the Saint, implored pardon for his unintentional fault, and submitted his naked back to be scourged by the Monks of Canterbury. At the con-

England.
From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.
Successful
resistance
of
Henry.

His pil-
grimage to
the shrine
of Becket.
A. D.
1174.

* Gervas. p. 1424. Hoveden, p. 532.

† The Family alliance which the policy of Henry had led him to contract with the King of France, produced no other fruits than dissension and misery: but he concluded a marriage for Maud, one of his daughters, which, though probably less regarded at the time and not unclouded with vicissitudes, was endowed with more auspicious fortune, in commingling the blood of the Plantagenets and Guelfs. To Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, the chief of the latter House, which was then in the plenitude of its original pride and power, the Princess Maud was married in the year 1165; and, by a singular chance, the Duke, in his subsequent reverses, twice found an asylum in a Country, over which his posterity by Maud, after an interval of above five Centuries of comparative obscurity, were fated to reign with glory and happiness. It is from William, the fourth son of Henry the Lion, whom Maud bore to him during his exile in England, that the present Royal family of Great Britain deduces the right line of its illustrious descent.

‡ The most celebrated among the rivals who are supposed to have provoked the jealousy of Eleanor, was Rosamond, daughter of Lord Clifford, the "Fair Rosamond" of our Romances, by whom the King had two natural sons. But the tale of the deadly revenge of Eleanor, and the tragical fate of her victim, appears to be wholly fabulous; and it may be learned from Hoveden, (p. 712.) that Rosamond died peaceably in the Convent of Godstow, whither she had retired to reside, by the penance of her latter years, the errors of her youth. The King, says the Chronicler, was kind for her sake

to the Nuns of Godstow, who buried her in their choir; and he sent them a silken pall to hang over her tomb, as well as costly lamps to illuminate it. But it seems that the Bishop of Lincoln was scandalised by these honours to the memory of one "as frail as beauties;" and obliged the Nuns to exhum her body and cast it into the common cemetery, telling them that the mistress of a King was no better than the mistress of a humbler man: which indeed was true, though the justice of the sentiment will hardly excuse the indecent and uncharitable insult against the mortal remains of the fair penitent, by which it was accompanied.

* Hoveden, p. 536. Neubrig. lib. ii. p. 27.

† Gervas. p. 1424. Hoveden, p. 536—538. Neubrig. lib. ii. p. 28—33.

History.

From
A. D.
1066.

to
A. D.
1159.

Capture of
the King of
Scots.

Peace of
Montlouis.
A. D.
1175.

Henry en-
joys a period
of tranqui-
lity.

clusion of this edifying* scene of Royal degradation, which the Clergy were careful to improve by a Sermon to the congregation assembled in the Cathedral, Henry resumed the more dignified courage and bearing of his natural character, and prepared to encounter every peril with his usual promptness and energy.†

The capture of his dangerous enemy, the King of Scots, who had already commenced his invasion and was surprised by Ralph de Granville, while tilting with a few Knights under the castle of Alhwick, was the first auspicious event which raised the hopes of Henry; and the alleged coincidence! of this success with the late pilgrimage to Canterbury failed not to confirm the superstitious confidence of the English Monarch and his party, that his atonement at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket had been accepted by Heaven. Perhaps this belief was as serviceable to the King, as the Clergy of Canterbury found it conducive to the reputation of their Saint. For from the same period the forces of his enemies melted away in every direction. The Scotch army on learning the captivity of their Sovereign immediately dispersed; the rebel English Barons laid down their arms and submitted to the Royal clemency; and Henry was enabled to despatch into Normandy the levies which he had collected to repel the threatened descent of his own son from France. The war which was thus diverted anew into his Continental States produced no signal event; and both Louis VII. of France and Henry, as they now found themselves advancing in years, having become sincerely desirous of a pacification, the Peace of Montlouis, of which we have elsewhere related the circumstances,‡ was concluded without difficulty. The King of Scots was the chief sufferer by the war; for he was compelled to purchase his release by the humiliation, not only of renewing in his own person the homage which he had formerly paid to the English Crown, but also of summoning his Vassals to swear fealty to Henry as their lord paramount, and of surrendering several Castles and hostages as pledges of his good faith.||

After this pacification, Henry was at length permitted for some years to enjoy an unusual interval of repose.¶ But as his sons grew up into full manhood, they disco-

vered tempers equally incapable of filial obedience to him, or of fraternal agreement among themselves. Henry, the eldest, was foremost in exciting new family convulsions by an attempt to exact homage for Aquitaine from his next brother, Richard. On the refusal of Richard, Henry, in concert with Geoffrey, the third brother, invaded that Duchy with an army of Brabant; and the efforts of the old King to reconcile his sons being resented as injuries by the two latter, they turned their arms against their father also. It would, however, serve little purpose to trace the alternations of hostility and agreement, by which these disgraceful family feuds were varied. They were only suspended for a time by the premature death of young Henry, the agonized remorse of whose last hours offered but a feeble atonement for the sorrows which his undutiful life had inflicted upon his parent.* Geoffrey did not long survive his elder brother; but his death only produced new contentions: for Richard, now become their apparent to the English Crown, and jealous of his father's affection for John, his only surviving brother, found or feigned several pretences for flying into open rebellion. The chief ostensible cause of dispute was the Princess Adelaïs, daughter of Louis VII. of France; and the same who formerly when a child had been betrothed to Richard, and consigned to the care of his father: but the King, from some jealousy of his son's designs, had ever since kept her immured in one of his Castles, and now refused to allow the nuptials to be concluded.† Richard immediately leagued himself with Philippe Auguste, the successor of Louis VII.; who had for some years filled the throne of France, and who, from the commencement of his Reign, seems to have formed that insidious policy of fomenting the family discords of the Plantagenets, through which he finally succeeded in possessing himself of the greater portion of their ample Continental inheritance. Aided by this young and vigorous Monarch, Richard, at the head of the malecontent Barons of Normandy, experienced little trouble in driving his father before him through that Duchy; and Henry, enfeebled by bodily infirmities, and oppressed by a sense of the weakness of his age, was glad to conclude a Peace on almost any terms with his enemies. His health had long been declining; but his heart was broken by a discovery which he made in the course of his negotiations with Philippe, that his favourite son, John, had basely entered into the conspiracy against him. From that hour he fell into a settled melancholy, which was followed by a mortal fever; and in a few days he breathed his last, deserted by all his family but an illegitimate son, at the Castle of Chinon, near Saumur.‡

pears that no resistance was made by either party to the justice of this award. Rymer, vol. iv. p. 43—50.

* Gervas. p. 1486—1483. Hoveden. p. 620, 621.

† There appears to have been no foundation for the contemporary scandal, which attributed Henry's seduction of Adelaïs to a passion he had himself conceived for her. See p. 64 of this volume.

‡ Gervas. p. 1545. Hoveden. p. 622—654. Gul. Neuburg lib. ii. p. 25. The reign of Henry II. presents a remarkable epoch in the History of English Law, by several changes and improvements which that Monarch introduced or prosecuted in the internal administration of the Kingdom: especially by the regular appointment of Itinerant Justices; the gradual substitution of Trial by Grand Jury for the Wager of Battle; and the commutation of Feudal military service for a scutage or pecuniary payment. But the progress of these important measures may be more appropriately traced in a distinct inquiry into the growth of the Legal and Constitutional Institutions of our Country.

* The reader may find all its particulars related with singular complacency and dramatic skill by the Roman Catholic Historian of England, Dr. Lingard, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 398—393.

† Gervas. p. 1427. Hoveden. p. 538, 539. Neuburg. lib. ii. p. 35.

‡ Dr. Lingard rebukes Lord Hailes for denying that the King of Scots' capture took place "on the very morning on which Henry arose repentant and reconciled from the shrine of St. Thomas." It would seem almost an insult to the understanding of the reader to point out the utter futility of the whole question, which turns on the fact of a mere accidental coincidence of dates: but it is amusing to observe the earnestness of the real which is employed in elaborating and maintaining a point of so deep concernment to the honour of a Romish Saint.

§ Vide p. 621 of this volume.

|| Rymer, *Fœdero*, vol. i. p. 39. Matt. Paris, p. 91.

¶ It was during this period of Henry's reign that Alfonso, King of Castile, and his uncle, Sancho, King of Navarre, paid a high tribute to the reputation for judicial integrity, which the firmness and equity of his domestic administration had obtained for him, by choosing him for their umpire in a destructive contest in which they had long been engaged; and the confidence expressed in his impartiality by the King of Navarre was the more striking, because his rival Alfonso had married a daughter of Henry. Both Princes having agreed to request his judgment between them, swore by their Ambassadors to accept and observe its provisions; and Henry (c. n. 1177) having summoned a solemn Court of his Barons and Prelates, and taken their opinion on the case, pronounced sentence, that the two Kings should mutually restore the lands belonging to each other which they had seized, and that the King of Castile should satisfy his uncle's claims by a pecuniary payment. It ap-

History.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

accession of
Richard I.
(Corr. de
Jou.)

A. D.

1189.

His Coro-
nation.

Manners
of the Jews
in England.

On his decease, the Crown of England, with the possession of all his extensive Continental Fiefs, was peaceably assumed by Richard as his eldest surviving son. From the unfeeling and furious disposition which that Prince had already exhibited in his rebellion against his father, his new subjects might draw the most ominous expectations of a tyrannical reign; and they had assuredly full reason to dread the accession of a youthful Monarch of so fiery a temperament, while all his impulses were still unbridled, and his passions unchastened. It was, therefore, not without general satisfaction that men observed, in his first acts after his father's decease, that his nature was not inaccessible to some compunctious emotions. As soon as he saw the lifeless remains of the parent whom he had harassed to the grave, he burst into tears, called himself a parricide, and uttered many bitter self-reproaches. Nor did he fail to give a signal indication, that this was no momentary ebullition of remorse. For, dismissing from his service all the evil advisers who had counselled and encouraged his rebellion, he replaced them by those Ministers who had remained faithful to his father. At the same time, as if to expiate his misconduct to one parent by his honour of the other, he caused his mother Eleanor to be immediately released from durance, and intrusted her with the government of England until his own arrival from Normandy.*

As soon as he had settled with his former ally and future rival, Philippe Auguste of France, the differences between their two Kingdoms which had been recently made the pretext of hostilities against his father, Richard embarked for England, and celebrated his Coronation with a magnificence which has been deemed worthy by the Chroniclers of particular description † The ceremony was, however, disturbed by a transaction so horrid, as strikingly to expose, amidst a display of Religious solemnities and Royal splendour, the revolting superstition and sanguinary barbarism of the times. Some wealthy Jews had the imprudence, despite of a Proclamation forbidding the presence of any of their race at the Coronation, to intrude themselves into the Palace with rich offerings to the new King: apparently hoping to conciliate his favour, and to obtain a renewal of the protection which, in the late Reign, it had been one of the most enlightened and equitable acts of Henry's government to extend to their nation. But they were no sooner perceived in the crowd, than they were driven back with blows and insults: the savage bigotry of the bystanders was kindled by the very sight of unbelievers so hateful; and the popular thirst for their blood being artfully assisted by a wicked rumour, which it was the

interest of their numerous debtors to spread, that the King had ordered a massacre of the whole race, this imaginary command was too gladly obeyed. The houses of all the Jews in London were attacked, plundered, and fired, and the unhappy inmates, after a desperate defence, were remorselessly slaughtered or driven into the flames. The cupidity of the mob being once excited, the conflagration and pillage were extended until so many of the rich Christian citizens suffered equally with the Jews, that the King was at length compelled to interpose the Royal authority for the restoration of order: though only three of the ringleaders received condign punishment; and they on the charge, not of the murder of the Jews, but of having fired the houses of Christians. But the cruel persecution of the Jews was not confined to the Capital; and at York in particular, where some hundreds of them had sought refuge in the Castle, a still more appalling tragedy was enacted. For finding themselves unequal to the defence of the place, these devoted people slew their wives and children with their own hands, to prevent them from falling into the power of their merciless enemies, and then finished the work of immolation by stabbing each other. The few trembling survivors who had wanted courage to share the general fate, surrendered to the mercy of their persecutors, only to encounter a more cruel death. The real instigation and object of these cruelties are discoverable in the fact, that the murderers immediately repaired to the Cathedral, and burned all the bonds of Christian debtors which the Jews had there deposited.*

While these dreadful scenes disgraced his Kingdom, Richard was eagerly employed in preparations for embarking in the 11th Crusade, in which he had engaged in concert with the King of France. To regulate the administration of England during his absence, he called a great Council of the Realm; appointed William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and his Justiciary, Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, Co-Regents in his absence; invested his mother with an ample dower; and imprudently bestowed no less than one-third of the lands of the Kingdom on his worthless brother John. Having made these arrangements, and exhausted every tyrannical and unbecoming expedient to accumulate a vast treasure for the wants of his enterprise, he finally sailed from the English shores to join his Royal confederate in France.† But his departure will naturally divert our attention to a new theatre of action; and many of the succeeding events of his chivalrous but disorderly Reign must be related in the continued History of the Crusades.

England.

From
A. D.
1066.
to
A. D.
1189.

Prepara-
tions of
Richard to
join the
11th Cru-
sade.

His depar-
ture on that
enterprise.

* Matt. Paris, p. 107. Hoveden, p. 655.
† Gervas. p. 1049. Hoveden, p. 658.

* Hoveden, p. 659. Neubrig, lib. iv. p. 7—11.
† Matt. Paris, p. 109. Hoveden, p. 662.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

ANNALS OF FRANCE, GERMANY, AND ITALY, DURING THE XIIIth CENTURY.

History. I. On the death of Richard I. of England, the succession to both his English and Continental dominions was contested between Arthur, son of Geoffroi of Brittany, his third brother, and John Lackland, his fourth brother. Not a doubt could exist that the claim of the former was the more legitimate of the two. But the youth had as yet attained no more than his thirteenth year, while John, in the full vigour of manhood, derived strong support from his active and ambitious mother Eleanor, and advanced a pretended Will of the late King in his favour. By rapid movements, he overran the greater part of Normandy, possessed himself of the treasures of that Duchy deposited in the Castle of Chinon, and was invested with its Crown and Sword at Rouen, by the hands of the Archbishop. Arthur, with his widowed mother Constance, unable to make head against the usurper, sought protection from Philippe Auguste; who first placed his illustrious clients in security at Paris, and then occupied with French garrisons the strongholds of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, which still preserved fidelity to their rightful master.

The King of France immediately notified to John that he by no means considered the Treaty concluded with his deceased brother as binding towards a successor, and he accordingly proceeded to demonstrations of hostility. In an interview between the two Princes held after John's return from his Coronation in London, Philippe assumed and maintained a haughty tone of superiority; but it was soon manifest that in espousing the cause of Arthur, he consulted his own interests more than those of the injured youth. Scarcely had Guillaume des Roches, Seneschal of Anjou, one of the most active of the young Duke's Vassals,* recovered for him the Castle of Balun, before he received instructions from Philippe to raze it to the ground. It was in vain that Des Roches remonstrated against this most inequitable and unexpected order, representing that it was not for the destruction of their own Country, and for the overthrow of its surest defences, that the Bretons had taken arms: and when he too plainly perceived that it was to subjugate the inheritance of Arthur to his own sway, not to restore it to its legitimate Sovereign, that this false friend had assumed his protection, he sought a reconciliation with John; deeming that, in a choice between the two parties who equally coveted his dominions, the young Prince might hope for safety from a near kinsman, rather than from a stranger in blood. On the

very day, however, on which Guillaume des Roches presented his illustrious charge to his Uncle, he received certain intimation of a treacherous design upon Arthur's life; and hastily concerting his removal, he once again intrusted the unhappy child to the hollow guardianship of Philippe.

The King of France now claimed for Arthur no more than the restoration of the single Duchy of Brittany; and upon receiving for himself the County of Evreux, he permitted the King of England to enter into possession of the Vexin and the rest of Normandy. A more advantageous clause in this Treaty stipulated that on the marriage of Louis of France, Philippe's eldest son, with Blanche of Castile, daughter of Alphonso VIII. and of Eleanor, sister of the King of England, all the possessions of John in Berri, and twenty thousand marks of silver should be paid as the dower of the Bride. The Infanta, although not yet beyond her fourteenth year, is recognised by the general voice of contemporary writers as preeminent in beauty, in accomplishments, and in intellect; a reputation which will be fully avouched in the course of our succeeding narrative.

This accommodation was perhaps hastened by the continued embroilment of Philippe with the Court of Rome, and the fierce denunciations in which Innocent III. persisted, in order to procure the reinstatement of the divorced Ingeburge in her conjugal rights. France was visited with that most terrific of all Papal weapons, an Interdict; and it was not till after every Religious office and most of the functions of Civil life had been suspended during the greater part of a year, that the Pontiff relented, and receiving assurance that Philippe would attend a Council summoned to meet at Soissons, and there plead his matrimonial Cause against Commissioners from Denmark. The Bull which convoked this Judicial Assembly named the time of its meeting with singular precision, at the expiration of six months, six weeks, six days, and six hours.* On the gathering of this Council a long course of intrigue ensued, alike disgraceful to the Cardinals and to the King; till the latter, piqued at the haughty demeanour and the long delays of the Papal Commissioners, of his own accord, before the Legate could pronounce judgment, declared that he was reconciled with Ingeburge. That ill-fated Princess, however, notwithstanding this formal acknowledgment of her claims, experienced little change in the harshness of her former treatment; and even when her rival, Marie of Meran, was

* Nevertheless Guillaume des Roches afterwards fought under John's banners against Arthur at the siege of Mirabeau, and the cause of his change of sides is unexplained by Historians. Duro, *Hist. de Bretagne*, liv. iii. tom. i. p. 411.

* Simondsi, *Hist. des Français*, vi. 195. and the authorities there cited.

History.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
With Cru-
sade.

Fresh out-
rage by
John.

A. D.
1202.
He is sum-
moned be-
fore the
Peers of
France.

Philippe de-
clares War.

Sanguine
hopes of
Arthur.

removed by death, before the close of the same year, the undisputed Queen of France continued to be little other than a captive.*

When the Preaching of Foulques de Neuilly once again summoned the bravest Knights of Europe to that singular expedition which, as an episode in the relief of the Holy Sepulchre, transferred the Greek Empire to a Latin dynasty, Philippe Auguste had derived sufficient wisdom from his experience in the III^d Crusade to decline association with the numerous warriors whom France poured forth anew to the hazardous enterprise. A war, indeed, nearer home soon engrossed his attention, and on a fresh outrage committed by John of England, the great Feudatories invoked their common Sovereign to punish the delinquency of their brother Vassal. Isabelle d'Angoulême, long betrothed to Hugues le Brun, Comte de la Marche, had been torn from him by the lawless passion of John; and the ravisher having divorced a blameless consort, Alvisia of Gloucester, became the husband of the French Noble's destined Bride.† Philippe temporized in the outset, perhaps from want of sufficient preparation. He held a conference with John at Andely, and afterwards entertained him at Paris with distinguished magnificence, abandoning his own Palace to his guest's use.‡ But no sooner had he ascertained that the English Barons were disaffected from their King; that Anjou, Poitou, Maine, and Touraine still inviolably adhered to Arthur of Brittany; and that the Normans were well inclined to disembarass themselves from the yoke of the usurper, than he threw off the mask, openly admitted the appeal of Hugues le Brun, and summoned John to attend his Court, during the fifteen days which succeeded the Festival of Easter, to perform homage for the Duchy of Aquitaine, and to "render sufficient answers to any charge which the King of France might adduce against him."§ Far from rejecting this summons as offensive to his dignity, John, in obedience to the spirit of Feudalism, promised to attend the Assembly of his Peers; and consented to the forfeiture of two Castles, the keys of Normandy, in case of failure. Whether a sense of kingly pride or of personal danger afterwards deterred him from repairing to Paris, cannot now be ascertained; but upon his non-appearance by himself or by proxy, and upon the refusal of his Governors to surrender the pledged Castles, Philippe invested and forced them, reduced many other strong-holds in Normandy, and again declared himself the protector of Arthur of Brittany.

For a short period the hopes of that young Prince were keenly, and not unreasonably excited. He received Knighthood from the sword of Philippe, was betrothed to his daughter Mary,|| a child in her sixth year, and was invested with the actual possession of Brittany, the entire sovereignty of which had fallen to him by the recent decease of his mother Constance. Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine were to be his when conquered; and relinquishing the single title of King of England to his Uncle, he assumed that of Duke of Aquitaine. In return, he conceded many new privileges to the King of France in the Provinces for which he acknowledged himself his Vassal, and he wholly

abandoned to him whatever portion of Normandy might hereafter be won by his arms. Two hundred Knights of Poitou, headed by the chief Barons of that Province, and a proportionate number of inferior retainers, enabled him to besiege the Castle of Mirabeau, the residence of his grandame Eleanor. Upon her capture much of his ultimate success was thought to depend; for not only was she to be ranked among the most virulent of his enemies, but her stirring spirit had so greatly contributed to the elevation, and her extensive influence still so powerfully assisted in the maintenance of John, that no price, it was supposed, would be deemed too considerable for her ransom if she could once be taken. The little town in which she had fixed her Court was an easy conquest; but the Queen with obstinate and unbroken resolution defended a tower of her Castle till John arrived to her relief. The remainder of Arthur's Tragedy is differently related, and the version most familiar to our ears, as that adopted by Shakspeare, with the exception of a strange mistake as to place, is not without both probability and competent authority in its support. In a surprise by night, as the French Chroniclers relate,* in an open battle by day, as is affirmed by the English,† the young Duke was so completely routed, that not one of his knightly followers escaped captivity or the sword; and the fortresses of Normandy and of England were crowded with illustrious prisoners, many of whom were condemned to perish by the slow agonies of famine. In the dungeons of Corfe Castle alone, two and twenty gentlemen of birth are said to have encountered this barbarous fate.‡ Arthur himself was transferr'd, in the first instance, to Falaise, and afterwards to Rouen; in both which places he was subjected to most rigorous confinement;§ and it is believed that John, unable to prevail upon the Governors|| of either of those strong-holds to leud themselves to a foul act of butchery, repaired by night in a small boat to the foot of the tower in the latter City, in which his nephew was imprisoned, poniarded him with his own hand, and threw his body into the Seine. A report was then diligently circulated that the youth had died of chagrin, or had been drowned in attempting to escape. The deed, be it what it may, perpetrated in darkness, was known only to those by whom it was actually committed, and who, of all others, therefore, were least likely to reveal its attendant circumstances.¶

France
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
He besieges
the Castle
of Mira-
beau.

He is taken
prisoner,

and mur-
dered.

* *Philippe*, vi. 432, &c. Daru has expressed this opinion. Arthur, he says, (in conformity with Guilelmus Armoricus above,) was taken in his bed by Guillaume des Roches, to whom John had given a promise that he would treat all his prisoners honourably, and dismiss them without ransom: a promise which, it need not be added, he did not scruple to violate. *Hist. de Bretagne*, lib. iii. tom. i. p. 411.

† *Matt. Paris* 207. Ed. Wats.

‡ Sismondi, vi. 214. note 2. and the authorities there cited. *Annal. de Marg.* 13. cited by Lingard.

§ *Triplices annulos circa pedes habens*. Radulph. Coggeshalie Abbas, *ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xviii. 96.

|| One of these Governors was Hubert de Burgh, the King's Chamberlain, in the representation of whose conduct Shakspeare has not far deviated from the history as reported by Radulph of Coggeshall. (*et sup.*) We know not from what cause the great Poet was deceived into laying the scene of Arthur's sad fate at Northampton.

¶ The evidence of John's guilt in the death of Arthur is strongly stated, and acutely, although briefly, examined, to the conviction of the Tyrant, by Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, lib. iii. tom. i. p. 414. note. Matthew Paris has sufficiently expressed the belief which existed in England in his time, about half a century after the transaction. *Arthurus subito cunctis modo ferè omnibus ignoto: utinam non ut*

* Rigord, *ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xvii. 53.

† Rog. Hoveden, *ad ann.*

‡ *Matt. Westminster*, lib. ii. f. 58.

§ *Super his quæ Rex Francorum adveniens cum proponeret sufficenter respondimus*. Rigord, 54.

|| Gul. Armoric, *Philippe*, vi. 260. *ap. Hist. des Gaules*, xvii.

History. Suspicious of the real fate of the murdered Prince were naturally awakened by his disappearance, and all Europe resounded with cries of pity and of indignation. John meanwhile, whether deriving assurance from the death of his competitor, seeking refuge from the pangs of conscience, or abandoning himself to the reckless impulses of a temper wholly without either forethought or retrospect, devoted all his hours to pleasure and festivity. On his return from England, where for the fourth time he had renewed the ceremonial of his Coronation, he divided his time between Caen and Rouen; and there, intoxicated with the blandishments of his new Bride, and engaged in an unbroken round of sports, of dances, and of banquetings, he forgot or disregarded the tempest which was everywhere gathering round. If a counsellor, more honest, more bold, or more alarmed than his fellows, ventured at any time to remind him of the conquests which hourly fell into the possession of Philippe, a ready answer was on the lips of the infatuated Prince, "Let him take them as he pleases! a single day shall give me back all that he is now seizing." It is scarcely a matter of surprise that this stupid and brutalized apathy was attributed by the ignorance of the times to the hidden virtue of some spell by which the Tyrant's intellects had been dulled and paralyzed.†

The activity of Philippe seemed redoubled in proportion to the King of England's indolent carelessness. After some preliminary minor successes in Poitou, he resolved to profit by symptoms of revolt from John among his Norman Barons, and to direct his chief efforts towards their Province. Upon the possession of the Fortresses which commanded the Seine at Andely, the safety of Normandy had for the most part been considered to depend; and notwithstanding the valour of Roger de Lacy, Constable of Chester, to whom John had committed their defence, they yielded one by one to the conqueror. These sieges, and the numerous combats which occurred during their progress, form a brilliant portion of the Historic Poem, the *Philippides*; in which William of Breteuil has immortalized the deeds of the King of France his master; and closing our eyes to the machinery and mythology with which that Work abounds, we may learn from it that five months were consumed before the last Castle was stormed; that of one thousand "useless mouths,"‡ children, women, the sick, and the aged, whom the necessity and the obduracy of the beleaguered Commandant excluded from the town of Andely, and whom his enemy forbade from passing the French lines, four hundred perished on the ground between the garrison and the besiegers, after a long exposure to extremity of suffering from famine and houselessness, before Philippe, more merciful than their fellow-citizens, relented, and admitted them to his Camp. The extremities to which want of supplies meantime had re-

duced the besieged were scarcely less horrible than those which are recorded as having occurred at Jerusalem during her final calamity.

Nor was it in the field only that Philippe was triumphant; by moral courage he gained a yet more difficult victory over Opinion, and, in one instance, defied and defeated the interference of one of the most daring, most energetic, and most successful Pontiffs who have filled the Chair of St. Peter. Innocent III., indignant that England and France should be diverted by mutual hostility from applying their whole strength to the great object of recovering Palestine, despatched two Legates to the Camp of Philippe before he marched upon Andely. By these Envoys, he haughtily enjoined the rival Kings to submit their differences to the adjustment of the Holy See; menacing France with an Interdict, and Philippe personally with yet more severe spiritual vengeance, unless within two months he concluded a definitive Peace, or at the least a Truce for five years, with his English enemy. Philippe contented himself by representing this proud demand to his Barons; and he obtained from them a Declaration which at once surprised and humbled the Pope. Of the Letters Patent which emanated from his great Vassals returned to their Sovereign, that written by Odo III., Duke of Burgundy, may be accepted as a specimen. The following were its contents.

"I, Odo Duke of Burgundy, hereby make known to all persons to whom these present Letters shall come, that I have advised my Sovereign Lord Philippe, the illustrious King of the French, that he should make neither a Peace nor a Truce with the King of England, through the fear or constraint of our Lord the Pope or any of the Cardinals. And if our Lord the Pope should attempt any violence or constraint on that account, I have promised my Lord the King, as my liege Lord, and I have bound myself by all that I hold from him, that I will come to his aid on that point with the whole of my power, and that I will on no account make peace with my Lord the Pope unless with the sanction of my Lord the King; and in order that this purpose may not be annulled, I confirm these present Letters with my seal. Given at Vaudreuil, this month of July 1203."†

Innocent perceived his mistake, and corrected it with address. He wrote anew to Philippe, whom he now styled his "dear son;" he explained that he had recommended Peace, because Peace was a Christian virtue, and it was the duty of a Christian Priest to seek and to ensue it; but that he always intended to qualify his admonition by specially reserving the rights and privileges of the two Monarchs: that in summoning the King of England before his own tribunal, he by no means meditated interference with the prerogative of his temporal Sovereign; but that an investigation of the heinous moral sin with the commission of which John was charged, plainly appertained to the Pontifical jurisdiction.‡

After the reduction of the Castles of Andely, Philippe permitted his troops to enjoy a short repose. John, terrified at the advance of the French, had hastily en-

fama refert invida. 208. Matthew of Westminster, who does not express any opinion, uses the same words as to *disappearance*, *rito post evanuit*. ii. p. 59. Gulielmus Armoricus ascribes three lines, which are not without pathos, to Arthur, as the last supplication to his ruthless Uncle:

"*Patruus, patruus tuus, bone Patruus, patruus nepotis!*

"*Patruus, patruus tuus, bone Patruus, patruus nepotis!*

"*Patruus tu generi, fraternus parcius proci!*"

Philippides, vi. 556.

* "*Sinite illum facere, ego quicquid modo rapit, unda die recuperabo.*" Matt. Paris, 208

† *Id.* 209.

‡ *Lib.* vii.

§ *Mendicorum, miserorum, et vulgus tantillo bello.* *Id.* *Ibid.* 467.

* M. de Siamondi, vi. 224. says, *pendant que le Siège d'Andely durait encore*, but the fortresses at Andely were not invested till September, and the Duke of Burgundy's Letter, as we shall presently perceive, is dated in July.

† Note as to Gul. Armoricus, 77.

‡ Raynald, *Annal.* ad ann.

Philip takes the Castles at Andely.

March 6.
A. D.
1204.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1214.
Reckless-
ness of
John.

Disputed
by Philippe.

Letter of
the Duke of
Burgundy.

Innocent
repplies.

Note of
John.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Capture of
Mount St.
Michael.

barked for England; and the surrender of his chief Norman towns, Falaise, Caen, Bayeux, and others, was the immediate consequence of this timorous and ill-judged flight. Mount St. Michael, protected by the sea, which allowed no other approach except a narrow and difficult causeway of rocks to be trodden only at low water, might have offered effectual resistance but for the cowardice generated by superstition. John had recently converted the Monastery which crowned its summit into a Fortress; and the ejected Monks, indignant at their expulsion, loudly inveighed against that impiety which had substituted the weak defences of human art for the miraculous guardianship of their tutelar Archangel. The assailants being allowed to profit by the recess of the tide, gained the foot of the rock and set fire to some scattered buildings around it; and when the spreading flames had enveloped both the Convent and the Fortress, the standard of Philippe floated above the desolate heap.*

Investment
of Rouen.

Two hundred and ninety-two years had passed since Rouen first claimed to rank as the Capital of a powerful and independent Duchy, when the victorious army of Philippe Auguste appeared under its ramparts. The spirit which had once animated Rollo and his immediate successors was no doubt long since extinct; but the Rouennois still considered the French as foreigners; the conquest of England by their own Sovereign had increased their feeling of national pride; and the prosperity of their Commerce, the influx of wealth occasioned by the frequent visits of Nobles both from England and Aquitaine, and the splendour derived from the occasional residence of a Court, rendered them jealously distrustful of any encroachment from their neighbours. A double wall, three broad and deep fosses,† and a well-trained Civic militia, encouraged and assisted by several Knights, promised that Rouen would be a difficult conquest; and it was no less the policy of Philippe than of the inhabitants to preserve so large and rich a City from exposure to the injuries certainly consequent upon a siege, and the destruction which might probably result from an assault. Confident of relief within the stipulated period, the Governor therefore signed a Convention, by which the King of France engaged under all circumstances to respect the lives and property of the Citizens, and the garrison undertook to surrender, provided thirty days should elapse without the arrival of aid from England. Their Deputies hastened across the Channel, and represented their necessities to John, who being engaged at Chess on their arrival, angrily reproved the unreasonable interruption. The game terminated to his disadvantage; and his ill humour being greatly increased by the loss, he roughly inquired what they meant by asking his assistance? "I have none to give you, you must do as you please!"‡ Undeceived by this reply, and perceiving that they no longer could hope for support from their present master, the Rouennois opened their gates to Philippe.§ The entire conquest of Normandy was completed before the close of Summer; and

John declines to
leave it.

Its surren-
der.

not content with having thus more than doubled his hereditary dominions, Philippe continued to pursue his success in the districts on the Loire. Almost without a blow, the remaining possessions of the English Monarch crumbled away before the conqueror; and it seemed as if the Princess by whose marriage those rich Provinces had once become the heritage of the Plantagenets was unwilling to survive their loss; for nearly at the moment in which the dominion of England terminated in France, Eleanor of Guienne, successively the Consort of Louis le Jeune and of our own Henry II., breathed her last in the Convent of Beaulieu.

It was probably after thus assuring himself of John's territories by the right of conquest, that Philippe resolved to confirm their appropriation by the formal adjudgment of a Feudal Tribunal; and it may be believed, although contemporary Writers have not given the date with precision, that he selected this season for the renewal of the process against the King of England, for murder, rape, and adultery. John, it has been seen, in the first instance, assented to the summons of the Lord to whom he owed allegiance, but failed to redeem his pledge by appearing at the stated time. He now demanded restitution of the Provinces of which he had been despoiled, and signified his readiness to attend the Court of France whenever he should be provided with a safe-conduct. Philippe replied, that he willingly accorded one, and that his brother might come in peace and security. "But may he go again in like manner?" was the anxious inquiry of the Ambassadors in return. And they heard Philippe's reply with dismay. "Yes, if the judgment of his Peers shall so permit him." "My Lord and King," was the humble remonstrance of Eustache, Bishop of Ely, "the Duke of Normandy cannot appear at your Court unless the King of England appears there also; for they are one and the same person. But the Barons of England, even if their King himself should wish it, will never allow him to run so great a hazard; for you well know that he would expose himself to imprisonment, or perhaps even to death." "And what matters that to me?" was Philippe's conclusion; "The Duke of Normandy, who is my Vassal, has seized the Crown of England by violence; but I have yet to learn, that if a subject acquires honour, his Sovereign on that account is deprived of his right over him; God forbid!" The language of the King of France was by no means conciliatory enough to encourage John to trust himself to his legal decision; and he was content to await his sentence without receiving it in person. When delivered, it justified his utmost apprehensions. The Acts of the Baronial Assembly are not preserved to us; but we are briefly informed that John was declared contumacious in consequence of his non-

France.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Death of
Queen
Eleanor.

John cited
a second
time before
the Peers of
France.
A. D.
1205.

He is de-
prived of
his terri-
tories.

* "In ut in porum suorum judicium hoc permittat," Matt. Paris, p. 284. Who these Peers were is a *veraxa questio* among Historians. Voltaire, *Sur les Mémoires*, ch. 50, has plainly shown who they were not. The reader who seeks further information on this point may consult Brial's learned *Disquisition de Origine Pareriarum France et de Institutione Duodecim Parium*, prefixed to the XVIIth volume of the *Recueil des Hist. des Gaules*. Matthew Paris, whose account of the mission of the Bishop of Ely we have followed above, gives John credit for deeper classical knowledge than he is likely to have possessed. He describes as follows the King's reasons for avoiding the French Court. *Res enim noluit se committere 'adus casibus et judiciis Francorum qui cum non diligerent, maxime cum timeret ut ei de turpissima morte Arturi obijceretur, juxta illud Horatii quia me vestigia terrent Omnia te advensum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.*

* Philippe, viii. 100.

† Ibid. viii. 159.

‡ That John was playing Chess on the receipt of this mission depends only upon the authority of Velly, ii. 196. His marginal reference is to Matthew Paris, who does not mention the Chess, but gives the substance of the King's answer. *Quibus Rex Johannes respondit, et per nuncios significavit omnibus, ut nullum ab eo expectarent auxilium, sed facerent singuli quod sibi melius videbatur.* 212.

§ Rigord, 67.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
John in-
vades Poi-
tou un-
successfully.

appearance, and disinherited, by the judgment of his Peers, of all his territories in France.*

On the demise of Arthur, his Ducal Crown legally devolved to his sister Eleanor, whom John retained in prison. The Bretons, therefore, conferred the inheritance on Alice, his half-sister, a daughter of Constance by her third husband, Gui de Thouars, a Baron of Poitou; and her claim was recognised by Philippe Auguste. Gui de Thouars, to whom her guardianship was intrusted, would have violated his daughter's rights by usurping the Duchy for himself; but this injustice was prevented by the seasonable appearance of Philippe in arms.† Scarcely, however, had this peril been averted before John landed in Poitou with an English force: his first movements in Philippe's absence were successful; but no sooner was he apprized of the approach of the French King than he retired to the coast; demanded a conference at which he had not courage to attend; and embarked, after concluding a dishonourable Truce for two years, which he was compelled to purchase by the base abandonment of all those continental Vassals who had remained firm in their allegiance to him.

A. D.
1207.
Alliance of
John with
the Empe-
ror Otho.

The restless and fickle spirit of the English Prince amused itself in the following year by concerting an alliance with his nephew;‡ Otho, the expelled and phantom Emperor of Germany. John was to provide his ally with an annual subsidy of five thousand marcs of silver; and Otho, in return, was to reconquer for the King of England his lost Provinces in France, and to add to them all the other territories of Philippe Auguste, with the exception of the three Cities of Paris, Etampes, and Orleans. On the ratification of this empty Treaty Otho was splendidly entertained in London;§ and the singular change of fortune resulting from the assassination of his successful rival, Philip of Swabia, by which he was soon afterwards restored to his throne, for the first time awakened alarm in the bosom of the King of France as to the consequences of his enmity. Innocent III., in spite of an appeal from Philippe, sanctioned the election of Otho; but he so far assisted France, as to engage that the new Emperor of Germany should maintain Peace on terms dictated by Philippe, provided they were consistent with honour. It was by no means indeed the present wish of Innocent that any other object should interfere with a great Persecution which he had long meditated; and for the full perpetration of the bloody vengeance with which the Heretic Albigenses were now menaced, it was necessary that France, the chief agent in the projected Crusade, should be disembarrassed from all apprehension of foreign War.

A. D.
1208.

Mediation
of Innocent
III.

* On the legality of Philippe's proceedings on this occasion, see Mably, *Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, lib. iii. c. vi.

† Alice was married in 1208 to Pierre le Dreu, a great grandson of Louis le Gros. Philippe Auguste stipulated that the new Duke should perform homage to his Crown; and this transfer of Brittany to a younger branch of the Capetians may be considered the first step to its entire union with France. Gui de Thouars died in the year of his daughter's marriage. Pierre le Dreu abdicated in favour of his son John in 1237, accompanied St. Louis in his Crusade, was wounded and taken prisoner by the King's side at the Battle of Massigny, and died while returning to Europe in 1250. Some notice of this Duke's Poetry, written in the French, not in the Provencal idiom, may be found in the *Bibliothèque Française* of Goujot, vii. 132, and in Massieu, *Hist. de la Poésie Française*, 152.

‡ Matilda, consort of Henry the Lion, and mother of Otho, was sister to John.

§ Matt. Westminster, lib. ii. f. 64.

The peculiar doctrines of that Sect, which, under the general name of Albigenses,* had established itself in the Southern districts of France, especially in Provence, may be more conveniently discussed in one of our Chapters expressly dedicated to Ecclesiastical History. It may be sufficient to state in this place, that their free examination and unsparing censure of the corrupt Doctrine and Discipline of the Papacy; their open contempt of the ignorance, the negligence, and the vices of their Clergy; and their denouncement of Rome as a spiritual harlot and as the Apocryphical Babylon; had powerfully awakened the vigilance of Innocent III. not long after his accession. Unlike most of his predecessors, Innocent mounted the Pontifical throne in the full vigour of life; and his bold, active, and comprehensive genius no sooner perceived the great danger with which the Papal authority might be beset if the spirit of Reform manifested in Provence remained unchecked, than he determined upon the application of a remedy which should cauterize the spreading malady to the very roots. His first attention was directed to the Province of Narbonne, into which, so early as the year 1093, with which his Pontificate opened, he despatched a Mission, consisting only of two Cistercian Monks,† but invested with plenary authority from the Holy See, for the discovery and the pursuit of Heresy. From an origin thus slender and simple was destined to arise the insatiate and many-headed Portent of the future Inquisition; the reception of these and subsequent Missionaries was such as tended to increase the alarm, and to stimulate the resentment of the Vatican; and one of the chief and most important Feudatories who provoked its enmity was Raymond VI. Count of Toulouse. That Prince, a grandson of Louis le Gros through his daughter Constance, was married to a daughter of Pedro II., King of Aragon; and the close alliance consequent upon these nuptials rendered the joint influence of the two Courts paramount over Southern France. The toleration which Raymond permitted in his dominions, and his deafness to the remonstrances of the Legate, occasioned his excommunication; and the terms in which Innocent, under his own hand, confirmed that Sentence, plainly evinced the profound impression which he entertained of the offender's guilt. The Pope speaks of Raymond's "detestable abominations;" of "his heart being harder than a stone, and impenetrable to the words of Salvation;" of "his pride, his folly, and his audacity;" and

Fam
Ira
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
The Albi-
genses.

Origin of
the Legat
bus.

Raymond
Count of
Toulouse
Albigens.

A. D.
1207.

* The Albigenses derived their name from the town of Albi in Languedoc, either because it was peculiarly infected with their doctrine, or because they were assiduously in a Council held within its walls. Other genuine names, under which they are occasionally mentioned, are *Gabari, Paterini, Cathari, Bonhommes, Henrici, and Pauvres de Lyon*. By their enemies they were confounded with almost all Heretics which had at any time rent the unity of the Church; and they may be found stigmatized as Manichæans, Paulicians, Petrobrassians, Henricians, Apostolicals, Politicans, and Publicans. On the Tomb of Alice, Countess of Bigorre, was engraven an Epitaph, in which she is described as the daughter of Guy de Montfort, who died valiantly fighting against the Albigenses; and prefixed to their name was carved, at full length, an epithet, the most revolting to mankind. P. Daniel, *Hist. de France*, vi. 109. Velly, ii. 205. But the Papists were not even to their distinctions of Heresy; and they frequently comprehended all the adversaries of the usurpation of Rome, whatever might be their variety of doctrine, under the sweeping titles *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*. The Vith Chapter of Smead's *Literature de Mû* contains an admirable abstract of the War against the Albigenses.

† Ramier, Raoul, or Ralph, and Pierre de Castelnau.
‡ The mission of the Spanish Dominic to Provence did not occur till 1208, and he is properly the first Inquisitor.

History.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

A. D.
1208.
Assassina-
tion of the
Legate.

A Crusade
unclaimed
against the
Albigenses.

Submission
of Ray-
mond.

In ne-
ber, Ray-
mond Ro-
ger, arms.

concludes by asking this "most pestilent of mankind," whether, if he disregards the eternal flames, which must ultimately devour him, he is equally fearless of the temporal punishment which he has merited by his crimes?*

The assassination of the Legate Castelnau within a few months after this ebullition of Papal wrath, raised a strong and not an unnatural suspicion against Raymond as author of the crime; in which, nevertheless, although it had been committed by a Gentleman of his Court, he appears in truth to have been nowise implicated. Innocent, however, gladly seized this pretext to expedite his design against the Heretics by an attack upon their chief patron and fosterer. He interdicted Raymond, released his subjects from their allegiance, and proclaimed him to be under the influence of the Devil; and he then summoned the King of France and all other faithful sons of the Church, to march in person to a Holy War for the extermination of Heretics worse than the Saracens, and for the expulsion of Raymond from all his dominions. Indulgences, far more extensive than any yet offered to those Knights who undertook the deliverance of Palestine, were propounded to all who should assist in this new Crusade; and the rewards for embracing it seemed augmented in proportion as the attendant danger, difficulty, and expense were lessened. The Bernardines, headed by Arnaud Amalric, Abbot of Cîteaux, preached a plenary remission of every sin committed from the hour of birth to that of death, for all who should perish in this godly enterprise; and they confirmed this alluring promise by the names of the Pope and of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Although Philippe himself forebore from arming, many of his most powerful Barons took the Cross;† and the three chiefly distinguished among them were Odo, Duke of Burgundy, Hervé, Count of Nevers, and Simon de Montfort, Count of Leicester. The number of fanatics enrolled under the Crusading banner has been variously estimated from fifty thousand to five hundred thousand.

Raymond of Toulouse, alarmed at the gathering of this mighty thundercloud, anxiously sought for reconciliation with the offended Pontiff, and threw himself at the feet of the Abbot of Cîteaux and of the new Legate with whom Arnaud was associated in virtual authority. The cold and unsatisfactory reply afforded by those haughty Ecclesiastics increased the terror and the submission of the humiliated Prince; but it produced a widely different effect upon the more fiery and impetuous spirit of his youthful nephew, Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers. He perceived at once that to negotiate was to surrender all power, and boldly and generously adopting the alternative of resistance, he strengthened his garrisons and prepared for a vigorous defence. The only fruit which the Count of Toulouse derived from his weakness was an assurance that he should be absolved, and yet further be received into favour, provided he would consent to make common cause against his heretical subjects, and to surrender seven of his chief Fortresses as a security for his good faith. How far Innocent on his side thought fidelity a necessary ingredient in Diplomacy, may be learned from a despatch which he addressed, about the same time, to the Bishops of Riez and Conserans and to the Abbot

of Cîteaux, couched in the following terms:—"We admonish you, after the example of the Apostle Paul, to employ artifice with this Count, which in such a case ought to be called wisdom. Those who have separated from unity must be separately attacked; the Count of Toulouse must be let alone for a time; you must employ with him a wise dissimulation, to the end that the other Heretics may be more easily defeated, and that he himself may be finally crushed when we find him left single."* Well may an eloquent modern Historian observe upon this passage, that on all similar occasions in which Rome sought to veil treachery and ambition by the authority of Scripture, she proved that she had studied the Bible only to make sacrilegious applications from its pages.†

In the following Spring the insane and desolating band of Crusaders commenced its march, its main Body pouring down the valley of the Rhone by Lyon, Valence, Montelimart, and Avignon. The Count of Toulouse, paralyzed with terror, acceded to all the ignominious conditions demanded from him; and after doing penance before the High Altar of the Cathedral of his Capital, with naked shoulders on which he received discipline, and with a halter round his neck, he was permitted, as a token of especial grace, to act as guide to the division which was to attack his nephew. Raymond Roger meantime found ready support from his Vassals, who perceived that the disorderly and undisciplined invaders were resolved on general pillage, utterly careless whether it were torn from a Heretic or from a faithful adherent of Rome. Abandoning the lesser posts which he was hopeless of defending, Raymond Roger divided his forces between Beziers and Carcassone, in the latter of which towns he personally commanded. No sooner had the Crusaders sat down under Beziers, than the garrison, thinking to atone for want of numbers by an unexpected attack, directed a sortie against the enemy, then occupied in tracing their lines. The result, after recovery from the first surprise, was destructive to the assailants; they were repulsed, and the pursuers entering the gates *pêle mêle* with the fugitives, found themselves in possession of the City before they had even contemplated the fittest means for its attack. "How are we to distinguish the Heretics from the Catholics?" was the inquiry addressed by the Crusading Chiefs to the Abbot of Cîteaux. "Kill them all," was the ever memorable answer of the relentless Fanatic, "God will know his own!"‡

This bloody response was obeyed to the very letter.

* *Epist. Inn. III. xi. 232.*

† *Sismond, Hist. des Français, vi. 278.*

‡ "*Cordat, morit Dominus qui nunc ejat.*" Raynaldi, *Annal. Eccl. ad ann. 1208. p. 186. Hist. de Langue, (par Val et Vaissette), xxi. 57. p. 169.*

This trepene massacre is veiled in courtly terms by William of Breton, and attributed to the indiscretion of the excited soldiery.

*Ingressi urbis utriusque trucidant
Milia his triplicata decem, quas abaque virorum
Majorum asensum, vulgi furor immoderatus,
Et Tololdorum dedit indiscreti morti,
Intruncas mirum cum non credente fidelem,
Nec curans esset quis vili, quis nec dignus.*

Phalyprie, viii. 537.

The *Ribaldi* mentioned in the above lines were a band which Du Cange describes as *celtes, the enfans perdus, or Forlorn* hope of the army, always employed on the most desperate services, and therefore for the most part of depraved habits. The word afterwards passed into a term of reproach; as which it has been adopted by our own and other Languages

France.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

March of
the Crus-
aders.
A. D.
1209.

Siege of
Beziers.

Massacre of
all its inha-
bitants.

* *Epistola Innocent III. x. 69.*

† This badge was worn on the shoulder by the Crusaders to Palestine, on the bosom by those engaged against the Albigenses.

History. In the Cathedral of St. Nicaise the Ecclesiastics were engaged in the performance of divine service, when their prayers were interrupted by a countless multitude of both sexes seeking refuge from their pursuers. The nave and aisles were speedily choked with corpses, nor was the sword sheathed till it had drained the life-blood of all the unresisting victims. Seven thousand bodies clogged the pavement of the smaller Church of The Magdalene; and when at length every inhabitant of Beziers had ceased to breathe, and every house had been plundered of its valuables, this City of the Dead was fired at once in all its quarters, and reduced to a shapeless heap of ashes. The Abbot of Cîteaux in his Letter to Innocent restricts the number of those who perished in this hideous butchery to fifteen thousand; by other, and it is to be feared more credible authorities, that number has been quadrupled.*

Siege of Carcassone.

The Crusaders pressed on through a Country utterly deserted at their approach, and invested Carcassone on the 1st of August. The transactions during the siege of that City are related with much contradiction by different authors; one fact alone is certain, that its defence was most vigorous, and that the Abbot of Cîteaux began to perceive appearances of discouragement and weariness among his followers. Nevertheless, the only terms which, under the mediation of the King of Aragon, he could be persuaded to offer were that Raymond himself with twelve comrades might quit the City, provided he left the remainder of its garrison and inhabitants to the discretion of the victors. "I would sooner be flayed alive," was the gallant reply, (no empty form of words, as it would be in our own days, for the inhuman punishment of Bertrand de Gourdon was still fresh in remembrance.) "he shall not have in his power the very meanness of my followers, for it is on my account that each of them has exposed himself to danger." But the difficulties of the besieged were hourly increasing, the heats of Summer affected their cisterns, and Raymond heard the fearful announcement that water would soon begin to fail. Confident in the justice of his cause, and relying upon the success of a personal appeal to spirits which he estimated by the standard of his own, and believed to be noble, generous, and faithful, although arrayed in hostility against him, he demanded and received a safe-conduct for himself and a retinue of three hundred Knights, to hold a parley with the Crusaders in their own Camp. The promise of entire security confirmed by the most solemn oaths was shamelessly and unblushingly violated; and scarcely had Raymond and his followers quitted the Legate's tent, in which he had eloquently pleaded his cause before the assembled Generals, when they were treacherously seized and thrown into confinement.

Treacherous capture of Raymond Roger.

Occupation of Carcassone.

It seems doubtful whether the inhabitants of Carcassone found means to evacuate their City after this

betrayal of their Prince, or whether they received permission to abandon it by a rigorous capitulation; but in a fortnight after the commencement of its siege, its deserted walls became the prize of the Legate. From the three hundred Knights in Raymond's suite, and from other prisoners less dishonourably captured, he selected a sufficient number to form a blood-offering commensurate, as he thought, with the value of his triumph; fifty of these miserable victims were hanged, four hundred were burned alive.† It remained only to provide the conquered territories with a new Prince, as a successor to the deposed and imprisoned Raymond Roger. The prize of iniquity was honourably declined, not without some expressions of indignation at the great wrong about to be committed, by the Duke of Burgundy, and by the Counts of Nevers and of St. Paul. But a less scrupulous spirit was found in Simon de Montfort, Count of Leicester. That Baron, of ancient lineage, sprung, as is believed from a Bastard of King Robert, and inheriting the Pief of Leicester from his mother, an Englishwoman,‡ had greatly distinguished himself in Palestine during the 1Vth Crusade, from which he had but lately returned. Fearless, enterprising, and ambitious, stern, cruel, perfidious, austere, and inexorable, this gloomy zealot exhibited qualities well calculated for an instrument of Persecution; and under his sway Innocent might be sanguine in the belief that Heresy would be utterly extirpated. His first acts after investiture with his sovereignty must have strengthened these hopes. He imposed on his subjects a heavy annual tax payable to Rome, and he manifested no less carelessness of human life in doubtful cases of Heresy, than had been displayed by the Abbot of Cîteaux at the storming of Beziers. Two Heretics of different persuasions were brought before him, and each alike was condemned to the stake. One of them, overcome by the terror of death, recanted; and petitions for mercy were earnestly advanced in his favour. "If he be sincere in his abjuration," was the logical judgment passed by De Montfort upon this appeal, "his punishment will doubtless expiate his former sin. If he be insincere, he will justly suffer for his present imposture."§ Thus far we may reasonably believe the narrative; the sequel, doubtless, is a Legend supplied by Monkish ingenuity, as a stimulus to Conversion. The two Heretics were committed to the burning pile. The one who was inflexible was reduced to ashes in a moment; but we are assured that Heaven, the protector of innocence, would not permit the destruction of the other whose heart had been touched by a right spirit. His bonds fell asunder, like those of the three youths in the furnace of the Babylonian Tyrant, and like them he came forth unharmed from the midst of the devouring element, without a hair of his head being singed, or even the smell of fire having passed on him.¶

So long as the dethroned Prince yet lived, De Montfort's

* *Epist. Innocent III. xii. 108.* Sismond's refers to Bernard Iter des Limoges, a contemporary, for thirty-eight thousand as the number massacred, and to Alberic, a Monk of Trois-Fontaines, for sixty thousand. He remarks, also, that it is admitted on all hands that not a soul survived within Beziers, that its ordinary population may be computed at fifteen thousand, and that as the Crusaders advanced, it had been the general refuge of fugitives from all the surrounding Country. In the printed text of Gul. Arn. the number stands *septendecim milia et amplius*, but the margin states from a MS. *secentingia*. (93.)

† The archer who mortally wounded Richard Cœur de Lion, and who, in spite of that gallant Monarch's pardon, was afterwards flayed alive by Marchsades.

• The mode of the occupation of Carcassone is disputed, but in the cruelties consequent upon it, there is, unhappily, for the most part, a very general agreement. See Sismond's, *Hist. des Français*, vi. 294. and the authorities there cited.

† Amicia de Beaumont, sister and heiress of Robert, Count of Leicester; her second husband was William de Barres, one of the most distinguished Knights in the Court of Philippe Auguste.

‡ *Quid plura? aliquem Coma quod condurroritur hic salutaris, quod in nunc convictrator ignis eust ei pro expiatione peccatorum, a vero fecti loqueretur recipiet pro perfidia solacium.* Petri Vallium Cernasi Monachi, *Hist. Alb. c. 22. ap. Duchesne*, v. 372. § *Id. Ib.*

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

He poison
Raymond
Roger.
Nov. 10.

Philippe
Auguste
meditates
an invasion
of England.

April 8.
A. D.
1213.

in mean
ance with
Miramolin.

tenure was insecure. Pity for a brave, suffering, and injured Knight had succeeded hostility in the bosoms of most of those by whose swords he had been overthrown; by his neighbours he was greatly beloved, by his subjects he was universally regretted, and the iron yoke under which they had passed hourly increased their desire to return to his more lenient rule. The King of Aragon moreover might at some time arise as the protector of his Vassal and kinsman. The secrets of the dungeon of an imprisoned Sovereign are revealed to few witnesses, and it was reported in De Montfort's Court that a dysentery had terminated the days of Raymond Roger.^{*} The public voice assigned his death to another and a less natural cause, and even Innocent III. admitted that he had perished violently.

For a while we must turn away from this most painful story to follow the steps of Philippe Auguste, who, happily for his own fame, did not personally share in the Crusade. In consequence of the mediation of Rome, the three years which succeeded the accession of Otho IV. to the throne of Germany were passed without any open hostility between that Country and France; but secret enmity against Philippe Auguste continued to be harboured in the breasts both of the German Emperor and of his Uncle of England; and there could be little doubt that whenever they felt sufficient strength they would profit by the first opportunity to gratify their resentment. When John encountered the full wrath of the Vatican, by disputing the appointment of Stephen Langton, whom Innocent had named as Metropolitan, Philippe was not backward in seconding the anger of the Pontiff. It appeared easy to sanctify ambition by the pretext of a higher motive, and to secure the conquest of England while he affected to support the cause of offended Religion, by directing his arms against an interdicted Kingdom and an excommunicated Prince. When the proposition was first opened in an Assembly of the chief Barons at Soissons, it was received with eagerness, and preparations for the enterprise were commenced with unprecedented vigour. One of the most formidable armies ever gathered in France was concentrated on the shores of the Channel; the mouth of the Seine was choked with transports; the almost incredible number of one thousand seven hundred vessels are said to have been equipped for the expedition; and the money actually expended on the armament amounted to sixty thousand pounds of silver.

The fears of John meantime were reasonably awakened. Despised by his Nobility, proscribed by his Clergy, hated by his People, already cowering under the spiritual weapons of Rome, and now menaced by the sword of France, he looked around him, but in vain, for succour; and he is said in his extremity to have proffered homage to Mohammed al Nassir, the Moorish Emir al Moumenim, or Miramolin, as he is more commonly called, and to have promised that he would avow himself a follower of the Prophet, and pay an annual tribute, if the African Emperor would accord his alliance.[†] The proposal was

haughtily rejected, perhaps from a doubt of its sincerity, and the King in his despair resolved upon submission to Rome. The Legate Pandolfo had deprived him of his last hope, by exhibiting indisputable proofs that the Barons, who had obeyed his summons and were now gathered under his standard at Dover, had leagued almost to a man with Philippe, and only awaited his landing to pass over to his ranks. The consequence of this fearful intimation was the well-known surrender of the Crown of England to the Pope as its Feudal Sovereign, under condition that the humbled Vassal should receive the guarantee of full protection from his Lord.

Satisfied with this large addition to both his power and his dignity, Innocent on the instant professed that he was reconciled with England. The Interdict was removed, and Pandolfo was instructed to signify to the King of France not only that John was under the immediate guardianship of the Holy See, but that any one who took up arms against the Vassal of the Pontiff would encounter the penalty of excommunication. The first emotions of the King of France when he found himself thus deceived by Rome, were those of unbounded indignation; and it is not improbable that in spite of the menaces of Innocent, he might have pursued his enterprise, if the Legate had not skillfully diverted his thoughts into another channel, and pointed to an object against which his mighty armament might be directed, with scarcely less hope of gain than even if it were still permitted to make an attempt on England.

The Province of Flanders, by its unrivalled commercial industry, and its consequent superior wealth, had already become the admiration and the envy of every neighbouring State. From its manufactures the whole North of Europe was supplied with clothing; and the extent of its marine and the skill of its navigators rendered its magazines the great emporium, as its ships

were, named Paul, whom he approved in every thing, but in his desertion of the Faith in which he had been born; and that he thought in like manner of John, *qui relictis piissimis et mundissimis Lege Christiana, ceteris et instabilibus gliscit transcurrere*. He then inquired much concerning the climate, soil, productions, wealth, and power of England, and also of John's personal qualities; and the audience concluded in the following very striking manner. *Colligens ergo omnia iniquitatem et responsum nunciorum, post parvum silentium, factis subauditione in signum magnæ indignationis, eprent ille. Admiratus Regem Johannem, dicens, "Nullius est Rex ille, et Regulus jam desponsus et senescens, nec cura de eo, indignus est mihi confiderari. Non redraus iterum ad meam præsentiam, nec vident oculi vestri amplius faciem vestram. Fama ad potius usum Domini vestri, jam Apostata desipiens, factorem exhalat in conspectu meo teterrimum."* The remainder of the narrative is truly Oriental. As the Euxys withdrew, the Miramolin especially regarded one of them, Robert of London, a Priest, whose person was indeed somewhat distinguishable, *parvus erat et niger, unum brachium longius habens reliquo, et digitis inordinatis, scilicet duos nudi coherentes, et faciem Judaicam*. Convinced that such a Portent of a man would not have been selected as Ambassador unless his deformity had been counterbalanced by extraordinary wisdom, the Miramolin detained him, and learned from a confidential conversation many facts which convinced him of John's folly and iniquity.

Strange to say, notwithstanding the particularity with which Matt. Paris relates this transaction, (the details of which he received from the mouth of Robert of London himself,) it has been rejected or passed by in silence by almost all modern Historians. But there is nothing in the facts alien from the unprincipled character of John. Dr. Lingard, indeed, admits its probability; but it is manifest that he speaks only at secondhand, and that he has never read Matt. Paris; for he states that the Miramolin dismissed the Ambassadors with "general, unmeaning expressions of amity." (*Hist. of Eng. ii. 230.*) To our ears the expressions are very particular, very pregnant with meaning, and any thing but amicable. "Quit my presence, and never see my face again; your master is a senseless apostate, whose infamy stinks in my nostrils!" Very amicable indeed!

4 U

France.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
and submits
to Rome.

Innocent
III. forbids
the invasion
of England.

Commer-
cial pros-
perity of
Flanders.

* *Non post multum dysenteridi expiravit, unde multi multa mendacia divulgant quod fuisse verò interfectus.* Gul. de Podio, *Lauerentii*, c. 14. ap. Duchesne, v. p. 674. *Epist. Innocent III. xv. 212.* referred to in the *Hist. de Langueo*, xxi. 75. p. 183.

† Henaull, *Abr. Chr. de l'Hist. de France*, i. 236.

1 Matt. Paris, 243. The account is very precise and detailed. The Miramolin, *Admiratus Miramolinus, Rex magnus Africa, Marocchie et Hispanie quem vulgus Miramolinum vocant*, replied to these offers that he had read the Works of a wise Greek and a Chris-

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

Causes of
quarrel with
Count Fer-
rand.

were the chief carriers of almost the entire World. The pillage of such a Country as this was an alluring bait to the cupidity of the French Nobles; and their pride would be scarcely less gratified than their avarice, by the punishment of a rabble of merchants, who affected a growing independence upon Fendal usages and government, and who, elated by a rapid accumulation of wealth, dared insolently to mate themselves with the high-born Members of an ancient and haughty Aristocracy. A cause for quarrel was readily at hand. The inheritance of the County of Flanders had passed by marriage to Ferrand or Ferdinand of Portugal, when, in 1211, he received the hand of Jeanne, daughter of that Baldwin IX. whom a singular caprice of Fortune in the IVth Crusade had elevated to the short-lived and perilous dignity of Emperor of Constantinople. These nuptials were contracted without the consent of the Flemish States, and during the misunderstanding which ensued, Louis, the son of Philippe Auguste, forcibly possessed himself of the towns of St. Omer and Aire, to which he asserted a claim in right of his mother. Ferrand, justly irritated at this usurpation, refused attendance with the other Vassals of France in their Assembly at Soissons, unless his Cities were restored; and on a subsequent visit to the French Court, he protested against the intended War with England as unjust, and declined participation in it out of respect to a former alliance with John. Little more than the artful suggestion of Pandolfo was wanting to determine Philippe upon advancing this act of disobedience as a plea for the invasion of the Count's rich and flourishing territory. He ordered Ferrand to quit his Court at the instant, and swore fervently by all the Saints, that thenceforward either France should become Flanders, or Flanders France.*

Invasion of
Flanders.

The fleet destined against England received immediate orders to proceed to the reduction of Gravelines and Dam,† while Philippe, at the head of his troops, captured and pillaged Cassel, Ypres, and Bruges. Afterwards, during the investment of Gand, the King received intelligence that the victorious division of his army which garrisoned Dam was already in turn exposed to siege by Count Ferrand; that half of his fleet had been captured by the English, and that the remaining half was strictly blockaded in the port of the beleaguered town. By a forced march, he succeeded in relieving the garrison and compelling Ferrand to withdraw; but the extrication of the fleet was hopeless; and in order to prevent it from becoming a prey to the English, he was reduced to the desperate necessity of burning it with his own hands;‡ a loss and a disgrace which was ill compensated by the savage committal of Dam to a similar destruction. The remainder of the campaign was signalized by cruel and wanton revenge. Gand purchased immunity at an exorbitant ransom; Oudenarde, Courtrai, Douai, and Lille, opened their gates at the first summons; and upon intelligence that Count Ferrand was hastening to the reconquest of the last-named City, its walls and citadel were razed to the ground, the town itself was fired, and the miserable inhabitants who attempted escape from the conflagration were either put

Philippe is
compelled
to burn his
fleet.

to the sword on the spot, or sold as slaves. Leaving a fearful memorial of his severity in the unhappy Country which he had invaded, Philippe then returned upon the Seine, and disbanded his army.

During this sanguinary expedition, France herself was afflicted with a domestic calamity unique in the History of the World; and generated no doubt by that wild and restless fanaticism which had been long busied in preaching Crusades against the Infidels in Spain and Palestine, or the Heretical Albigenes. False miracles and prophecies forced from their purpose had been lavishly pressed into the service of the Missionaries who exhorted Europe to these enterprises; and, in France especially, the excitement offered to the imagination of a People readily kindled, was most unbounded and extravagant. The result was of a nature in every way so remarkable, that in narrating it we shall not venture to deviate from the very words of the Chronicler by whom it is most fully recorded. "In the following Summer," as Matthew Paris informs us, "an error unheard of in any former Age arose in France. A certain boy, who was indeed a boy in years, but most accomplished in wickedness, at the instigation of the Enemy of the human race, wandered through the towns and fortified places in France, as if commissioned by God, every where chanting in the French Tongue, 'Lord Jesus Christ! restore in thy Holy Cross' with many other invocations added to those words. Having been seen and heard by many other boys of his own age, he was followed by them in countless numbers utterly demerited by diabolical influence, deserting their fathers and mothers, their friends and nurses, and swelling the chant which was given on by their Precursor. Marvellous is it to relate that neither the restraint nor the persuasion of their parents could check their course; but they went on following their leaders towards the Mediterranean, advancing as a procession or an army, continually singing, and in numbers so great that no town could hold them. Their Chief rode in a car tapestried with cloaks and sentinelled by an armed Body-guard; and so dense was the throng that many were trodden under foot by mutual pressure; and happy did he esteem himself who could save but a shred of his tattered clothes. But in the end, through the machinations of that old deceiver Satan, they all perished either by land or by sea."*

The resentment awakened in the Flemish by their recent sufferings, and by the disaffection from their new master, which John well knew existed in his own lost Provinces in France, soon enabled him to construct a formidable league against Philippe Auguste. When the King of England landed at La Rochelle, the whole Nobility of Poitou flocked to his standard; and at the same moment the Barons of the Low Countries appeared in arms, deriving confidence from the presence of the Emperor Otto. Against the latter, Philippe determined to make head in person, while he intrusted the conduct of the campaign on the Loire to his son Prince Louis. John was in the first instance successful,

* Matt. Paris, p. 238.

† A town which William of Brittany describes in a single emphatic line,

Quo valde speciosus erat Dam nomine vicus.

He afterwards proceeds, however, at greater length, and in less bold Latin, to notice its extraordinary commercial prosperity. *Philippus, ix. 387. &c.*

Guil. Armorici, 89.

* Matt. Paris, 242. The anonymous continuator of Roger Hoveden's Annals, notices this transaction very briefly, adding that the number of boys was said at Paris to amount to fifteen thousand, of whom not one exceeded twelve years of age. *Ap. Hist. des Gaules, xlii. 167.* The Writer of the life of Innocent III. (*Re MS. Bernard Guidonis. ep. Muratori, Script. Ital. iii. 482.*) says there were more than ninety thousand naughty boys, who came back empty. *Scdm autem auct. (1210) proxi pueri ultra sex milia nunquam recipi Crucis-gigantem, et Moysiolum atque Brandarium decessit opusculis venientes inanes redeunt.*

France.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

History.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
John's first
successes,
and ultimate
retreat.

Campaign
in Flanders.

Battle of
Bouvines.

for no adversary opposed him in the field. No sooner, however, did Louis advance, than the King of England, with his customary fickleness and timidity, avoided battle, and retired towards the coast. The French Prince also, deceived by the report of his spies, who greatly exaggerated the numbers of his opponent, hesitated as he approached the English camp; and during a few hours the two armies, which had never yet been in sight of each other's ranks, were in full retreat on opposite quarters. Louis was the first who received correct intelligence, and hastening to retrieve his mistake, he resumed his advance, pressed with a harassing pursuit upon the fugitives, recovered all the towns which John had captured, and terminated the campaign before the arrival of Midsummer, with the full fruits of victory gathered without the hazard of a single battle.

The operations in Flanders were concluded before those in Flanders commenced; and in Otho, Philippe was destined to find a much more formidable opponent than his son had encountered in John. The Emperor indeed now retained little of the Imperial possessions beyond his title; for the House of Hohenstauffen was again dominant in the person of Frederick II., who two years before had received the Crown of Germany at Aix la Chapelle. Nevertheless, the acknowledged bravery of Otho, the high military talent which he had often exhibited, and the *prestige* even of his nominal sceptre, raised him to the chief command. Notwithstanding his contingent to the Flemish confederacy did not exceed a small corps of Brunswickers, the army was styled *Imperial*; and the standard of Otho, a golden Eagle hovering over a Dragon,* was mounted on a *Carroccio*, and sentinelled by a battalion which formed the vanguard.

Philippe Auguste entered Flanders towards the close of July, and, to use the forcible expression of his contemporary Historian, (from whose most lively description of the great subsequent events we are about to borrow most copiously,) during the course of a whole month "he laid it waste right royally, carrying fire and sword to the right hand and to the left."† Satiated with this unopposed pillage, he was preparing to return to France; when on the 27th of August, while on his march towards Lille, he was attacked by Otho near a bridge at Bouvines,‡ which traverses a small stream flowing into the Lys. The Flemish had expected to surprise their enemy; and Philippe, fatigued by the weight of his armour and the heat of marching, was reposing under the shade of a beech tree, when it was announced to him that his rear was attacked, and was in imminent peril. Rising in haste, he entered a little chapel hard by, offered a soldier's prayer, buckled on his armour, and sprang upon his horse with a countenance "as glad-some as if he were about to attend a marriage festival." At the trumpet-notes and the cries of "to arms to arms," the French vanguard, which had already passed the bridge, returned to the main body; but the Oriflamme was so far in advance that it was deemed imprudent to wait for it; and Philippe, hastening to the front of his

troops, threw his marching columns into line with precision so admirable, and judgment of ground so accurate, that he at once obtained the advantage of wind, dust, and Sun, which last shone with unusual splendour full in his adversaries' faces.* The numbers on each side were nearly equal.† The chivalry of France gathered round their King, who, after a few words of encouragement, raised his hands to heaven and gave the blessing which his soldiers clamorously demanded. Behind him stood his Chaplain, William of Brittany, (nearly in whose words we are relating these most dramatic particulars,) accompanied by another Priest, and both of them sang Psalms during the whole combat, notwithstanding their voices were often impeded by sobs and tears.‡ The Count of Flanders, after more than three hours' engagement and the receipt of numerous wounds, was unhorsed and made prisoner; but meantime the King of France, left nearly alone by the ardour of his Knights, who had pressed on to the charge, was placed in extreme danger by the German infantry. Overpowering the small guard which still encircled Philippe, the *roulers* pulled him from his horse with the short hooks attached to their halberds,§ and but for the excellence of his armour, and the fidelity and personal devotion of his few nearest followers, he must inevitably have been killed. His standard bearer waved his banner to the rescue; Pierre Tristan (the name deserves remembrance) leaped from his saddle, and covered his master's body with his own,|| till the King regained his feet and sprang once more on horseback. Otho, on the other hand, was exposed to not less peril. Charging blindly into the centre of the French ranks,¶ he found himself between two Knights,

* The order of battle is attributed by William of Brittany, both in his *Chronicle* and also in his *Philippica*, (xi. 658) to the great military skill of Guerin, a Knight Hospitaller and Bishop-elect of Senlis. The instructions which he issued when marshalling his bravest men in one long single line, are eminently characteristic. "Non decet ut unus miles acutum, ubi de alio multo faciat: ut sit stictus ut omnes quasi una fronte paratos pugnant." *De Gest. Sic.* 96.

† M. de Sismondi, after remarking upon the difficulty of calculation, conjectures, upon probable grounds, that neither army exceeded more than fifteen thousand, or at the utmost twenty thousand men, of which about eight hundred were Knights, twelve hundred mounted esquires, two or three thousand regularly trained infantry, and the remainder Civic militia. vi. 357. Velly, ii. 227. Assigns nearly two hundred thousand men to Otho, and somewhat more than fifty thousand to Philippe Auguste.

‡ The Psalms which they sang were the 143d, the 67th, and the 20th, *prout poterant, propter irruptiones lacrymarum et singultus immixtos.*

§ *Uncinis et lanceis crucifibus.* Gul. Arm. or as they are more fully described in his Poem,

*Mox hostes hastis manus configit in illos,
Quorum cusps erat longa, et suboles inter acuta;
Et nonnulla velut verubus dentata recurva,
Cuspibus in medio vinctis emittis acuta.*

Philippica, xi. 261.

His *Chronicle* mentions also a particular kind of weapon with which the Flemings were armed on that day, and which, so far as we understand its construction, must have been eminently formidable. *Habebat enim quodam genere armorum utentibus admirabili et hostem inaudito; habebant enim cultellos longos, graciles, truncumque (trialumina) quoslibet occurrente secantes, a cuspe usque ad manubrium, quibus utebantur pro gladiis.* Lord Edward Fitzgerald was said to have been armed at the time of his capture with a three-bladed dagger resembling that described above.

¶ *Il del son misto principalmente il suo Signore de la Maison d'Estamp, et se fut cet évenement qui vult à l'illustrer race de ce Brave l'honneur de porter les armes de France.* *L'Art. de l'Écrit. des Ducs*, i. 581.

¶ Otho and the Count of Flanders had sworn to each other that, neglecting every other object in the field, they would charge onward till they came to the person of the King of France, whom they

* This was the bearing of the House of Saxony. *Arripens signum quod apud Saxones habebatur sacrum, fovea signis draconis et dracem equale volantes insignem effigie, quo uterentur fortissimè aliqui principes, et ceteros eorum effugiam, nota corpora animi condonem decorosa.* Witekind, *Herc. Sax.* i. The allegories of Heraldry are not always very transparent.

† *Omnia a dextera et sinist. succedens devastando et regulariter depredando.* Gul. Armoricus, 94.

‡ A little village on the river Marque, between Lille and Tournay.

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one of whom seized the bridle of his horse, while the other aimed a blow at his breast with a dagger. The steel was turned aside by the impenetrability of his cuirass, and when raised a second time to repeat the stroke, it plunged into the eye of the Emperor's horse rearing with affright. The animal, mortally wounded, and ungovernable from pain, sprang round and galloped furiously with its master from the field, till it fell dead from exhaustion. Philippe, who watched the whole occurrence and saw his enemy thus run away with, turned to the Knights close at hand, and pointing to Otho's course, remarked, "You will see his face no more to-day!"⁸ By that time all was lost, and Otho, perceiving his inability to retrieve the fortune of the battle, mounted a second horse and resumed his flight. One more ineffectual charge, however, was attempted, chiefly by the Brunswickers; in spite of the most desperate valour, they were borne down by numbers, and for the most part were made prisoners; and about seven hundred Flemish infantry who still maintained their line were to a man put to the sword. The *Carroccio* and the Imperial standard were among the Conqueror's booty; the car itself was destroyed, the dragon broken in pieces, and the eagle mutilated of its wings; but Philippe, unwilling to hazard the loss of any of the important prisoners whom he had already captured, and deterred by want of acquaintance with the Country, as night approached, forbade pursuit; and hastily recalled the squadrons which had advanced scarcely a mile from the field.

Of the numbers slain in this great battle it is not possible that we should speak with more precision than of those which were engaged; but the list of captives evinces with sufficient certainty the importance of the victory. Five Counts, Ferdinand of Flanders, Renaud of Boulogne, Otho of Teklemburg, Conrad of Dortmund, and William of Salisbury,[†] (who commanded an English detachment,) twenty-five Bannerets,[‡] and an almost countless band of Gentlemen, were either released after the payment of ransom, or distributed in various prisons. Among the latter and less fortunate, was the Count of Flanders; who, after having been unfeelingly exposed to the gaze of the populace, in a sort of open litter which accompanied the triumphal return of Philippe to his Capital,§ languished during many years of

Triumphal
entrance of
Philippe
into Paris.

would at once put to the sword. *Ea videlicet intentione, quia in Rex (quod Deus avertat!) occisus fuisset de rebus exercitu facillime posse triumphare sperabant.* Gul. Arn. 98.

* "Hodie non videlicet amplius faciem sparis." Id. Ibid.

† William Longword, Earl of Salisbury, son of Henry II. by Rosamond Clifford.

"Regis et Anglorum frater, Saleberia cuius
Se gaudet ditare regi." Philippe, x. 431.

The English archers distinguished themselves greatly in this battle. Oudgerst, *Chronique de Flandre*, ch. 103. fol. 173.

‡ Banneret was the highest title in Chivalry, and could be obtained only by those who were sufficiently noble in lineage to blazon four quarters, and sufficiently rich to levy and maintain at their own expense fifty men at arms. A Gentleman who aspired to the honour presented to the King, either at a Tournament or on the field of battle, his pennon furled. The King unfurled it, cut it into a square banner, and returned it saying, *Vere cy votre bannière, Dieu vous en laisse votre preu faire!* One distinction of Bannerets was permission to have a cry of *armes* raised by their followers. Joinville par Du Cange, *Dux* ix.

§ The description which William of Britany gives of the popular joy occasioned by the victory of Bouvines is most vivid. *Quis autem verba exprobrat, quis corde cogitare, quis calamo, charit aut tabula exarare possit gratulabundus plauus, hymnus triumphales, innumera tripulorum genera populorum, mellificos clericorum can-*

captivity in a Tower of the Louvre, in consequence of want of affection on the part of his Consort Jeanne, who refused to advance the sum demanded for his freedom. Ferrand, it appears, had been misled by an arduous response which, William of Britany assures us, the Countess of Flanders (Ferrand's maternal Aunt and daughter of the King of Portugal) had obtained by forbidden arts from some evil Angels. They announced to her, with that ambiguity of which History records so many instances, "They shall fight, and in the battle the King shall be thrown forcibly to the ground, and shall be trodden under foot by horses, and shall lack burial. After the victory Ferrand shall be received in Paris with exceeding great pomp." The juggling fiend, it will be seen, equivocated and lied like truth.*

During these events in its Eastern Provinces, the South of France had been not less disturbed by a continuation of internal struggles. Simon de Montfort was not likely to rest content with the narrow domain of Beziers and Carcassonne while the more splendid prize of Toulouse invited his grasp; and accordingly, having temporized till he felt sufficiently confirmed in his new possessions, he in the end threw off the masque, obtained an Interdict against Raymond, and used it as a pretext for open hostility. That weak Prince, instead of defending himself, fled to Rome and sought protection from the Pope; the Pope referred him to a Council about to assemble at St. Gilles; and the Council, without listening to his defence, renewed his excommunication. Montfort, who had at first suffered some reverses, was now strengthened by a new band of Crusaders; and deeply resenting the inclination which had been manifested to throw off his dominion, every where marked his course by the most frightful barbarities, as he spread his arms over Nar-

From
Ann.
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

Continuation of the
Pernicious
war in
Narbonne.

A. D.
1214.

bus, dulcissimi in Ecclesiis classicorum pulsationes, orantes Ecclesiarum interitus et extrahentes viros, domos, vias per universa oppella et civitates cortinas et pennis arserit incensas, floribus, herbis, et virebus arborum ramis ubique stratas: omnes autem equosque greges, sexus et ætatis homines ad tanti triumphus spectacula concurrerunt: rusticos et seniores, intermixtos operibus, falcibus, rastris et tribus in collo suspensus (erat enim mensuris tempus) ad vias ceterosque ruerant, cernere cupientes Ferrandum in vincula, quæ modo fundebant in armis. Nec vererebatur diutius et cæter, vixit et pueri, sæcili occasione ab acquisitione nominis, quæ vixit quæ tam ræpæ quam homini acquiescere erat, et cæne mirabili deo quæ ejus colora qui hoc nomen ræpæ imposuit eum in lectis rebus. Unde et ei improperabant, quod modo ipse erat lectatus quid recalcitrare non poterat, qui prout impinguitus dilatatus recedebat, et calcareum in Dominum suum elevavit. To explain the latter part of this account it should be stated, that Alsatian horses were called *Ferranda*. Velly, (i. 233.) who gives a reference, in which he is not borne out, to Rigord, adds, that the carriage which conveyed the Count of Flanders was drawn by four of these horses, and that the rabble taunted him by singing

Quatre Ferranda bien ferrés
Traînent Ferrand bien enfermé.

Mazery explains the sense in which the word is applied to horses. *C'est à dire, selon le langage d'alors, de pond boy abeur et couleur de fer.* ii. 627.

The prose narrative of William of Britany is far more poetical in every thing which concerns the victory of Bouvines than is the corresponding passage in his *Philippus*.

* Sicut etiam Janus topocritate cognovimus, ipsa vetula Comitis Flandrie Hispania generis, matertera ipsius Ferrandi, filia Regis Portugallensis, prædiligens et aristotelliga concitus horum belli acciderant, ab Angelis qui hujusmodi artibus præstant, secundum morem Hispanorum, tale morocret habere responsum, "Pugnabitis, et in ipsa pugna Rex prostratus in terram, et equorum pedibus calcabitur, et carceris expulsi." Ferrandus post victoriam mazari pompæ a Parisiensi recipitur." Hec omnia recte intelligi possunt interpretari in verum.

History. From A. D. 1199, to A. D. 1314. Capture of Minerve. bonne. Not a Town, not a Castle surrendered, but its garrison was either gibbeted on the walls which they had defended, or was turned loose after inhuman mutilations to scatter terror among the neighbours. On the capture of the Fort of Minerve, not far from Narbonne, after seven weeks' gallant resistance, it was stipulated that the lives even of the Heretics should be spared, provided they would submit to conversion. These terms appeared too lenient to some fierce zealots in the Camp. "We have taken up the Cross," exclaimed Robert de Mauvoisin, "not to pardon Heretics but to destroy them!" He was consoled by the Abbot of Cîteaux, who assured him that there was little chance of obtaining converts; and the event fully justified the prognostic. When the Crusaders entered the Fortress, the Abbigenens calmly awaited their fate in two separate bands, one of men, the other of women, in different apartments. An enormous pile was heaped in the court-yard, and the issues of life and death were placed before the choice of the prisoners. There was little need of violence to drag them to execution. One hundred and forty martyrs declined the purchase of mercy at the price of apostasy, and no sooner were the flames kindled than they plunged into them of their own accord.*

Martyrdoms. Capture of Termis A. D. 1211. and of Lavaur. The strong Castle of Termis on the frontiers of Roussillon was evacuated after a four months' siege; but the retreat of the garrison was intercepted, part of the fugitives was put to the sword on the spot, part, more wretched, was brought back to the Camp and reserved for the stake. When the walls of another Castle, Lavaur, had been partially levelled by a formidable machine, known by the sportive name of "The Cat,"—a lofty wooden tower, movable on wheels, and rendered fire-proof by a covering of raw hides, which first plied from one of its faces a powerful battering-ram, and then pulled down the loosened fragments of the ramparts by huge iron hooks, or claws resembling those of the animal which gave it name,—the assailants were marshalled with the Ecclesiastics, clad in pontifical robes, at their head. The whole line raised the Hymn "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," and rushed to the breach. Resistance was no longer possible, and the zeal of De Montfort was exercised, not in stimulating his followers to success, but in restraining them from carnage. For the first time, this man of blood commanded the sword to spare, but it was only in order that he might have a larger tale of victims to swell the pomp of a great after-sacrifice. Four and twenty Knights of noble extraction were dragged to the gallows, which, being hastily constructed, gave way under the burden of the first who was suspended. To save time, De Montfort ordered that the throats of the remainder should be cut, which command was executed with eagerness. The wife of one of the most illustrious of those brave soldiers, Aimery Seigneur of Montreal, was thrown into a well, the mouth of which was immediately closed with stones; and the residue of the Heretics, four hundred in number, were burned alive "with manifestations of great joy;"†

* Petri Vallium Cernail Monach., *Hist. Alb. c.* 37, p. 583. This writer was an eye-witness of the facts which he relates. *Hist. de Languedoc*, xxi. 87, p. 194.

† *Inventi sunt Heretici perfecti circiter cccc quos Princeps Catholicus et Peregrini Crucis-signati, cum mollior converti ad fidem Catholicam, flammis exarati materidibus ignis concremationis perpetuo assignarent.* B. Guizot, *Vie Innocent III. ap. Muratori Script. II.* 111. 482.

‡ *Quos nostri virripientes Peregrini cum ingenti gaudio combusserunt.* Petrus Vall. Cern., *Hist. Alb. c.* 52, p. 598, c. 73, p. 649.

a phrase which, on similar occasions, is ever in the mouth of the Monkish eyewitness and Chronicler of these enormities.

Toulouse, at this fearful season, as the destroyers were hourly approaching nearer to its walls, although firm in allegiance to its legitimate Count, was convulsed by opposite Religious factions. The Romanists predominated, and were arrayed by the Bishop, Fouquet, in a band called *La Compagnie Blanche*, bound by oath to pursue, even unto death, their fellow-citizens, of different Faith, who were known as *La Compagnie Noire*. Daily encounters and much effusion of blood were the result of this unnatural conflict; and when Raymond, who at length appeared in arms, as the common danger increased, succeeded in reconciling the two parties, both of them were instantly excommunicated by the Legate. De Montfort's first investment of Toulouse was unsuccessful; he was compelled to raise the siege, and the operations of the conflicting armies, during more than a year following, were attended with various fortune. In the course of that period the Legate, Arnaud, Abbot of Cîteaux, the main author and stimulator of the Crusade, having first invested himself with both the Spiritual dignity of the Archbishopric of Narbonne, and the Temporal rights and title of its Dukedom, withdrew in order to avoid the jealousy which he had excited in De Montfort by those usurpations, and directed his attention to Spain; a field at that moment, scarcely less fertile in events which might gladden the spirit of a zealot, than even that which, for a time, he felt constrained to abandon.

A detail of the events which distracted that troubled Country will find place elsewhere; it may be enough to state, in this place, that the difficulties which Pedro of Aragon felt in rendering his due share of assistance to repel the invasion of the Almohades, (under the Miramolin, to whom John of England had tendered vassalage)—in consequence of the diminution which his power had undergone in Southern France, of the oppression of his allies and feudatories by De Montfort, and of the spoliation of the Count of Toulouse and his son, each of whom was personally connected with him by marriage,*—at length determined him to adopt measures of active resistance in their behalf. For a while, he appears to have obtained favourable admission for the strong representations which he made to Rome; and Innocent III. addressed Letters both to De Montfort and to his own Legates, reproaching them in unmeasured terms for their blood-guiltiness, their avarice, and their ambition, and commanding them to desist from their War of extermination.† In his diplomacy with France, Pedro was equally successful, and Philippe Auguste detained his son, Prince Louis, who was on the eve of joining the Crusaders. But De Montfort was fully conscious of his own power; and being strongly supported by all the Ecclesiastics in Narbonne, he prevailed on them, both individually and in their joint capacity as Members of a Council, to address the Pontiff, to exhibit to him the general demand of Europe that Heresy should be eradicated, and specifically, in the first instance, to denounce the City of Toulouse, as a Spiritual Gomorrah; which together with all the unrighteous who had taken

France. From A. D. 1199, to A. D. 1314. State of Toulouse.

A. D. 1212.

Withdrawal of Arnaud, Abbot of Cîteaux.

Pedro, King of Aragon.

induces Innocent III. to remonstrate.

* It is commonly believed that each of the Raymonds, Father and Son, married a sister of Pedro of Aragon. See a long and curious note (35.) in Vie and Vaissette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, iii. 591.

† *Epist. Innocent III. xv. 212, 213, 214.* cited by Vie and Vaissette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, xxi. 36, p. 234. ‡ *Hist. de Languedoc*, xxii. 43, p. 441.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

Innocent
afterwards
renews his
excommunication.
The King
of Aragon
takes the
field.

refuge within its walls, it was the chief duty of a Christian utterly to destroy. It was not difficult to revive in Innocent's bosom the smothered sparks of zeal. Once again they kindled into flame; and in order to expiate the sin of which he had been guilty by a brief inclination to mercy, he revoked all the concessions which he had made to the King of Aragon, and issued fresh anathemas against the heretical Barons of Narbonne.

Pedro, a brave Knight and a wise Statesman, perceived that all further hope from negotiation was at an end, and that his own safety, as well as that of the few Vassals who remained to him, must be purchased by the sword. Hastily putting himself at the head of a thousand horse, he crossed the Pyrenees, and joined the forces already gathered under the Counts of Toulouse, of Foix, and of Comminge, which amounted to about an equal number of cavalry with his own. This, in fact, constituted the whole force which the confederates employed in action, and which has been exaggerated by the Church Historians to sixty thousand men, and yet further by William of Brittany, indulging in the license of Poetry, to two hundred thousand.* Against these pretended myriads, De Montfort could array scarcely two thousand troops in all,† of whom however twelve hundred were horsemen, the choicest Knights of France, and greatly superior in weight, strength, and discipline to the light cavalry of Spain and the Pyrenees. Each party, it is true, had summoned from the neighbouring towns as many of the Civic militia as it could command, and it is not improbable that in that force the allies outnumbered the Crusaders in the ratio asserted; but the wretched infantry of those times, without defensive armour, and with no other weapon except a rude sword, untrained, unmarshalled, and unofficered, followed the march of an army but to toil before a battle, and to be slaughtered without resistance in a defeat.

Intercep-
tion of his
Love-letter.

De Montfort was lying in the small town of Muret, about three leagues from Toulouse, when an intercepted despatch from the King of Aragon was brought to him by a scout. Pedro, to his other accomplishments added that of song; he was a Troubadour of some distinction; and his lays of love were widely, and not unsuccessfully scattered. The Letter which De Montfort opened contained not deep matters of State or Policy, but an assurance to a Toulousian fair one, that it was for her love the King was about to encounter the chivalry of France, that her bright eyes would inspire him in battle, and that it was to them that he should look for recompense afterwards. These common-places of gallantry found no response in the bosom of the stern enthusiast, into whose hands they had undesignedly fallen. He regarded them with a bitter smile of contempt and triumph, exclaiming, "The day is our own; God is for us, while he on his side has nothing but the bright eyes of his Mistress!"‡

Battle of
Muret, Sept.
12.

On the morning of the 12th of September, De Mont-

* *Conveniant omnes numero his militia centum.*

Philippus, viii. 579.

† *Cujus erant equites cum quadraginta ducentis*

Septuaginti (Septingenti) in equites famuli, pedestres trecenti.

Id. Ibid. 587.

In his prose *Chronicle* William makes a slight variation: *Non habebat nisi ducentos et sexaginta milites, et circiter quingentos satellites equites, et peregrinos pedites fere septingentos iuvenas.* 92. The last word serves as a key to the whole history of this battle.

‡ Guilelmus de Poitou, c. 21, p. 678, where he says the Letter was addressed to *quendam nobilem uxorem cujusdam nobilis Thodonae Diocesis.*

fort heard Mass, marshalled his cavalry in three troops in honour of the Holy Trinity,* threw open the gates of Muret, and advanced upon the enemy. From an incident related by Matthew Paris, it would appear as if the confederates were surprised; for the spies of De Montfort informed him that the King of Aragon, so great was his security! was preparing to sit down to dinner. "Is he?" remarked the Count, as he sprang upon his horse, "then assuredly I will be his Sewer for the first dish!" and the King accordingly had tasted but three morsels before he was attacked and killed.† That he fought with De Montfort hand to hand, that the Count, endeavouring to take him alive, grappled with him, and threw him on the ground, where he was despatched by the dagger of an Enquire, are probably fictions invented by William of Brittany to adorn his Poem;‡ and a more probable account informs us that two French Knights had bound themselves by a vow, before the engagement, jointly to attack the King, nor to quit him till he was slain. According to a custom familiar to the times, and known to the English reader much later, on Bosworth field, Pedro had exchanged armour with one of his favourite attendants; and the Frenchmen charging the supposed object of their search, nearly unhorsed him at the first onset. "That is not the King," remarked one of them; "the King is a stouter Knight." "Right," cried Pedro, close at hand, "but here is the King;" and the bold avowal cost him his life; he was surrounded on the moment by the retainers of his two bonded foemen, and pierced to the heart by numberless lances. As had been foreseen, his death was the signal of general route. De Montfort chased the three Counts from the field, and mercifully pursuing the infantry, left wholly defenceless by this abandonment, put them to the sword, or drove them into the Garonne almost to a man.§

Further resistance on the part of the leaders of the Albigenses was hopeless, and in a few months after this great overthrow, Count Raymond and his allies of Foix and Comminge were reconciled to the Church; the first named abicated his shadowy sovereignty in favour of his son, and retiring to private life in Toulouse awaited the determination of the Pontiff as to the employment of the remainder of his days. A few petty towns, however, still obstinately persisted in Heresy, and their siege, their sack, and the martyrdom of their inhabitants when taken, afforded occupation for the Crusaders, who continued to pour in from France. In the Spring of 1215, Louis of France, attracted by the fashion of this pilgrimage, devoted himself to a forty days' campaign against the Heretics, at the head of a far larger army than he could have levied for any merely temporal service; and his arrival was watched by De Montfort with a jealous eye. The young Prince,

* *In nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis tribus dispositis acibus.* Math Paris, 246.

† *"Certe servum ei de primo ferculo."* *Id. Ibid.*

‡ *Philippus, viii. 735—803.*

§ William of Brittany says that seventeen thousand Toulousians were killed, and that De Montfort, *devoted eos gratis propeperit*, lost only eight of his *Peregrini*; 92; the same numbers are repeated in his *Philippus*, viii. 856. Matthew Paris states, *Ceteris interfecimus numerosis nulliusmodi acibus potuit; de multis autem Cruci-pugnans non solum cum arcerentibus paucis occubuit.* The details of this battle which we have offered are chiefly taken from the extended account of it in the *Hist. de Langue doc*, xxii. p. 250, &c. and Raynaldi *Annal. Eccl. ad ann. 1213.* § 56. vol. i. p. 336.

History. however, was actuated by superstition, not by ambition; and having made the circuit of the chief towns, he relieved his entertainer from all anxiety by again retiring to France. Not long afterwards, the grand object of De Montfort's ambition was completely realized, when the IVth Council of Lateran undertook the final distribution of the conquered Provinces. The Crusade against the Albigenes was declared to be at an end; and in spite of the reclamation of the two Raymonds, and of the Counts of Foix and of Comminge, who pleaded their own Cause in person, an (Ecumenical Decree adjourned the decision of the Council relative to the territories of the two last-named petitioners; permitted Raymond VII. to keep possession of that small portion of his hereditary dominions which was comprised in the County of Venaisin and the Marquisate of Provence; and conferred upon Simon de Montfort the golden prize of Toulouse and Montauban, and of the entire remainder of that extensive territory which had been won by the Crusaders.

Such was the striking result of the victory at Muret: that won at Bouvines, although productive of consequences far more permanent, seemed to effect little more at the moment than the negotiation of a Truce for five years with England. But the tyranny and faithlessness of John, before many months had passed, awakened fresh discontent among his Barons, who turned to France for relief, and proffered their Crown to the acceptance of Louis. The transactions of that Prince during his consequent invasion of England, belong more appropriately to the Annals of that Country than to those of France; and, accordingly, under the former we shall notice more at length the vehement opposition raised by Innocent III. to the enterprise; the death of that active and ambitious Pontiff, followed soon afterwards by that of King John; the abandonment of Louis by his English supporters; their adherence to Henry III.; the destruction of the invading fleet off the Straits of Dover; the renunciation of the claim advanced by the French Prince; and his final retirement from the British shores.

We return, therefore, to the South, in which the Peace resulting from the entire reduction of the Provençals was soon disturbed by the mutual jealousies of those who had divided the spoil. The hands yet red and dripping with the gore of unnumbered Albigenes were now raised in furious conflict against each other, and the temporal rights of the Duchy of Narbonne became an object of fierce dispute between Simon de Montfort and the Abbot of Cîteaux. The former occupied the contested towns by force of arms, the latter directed Spiritual weapons against his ancient colleague, and visited with excommunication that champion who so recently had been the terror of the excommunicated. Encouraged by these intestine quarrels among their oppressors, Raymond VII. and his father attempted the recovery of their lost dominions; and the general attachment to their name and persons greatly contributed to some early successes; but De Montfort having intercepted all communication between the two armies with which the Father and Son were approaching him on different frontiers, and being also prompted by the ferocious counsels, and aided by the treacherous artifices of Fouquet, Bishop of Toulouse, took a bloody revenge upon the rebellious inhabitants of that City. On a show of resistance which they feebly attempted, their town was abandoned to the license of De Montfort's soldiery. "Led by the Bishop,"

says a native Chronicler, "they pillaged and plundered great part of the City; and violated so many women and maidens, that a piteous sight was it to behold all the evil which the Bishop wrought upon Toulouse in so short a time." After the chief citizens had been thrown into dungeons or dragged to the scaffold, the miserable remnant saved their walls from the flames and their necks from the axe by payment of thirty thousand marks of silver.

Unbroken by these severities, the Toulousians, before the following year had closed, threw open their gates to Raymond VI., whose gentleness, although ill adapted to the troublous times upon which he was cast, had greatly endeared him to his former subjects. The contrast of his mild rule with the bloody tyranny which had been erected upon its overthrow, heightened their desire for his restoration; and, when they looked round upon their desolated fields; when they counted the numbers which each hearth had lost by the sword, either of war or of the executioner; when they felt their present terror, humiliation, and poverty, and remembered their former happiness, independence, and wealth, it can little be wondered that, even after all their sufferings, they were willing to suffer yet more for a chance of regaining liberty. De Montfort, when informed of this revolution, hastened by forced marches upon his insurgent Capital; but his troops, chiefly levied from the immediate neighbourhood, fell away as he approached its walls, and he was repulsed with severe loss when he attempted an assault. Even afterwards, when he had determined regularly to invest the City, he was surprised in his lines by the Comte de Foix, and pursued to the fords of the Garonne, where he narrowly escaped drowning at that very Muret, near which four years before he had gained so distinguished a victory. The insurrection extended itself through all the adjoining districts; and when De Montfort felt able to renew the siege of Toulouse, his works proceeded tardily, and with little effect. The Winter passed, and the following Summer was far advanced, while the City still held out. One morning, towards the close of June, as De Montfort was celebrating Mass, he was informed that the besieged had made a sortie. He refused to quit the Church before he had witnessed the elevation of the Host; and then, having first uttered the words of Simeon, "Lord now let thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," he buckled on his armour, repulsed the sally, and fell, while pressing close to the ditch in the pursuit, his skull being shattered by an enormous stone discharged from a mangonel.† His death was the signal for a fresh sortie, in which the besieged were

France.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Severities at
Toulouse.
Fresh revolt
of Tou-
louse.
A. D.
1217.

A. D.
1219.

Death of
Simon de
Montfort.

* *Historia de los sucesos de Tolosa*, cited by Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vi. 483.

† Pet. Vall. Cern., *Hist. Albigensium*, c. 66. p. 665. De Montfort is said to have been pierced at the same time by no less than five arrows, which inflicted wounds, as the Cistercian Monk profanely adds, *ad emulandum Salvatorem*. To heighten the effect of his death, the stone by which he was killed is said by some modern authors to have been discharged by the hand of a woman; (Benoit, *Hist. des Alb. lib. v. p. 61*.) or, as others state, by that of a dwarf. But Vie and Vassette quietly dismiss these appendages, by remarking, *Nous ne trouvons rien de ces circonstances dans les annes. Hist. de Languedoc*, xiii. 28. p. 394. We have forbore from any comment on Simon de Montfort's character, which may be best omitted from his actions. Velly probably was not aware how correctly he was drawing it when he unwittingly vented the following most bitter and most true sarcasm: *Homme incomparable, s'il avoit été moins ambiteux, moins cruel, moins perfide, moins vaine, et moins vindicatif*, ii. 248.

Renewal of
War with
Raymond.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.to
A. D.
1314.
Succession
of his son
Amaury.Crusade of
Prince
Louis.A. D.
1219.Treach-
erous mas-
sacre at
Marmande.Ineffectual
siege of
Toulouse.
Aug. 1.

utterly routed; and Amaury de Montfort, son of the deceased Count, having rallied the fugitives, received their oath of allegiance as his father's successor, renewed the siege ineffectually for another month, and then retired on Carcassonne.

The Vth Crusade to Palestine, which had been preached by the Council of Lateran not long before the death of Simon de Montfort, occupied most of those soldiers of the Cross who otherwise would have hastened to revenge it; and the military devotion of the French flowing in its ancient channels towards the East, for a while was diverted from Languedoc and Provence. But the Vatican was reluctant that the great work of Innocent III. should crumble away; and his successor Honorius III. openly assumed the protection of Amaury de Montfort, and destined to his support a moiety of the sum which had been levied in France for the service of the Crusade in the Holy Land. Prince Louis joyfully undertook the command of the expedition, the expenses of which were to be thus defrayed; and two and thirty Counts, more than twenty Bishops, and six hundred Knights enrolled themselves under his banner, and led ten thousand archers once again to scatter the flames of War over the fair districts of the South. The campaign began with the siege of Marmande, a small town on the Garonne, by the joint forces of Louis and Amaury. The former granted a capitulation with security of life and property to the inhabitants; but no sooner did the chief leaders of the vanquished enemy present themselves in the besiegers' lines, confiding in the terms which had been conceded, than the Bishop of Saintes fervently exhorted the Prince to commit them to the flames as Heretics and Traitors, and to extend the like summary punishment to all their comrades in the surrendered town. Louis and his brave Knights indignantly protested against so flagrant a breach of faith; but, during this discussion, Amaury, no less sanguinary and unscrupulous than his Father, had entered the gates of Marmande, and commencing the work of destruction did not cease till he had put every inhabitant to the sword. Five thousand souls of both sexes and all ages suffered under this most atrocious violation of the laws of War and of Honour.*

Louis, it is said, was *extremely shocked and somewhat disconcerted*† at this treacherous cruelty, but nevertheless he advanced with Amaury to besiege Toulouse. Bertrand, the Cardinal Legate, who accompanied them, had sworn with a horrible particularity, that within that devoted City neither man nor woman, nor child of either sex should be left alive; that all should be unsparingly massacred; and that not one stone should be left upon another in any of its buildings. The Toulousians had been informed of this vow of extermination; and they knew the temper of him by whom it had been pledged,—that if he possessed the power he would fulfil it to the very letter. Resistance to extremity was therefore their sole chance of escape. Count Raymond summoned his friends to his aid, and supported by a thousand Knights who threw themselves into the City before it was invested, made good his defence for six weeks, and compelled the

enemy to raise the siege, and to withdraw precipitately, after burning their artillery; Louis retired to France, Amaury to some one of the few towns which still recognised his authority.

Roused by this glorious example, Montauban, Beziers, and Castelnaudary, during the next year, disclaimed the yoke of De Montfort and raised the banners of their former Lords. The last-named town maintained itself during an eight months' siege, and when Amaury, disappointed in every attempt at its reduction, was forced to break up, Carcassonne, upon which he retreated, was almost the only one of his Father's numerous conquests which remained in his possession. It was in vain that the Legate Bertrand obtained authority from Rome to institute a new Order of Knighthood for the express purpose of combating Heresy; the Chevaliers of "the Holy Faith of Jesus Christ"‡ were little able to stem the reflux of that tide which was sweeping before it the fortunes of De Montfort. It was in vain that the Pope granted to Philippe Auguste a new subsidy from his Clergy; the boon was accepted, but its produce was employed not in the South, but in Poitou and Aquitaine. The fanaticism which but a few years since had roused myriads to engage against the Albigenes appeared extinct; and not a single Crusader responded to the Bulls of Honorius. With every native's dagger bared in against his bosom, without the hope of foreign assistance, fatigued, harassed, terror-stricken, and despairing, Amaury de Montfort at length offered to cede all that his Father had conquered, all that himself had lost, to Philippe Auguste. But that Prince, who even in his earlier years had shown little zeal for the Crusades against the Albigenes, was now weakened with age and sickness, and perhaps more than ever compassionate the wrongs of the legitimate Count of Toulouse. Pleading therefore the hazard of an approaching War with England, he declined the proposal of De Montfort, although it was earnestly recommended by the Pope, and backed by the promise of a general remission of his sins.

The long and brilliant career of Philippe Auguste was now indeed approaching a close. The King lingered through twelve months under a fever which first attacked him during the Summer of 1222; and to the latest moment he was usefully occupied in cares befitting a great Monarch. Before his demise, he completed an important task which had employed his entire reign at intervals—the fortification of all the towns appertaining to the Crown. This grand national work, which at once strengthened the Country against foreign invasion, and added vigour to the internal administration of Police, was performed with the strictest regard to equity and an undeviating respect for private rights; and not a hovel which it became necessary to demolish, nor a foot of land which was required to prevent interruption in the walls, was appropriated to the purpose without payment of its full value to the owner.† So well arranged, however, were the finances, that these extensive purchases were effected without injury to the Exchequer; and the increase of the Monarch's Revenues was throughout proportioned to that of the population, the industry, the commerce, and the agriculture of

* *Interfecerunt omnes municipes cum mulieribus et parvulis, omnes indigenas usque ad quinque milia.* Gul. Arn. 113.

† *Action barbare qui choque extrêmement le Prince François.* Velly, ii. 249, who has borrowed the sentence from the *Hist. de Languedoc*, xxiii. 42. p. 312. after substituting the milder *choque* for *irrita*. *Après avoir témoigné quelque mécontentement.* Sismondi, vi. 507.

* The very few particulars which are known concerning this Order may be found in Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Rel. et Ml.* tom. viii. part. vi. c. 40. p. 286. and in the *Hist. de Languedoc*, xxiii. 52. p. 316.

† Gul. Arn. 85.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Succession
of his son
Amaury.

Crusade of
Prince
Louis.

A. D.
1219.

Treach-
erous mas-
sacre at
Marmande.

Ineffectual
siege of
Toulouse.
Aug. 1.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Embellish-
ment of
Paris.

Jurispru-
dence.

Literature.

his Kingdom, all of which were greatly enlarged under his beneficial rule. The benevolent project of a *Hôtel des Invalides*, an honourable retreat for veteran soldiers, although not realized till the accession of Louis XIV., was conceived by Philippe Auguste.* Paris was indebted to him also for more numerous embellishments, and more rapid advances to that cleanliness, elegance, and magnificence, which are demanded by the Capital of a powerful Nation, than it had attained in the entire course of the four preceding Centuries; and it was the keen and vigilant eye of the King himself which detected its wants and watched over the progress of its decoration and improvement. To consolidate a Feudal union among the great Vassals of the Crown, subordinate to his own paramount Sovereignty, was another of his leading objects; and, for that purpose, he enhanced the authority of the Court of Peers, which we have seen pronouncing sentence against a King of England; and he obtained the sanction of National Assemblies for laws enacted to regulate not a single Province only, but universal France. Not less attached to Letters than distinguished for valor in the field of battle, Philippe Auguste extended a liberal patronage to Science and the Arts; and the *Academy of Paris* (it did not become a *University* till the reign of his grandson) received from him its first Code of Statutes. The School of Abelard, indeed, had already become the great theatre of study for all Europe, and pupils thronged to its lectures, not only from the remoter districts of France itself, but even from Germany and Italy. The Civil and Canon Law, the Seven Liberal Arts, Medicine, and Theology, were taught by its Professors;† and the exaggeration of the contemporary Writer who relates these particulars, may be pardoned when we read in him that even Athens in her days of highest glory was not less frequented by Sages, than was Paris in his own time.‡ Nor were they the severer studies alone which Philippe cherished and cultivated; his peculiar taste led him to encourage the brilliant Romances of Chivalry. His jousts and banquets, his Court spectacles and ceremonials were framed on the glittering models which he found established in those Tales; and to his reign we are indebted for the choicest legends of Knighthood which have descended to us; for names familiar to every reader who has permitted indulgence to the pleasures of Imagination. Before the close of the XIIth Century, and in the first twenty years of the sway of Philippe Auguste, had appeared the Romance of Tristan de Leonois, of the Saint Greal, and of Lancelot du Lac, the precursors of innumerable descendants connected with the Round Table of Arthur and the Paladins of Charlemagne.§

Thus having much more than doubled the extent of

his hereditary dominions, and added strength and lustre to the authority of the Crown while promoting the happiness of his People, Philippe Auguste expired on the 14th July, 1223, in the fifty-eighth year of his age and the forty-third of his reign, leaving behind him a reputation which has scarcely been exceeded by any other occupant of the same throne.

The brief and unimportant reign of his son and successor Louis VIII. will not long detain us. His accession was hailed with rapture by his subjects, for in his person, by the maternal line, they again saw themselves ruled by a genuine Carolingian.* His first entrance to his Capital was marked by unwonted demonstrations of public joy, and the streets of Paris reechoed with long-continued festivities. In the *Sacré* at Rheims, however, it had been observed that one great Vassal had neglected attendance either personally or by proxy. Normandy, indeed, was now united to the Crown of France, but the King of England, who, as Duke of Aquitaine, owed homage for that Fief, refrained from tendering his allegiance. It was not long before the intention of Henry III. to seek reestablishment in the Continental territories which his Father had lost, was openly avowed; and when the Truce between the two Powers was on the very eve of expiring, a formal demand was made for the restitution of the conquered Provinces. But the weak Prince took little care to follow up this demand with the vigour which was necessary for its enforcement; and when Louis entered Poitou, the English Commanders were left not only without supplies and reinforcements, but were subjected to a cruel mockery and deception. Huge chests were embarked from the Tower of London, ostensibly filled with money, and it was not till they were opened at La Rochelle that their real freight was discovered to be stones and bran.† The fall of that City rendered the conquest of all Aquitaine North of the Garonne an easy task; and the King of England, after enduring the shame of these fresh losses, was indebted for a renewed Truce of four years, partly to the purchased interference of Rome, and yet more, perhaps, to thirty-thousand marks of silver paid directly into the coffers of France.

Not long after the close of this successful campaign, the arbitration of Louis was required in one of the most remarkable claims which has been agitated in modern Europe. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, had been elevated by the united suffrages of the French and Venetians to the throne of the Eastern Empire so far back as the year 1204, and after eleven months' sway had been taken prisoner by the Bulgarians. His subsequent fate was involved in mystery; his brother Henry paused more than a year before he assumed the Imperial Crown, in hope of Baldwin's release from captivity; and although the Barbarian conqueror Joannice maintained a profound silence relative to the treatment of his prisoner, he was at length generally supposed to have perished by a death of horrible torture. His daughter Jeanne, who had been recognised as their Countess by the Flemings, was a licentious; and imperious

France.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
A. D.
1223.
Death of
Philippe
Auguste.
Accession
of Louis
VIII.

A. D.
1224.

Conquests
in Poitou
and Aquitaine.

Story of
Baldwin of
Flanders.

* *Epist. Innocent III. xi. 25.*

† *In eadem nobilissimâ civitate, non modo de Trivio et Quadrivio, verum et de questionibus Juris Canonici et Civiles, et de eâ facultate quæ de sanandis corporibus et sanitatibus scriptis est, plena et perfecta inveniretur doctrina, ferventiori tamen desiderio Sacram Fugium et questionibus Theologicis docebant.* Gul. Arn. 52. Of the Seven Liberal Arts, Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectics formed the Trivium; Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy the Quadrivium. The Statutes of the Academy of Paris date from 1215. Gaillard, *Hist. de Charlemagne*, iii. 285.

‡ *In debus ista studium literarum florebat Parisius, nec legimus tantum aliquando fuisse scholarium frequentiam Athenis vel Ægypti, vel in quibet parte mundi, quanta locum prædictum studendi gratis inebat.* Gul. Arn. ut sup.

§ *Samonds, Littérature du Médi. ch. vii. vol. XI.*

* The first Wife of Philippe Auguste, the mother of Louis VIII., was Isabelle, daughter of Baldwin, Count of Hainault, who was lineally descended from Ermenegarde, daughter of Charles of Lorraine, the last of the Carolingians.

† *Gesta Lud. viii. ap. Hist. des Gaules, xvii. 305. Chron. Turonens, Id. xvii. 305.*

‡ The release of Ferras, which took place in 1226, is attributed by the Chronicler of Tours to the facility with which the Countess

History.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
A. D.
1225.

woman, who still allowed her husband Ferrand to linger in the confinement to which he had been subjected from the day of his defeat at Bouvines. Little inclined even to divide her authority with another, she was overwhelmed with astonishment and indignation when a claimant appeared, who demanded that it should be altogether resigned. Twenty years had elapsed since the catastrophe of Baldwin, which was now well nigh forgotten, when a man presented himself in Flanders, bearing a strong resemblance to the lost Prince in features and in person, with such difference only as would arise from increased age and from suffering. He related a not improbable tale of his abode among and his escape from the Bulgarians, and he asserted his right to his hereditary dominions. The Flemings, among whom Jeanne was greatly and deservedly unpopular, listened to the pretension with avidity, took up arms in its support, and forced their Princess to seek refuge in the Court of Louis, the gaoler of her husband. The King of France promised to reinstate the fugitive Countess, and commenced by summoning the Pretender to appear before Commissioners, who might ascertain his identity. The claimant obeyed, under the protection of a safe-conduct, which was honourably respected, even after the Judges had pronounced that he was an impostor. On many points, as the Flemish Chronicler Oudegherst relates, his replies were accurate; but there were three on which he failed; * he was unable to state the place at which he had done homage to Philippe Auguste, that at which he had received Knighthood, and the day on which he had been married to his consort Mary of Champagne. Louis declaring himself satisfied respecting the imposture, commanded the Pretender, who was avowed to be a Hermit of Champagne, to quit his dominions; his adherents fell away insensibly, and on his attempting escape from Burgundy in disguise, he was seized by an emissary of the Countess, delivered into her hands, and eventually hanged with marks of especial ignominy. The popular voice continued to be raised in his behalf even after his death, and Jeanne was openly taxed with the commission of parricide. Whether guilty or otherwise, she exhibited much wisdom in her generation, and unable to avert the horrible charge by reasoning she had recourse to prodigies. Envoys were despatched to Adrianople, who affirmed on their return that they had ascertained the particulars of Baldwin's death; that they had seen the very spot on which his remains, when thrown to the dogs, were left undevoured, and afterwards were distinguished by a marvellous brightness; and that a sick person had been miraculously healed by approaching the grave.†

Jeanne, regardless of Bigamy, had listened to the proposals for her hand made by the Duke of Brittany. Louis VIII., aware of the impolicy of permitting the union of Flanders with that powerful Fief, and unwilling also to sanction nuptials so scandalous, spoiled the contract by turning the first husband loose. *op. Hist. des Gaules*, tom. xviii. p. 316. Velly says that the hatred between Ferrand and his Countess arose from the Chess-board, over which they quarrelled incessantly, because the latter was the better player of the two. (ii. 303.)

* *Chroniques et Annal. de Flandre*, ch. 107. fol. 178. where the history is related at length, and unfavourably to the Pretender. The author of the *Gesta Ludovici VIII.* states that the pretended Baldwin refused to answer any questions proposed by the Commissioners. *op. Hist. des Gaules*, xvi. 309. The *Chroniques de S. Denis* are much to the same purpose. B. 420. A short account of this claimant is given by Matt. Paris, p. 320.

† *Lesquelles choses furent rapportées par divers personnages de bonne cécience et dignes de foy.* Oudegherst, f. 180.

No further testimony could be required, and the angry clamours of the Flemings at once subsided.

In Languedoc, the fortunes of De Montfort continued on the decline, although death had relieved him from two of his chief opponents. Raymond VI. terminated his chequered life in 1222; but the hatred of the Priests pursued him beyond the grave. The rites of sepulture were obstinately denied to his remains; and three centuries after his decease, the wooden coffin in which they were deposited was still to be seen, unburied, in the Cemetery of the Knights Hospitaliers of St. John at Toulouse. Velly, who wrote in 1770, states that the skull was shown in his days, and that it bore a fleur-de-lis distinctly impressed upon it by nature.* The Count de Foix died in the year following, but his son Roger Count de Bernard inherited his father's principles and valour, as well as his dominions, and in conjunction with Raymond VII. determined upon completing the expulsion of De Montfort. Their success was not long delayed; notwithstanding the receipt of a subsidy and the promises of further assistance from Louis VIII., Amaury was unable to meet his enemies in the field; and he at length agreed wholly to evacuate the territories which during forty years had submitted to the rule of his family, and took his departure for the North of France.

Louis, more enterprising or less polite than his Father, willingly accepted the renewed offer of the cession of Languedoc which, notwithstanding his recent Treaty, Amaury did not scruple to tender on his arrival in Paris; and the price was to be the high dignity of Constable of France.† But Honorius III. long hesitated to afford his sanction to a new Crusade for the spoliation of Raymond. The Emperor Frederic II. was ardently bent upon an expedition to Palestine, and apprehensive that if Indulgences were granted to those who embraced a nearer and a much easier Holy War, his favourite object would be disconcerted, he was loud in his remonstrances with the Vatican. When the difficulties, however, which impeded this Eastern enterprise had relaxed his zeal for its completion, his opposition to the issue of a new Bull against the Albigeuses was at the same time diminished. The Council of Bourges rejected the submission offered by the Count of Toulouse, refused the absolution which he earnestly besought, commissioned Louis to pluck up the unrighteousness of Heresy from the land,‡ and granted him during five years, provided the war should continue so long, a tenth of all the Ecclesiastical revenues in his dominions, to defray its expenses.§

Fifty thousand men at arms, and a proportional number of retainers on foot are said to have accompanied the march of Louis. Terror preceded them as they gathered at Bourges, traversed the Nivernois, and approached Lyon. Every town through which they were likely to advance, proffered its keys and its allegiance; and the Deputies from Avignon were among the foremost to tender a free passage over their bridge on the Rhone, and the command of supplies for the army. The author-

* *Hist. de France*, ii. 277.

† *Gul. de Podio*, c. 35. p. 687.

‡ *Id. proutlatum hereticum excommunicat terra. Littere of the Cardinal Legate of St. Angelo. Preuves de l'Hist. de Languedoc*, 181. vol. iii. 323.

§ *Cum exercitu quasi invincibili iter arripuit. . . . armati autem in exercitu milibus et equis bellatorum ad quinquaginta milia, præter pedites qui quasi sub numero non cedebant.* Matt. Paris, 333.

History.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

rites of that City, which nominally belonging to the Empire as part of the Kingdom of Arles, virtually maintained independence, were well inclined to Raymond; but doubtful of his ability to resist, and unwilling to expose themselves to the brunt of the Crusade, they thought to conciliate Louis by these offers, while at the same time they resolved not to admit his ill-restrained and licentious soldiery within their walls. As measures of precaution, therefore, they replenished their magazines, provided artillery, and put their garrison in a condition of defence. Nor was this wise foresight unnecessary. The Legate and the Ecclesiastics rejoiced in a pretext under which they might punish an offending City, excommunicated twelve years before for its attachment to the House of St. Gilles, and still impenitent; the Crusaders were tempted by its wealth and promise of booty; and the pride of the King was galled at a refusal to admit his personal entrance. He demanded, therefore, that his whole army might pass in military array through the streets, and upon refusal, he immediately commenced the siege of Avignon.

Siege of
Avignon.

A strong natural position, a double wall, a numerous population, and well-constructed defences rendered this enterprise not a little difficult to the assailants. Great skill and valour were shown by the besieged; and the loss of the French from the sword, from want of sufficient supplies, from the climate, and from sickness, fearfully thinned their ranks. No fodder was to be obtained for the cattle, but such as was brought from a distance, for the Count of Toulouse had ploughed up every acre of adjoining pasture; the unburied carcasses of men and beasts bred a species of large and noisome black flies, which are described by the Chronicler to have buzzed round the tents and tables of the Crusaders, as pestilently as those foul Birds with which Fable once tenanted the Strophades, assaulted the Trojan hero.* Dispirited by these sufferings, most of the great Lords, after their forty days of Feudal service had expired, prepared to leave the Camp. Among them was Thibaud, (the IVth, or the Posthumous as he is named,) Count of Champagne, a Noble of whose conduct various explanations are given. By some authorities he is supposed to have been unwilling to compass the entire overthrow of Raymond; by others his abandonment of the Crusade is ascribed to a motive more closely personal. Thibaud, in the flower of youth, devoted to gallantry, and one of the choicest Poets of his time, had written in praise of the charms of Queen Blanche, notwithstanding she had now passed her fortieth year, and after the

fashion of the times had avowed himself her Knight. Impatient to revisit his Mistress, he demanded leave to retire, and on the refusal of the King, parted from him in anger, and is suspected of having taken a deep and atrocious revenge.

Avignon at length capitulated on the 12th of September, and Louis commenced his return to the North, after a short residence in the captured city. Disease followed in his train, and numerous personages of distinction were swept away by a contagion which spread itself during the march. On arrival at the Abbey of Montpensier, Louis himself was attacked with symptoms which resisted all medical aid. He prepared for death calmly and devoutly;† received oaths of allegiance from his chief Barons to his eldest son, a child at that time but twelve years of age; and expired on the 8th of November, a victim, as report very generally affirmed, to the vengeance of Thibaud.‡ Louis was described by Philippe Auguste as weak and delicate; yet, both as heir apparent and as King, he exhibited considerable activity. Matthew Paris speaks of him as far different from his very wise predecessor†§ and by others he has been mentioned negatively as the Son of a great King and the Father of a great Saint. The title *Le Lion pacifique* which has been attributed to him is very little borne out by his actions, for whatever distinction he attained was won by arms; and it appears reasonably explained as no more than a forced and silly resolution of one of Merlin's prophecies, *In Ventris monte morietur Leo pacificus*.|| Louis died in the town of Montpensier, and nothing was easier than the slight

France.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Surrender
of Avignon.

Death of
Louis VIII.

Distress of
the Crusade.

Thibaud
of Cham-
pagne re-
fuses.

* A remarkable anecdote of his last illness is related by Gul. de Podio. *Erat autem quid relevari posset, ut dicebatur, non feminæ agilitudo, quod nesci audire a viro fide digno referri, sentiens vir nobilis Arcaimbaldus de Barbonio, qui in ejus erat societate, posse juvari. Regem nuptibus fascinus, quæstibus virginum, speciosis ac generosis, atque cibis tantum quali Regi se offerret et liquoribus, quod non libidinibus delectaret, sed auditis infirmis auditio advenisset, dormiente Rege a cubicularia ejus de de fecit in thalamum introduci; quem Rex exiguus cum vidisset aspirantem, quævisit quid esset et qualiter introisset? quod nesci edocui erat aut quid advenisset, reservari, cui gratias Rex ait "Non ita eris puerile, non enim peccarem mortaliter ullo modo?" et convocato dicto viro Arcaimbaldus mandavit cum honorifice morari. 36. p. 688. The chastity of Louis is a theme of praise with most of his Chroniclers; in the *Gesta* we read of him that he was vir utique Catholicus et mira sanctitatis omnibus dictis vita usque, nam nunquam carnem suam maculavit, præterquam cum unice uxore ad sibi legitimum matrimonium copulavit. 310.*

† Matthew Paris can scarcely be admitted as an authority for the poisoning of Louis, for he was ignorant of the surrender of Avignon, and supposes that the siege was still in progress at the moment of the King's death. His words are, *Tunc Comes, ut fama refert, procuravit Regi venenum propinare ob mortem Regine ejus quem carnaliter illicitè admovevit; unde libidinis impulsu stimulatus, mors alterius necesse non valeret. Comitis igitur ultantem recedente infamabatur Rex usque ad desperationem, et percutante usque ad vitalia veneno, prædixit ad extrema: licet alii assentiri ipsum non veneno sed morbo dytetrico expirasse. 334. The author of the *Gesta Ludovici*, viii. does not notice the report of poison; and Brial, in a note upon the passage from Matthew Paris above cited, contends that the account is altogether fabulous, because the King did not die till the 8th of November, and Thibaud quitted the army, without leave, about the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 15, as we learn from the *Gesta Ludovici*, viii. 309. But surely, if Thibaud were bent upon the crime, he might find agents enough for his purpose without being himself present. Lobineau positively asserts the poisoning, without determining its author. *Hist. de Bretagne*, vii. 48. p. 219. He admits that the passion of Thibaud for Blanche often hurried him into extravagances injurious to his interests; but, nevertheless, he is unwilling to credit any assertion on the testimony of Matthew Paris, whom he attacks very mercilessly, and very unjustly.*

‡ Guilelmus de Podio, c. 34. p. 687.

§ 269.

|| *Gesta Lud.* viii. 310.

History. change by which the Chronicler has corrupted this name for the benefit of the Soothsayer. *Montpancier* is but a different spelling of *Mont pancier*,* and *Montpancier* is plainly an inversion of *la pance du Mont*, or *Montia venter*. Every King is by courtesy a *Lion*, and it would be a grievous want of accommodation to be over-scrupulous about his *pacific* qualities, when nothing else is wanted to make the prediction square with Truth.†

Regency of It appears doubtful whether Louis VIII. on his death-bed appointed Queen Blanche Regent during the ensuing minority:‡ But although a foreigner, and therefore an object of jealousy, she was a woman of intrepid courage and commanding intellect; and in spite of the claim of Philippe Hurepel, Count of Boulogne, Brother of the late King, and the opposition of many powerful Barons, she obtained and upheld the representation of sovereignty during the long period of ten years. We need not enter into details of the numerous contests in which, during the earlier part of that time, she was engaged with several of the great Feudatories, each of whom appeared desirous to form a petty independent Kingdom. The chief of these disaffected Nobles was Pierre de Dreux, Count of Brittany, one of those spirits which seem gifted with some principle of general resistance; who, as it suited his convenience, renounced from time to time the allegiance which he owed both to France and to England, and who, from his uncompromising disobedience to the Church, obtained the significant name of *Maulclerc*§ The King of England, Henry III., testified willingness to support him and even armed for his assistance. But Henry was a weak Prince; and on one occasion the *Favouritell* by whom he was ruled accepted a bribe to retard an expedition which was already equipped; on another the indolence and voluptuousness of the Monarch himself prevented a landing which he had effected in Brittany from producing any important result. The King of England had shown a blind devotion to the Church, and the claims advanced by him upon the Provinces in France, which had been wrested from his Crown in former reigns, were on that account sanctioned by two successive Popes, Honorius III. and Gregory IX. To this list of Blanche's enemies must be added Thibaud of Champagne,¶ who twice embraced the party of the

Contest with the Barons,

and Henry III. of England.

A. D.

1229.

A. D.

1230.

Thibaud of Champagne.

Barons, and twice failed them at a critical moment; unable, as the scandal of the times would persuade us, to resist the reproaches or the caresses of his Mistress. Indignant at his vacillation, the disappointed condeco-derates turned their arms against Champagne, and not only ravaged the Count's dominions, but raised up a claimant for their inheritance. Henry II. Count of Champagne, uncle of Thibaud, during the IIIrd Crusade had married Isabella, Queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus, widow of Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat; and Alice, Queen of Cyprus, the issue of that marriage, asserted a right to the Fief of Champagne, in preference to her cousin Thibaud, the son of Henry's younger brother. Thibaud replied, that Alice was illegitimate, since a former husband of Isabella was living at the time of her union with his uncle. The decision of this claim was referred to the ordinary Feudal and Ecclesiastical tribunals; but mean time Thibaud, attacked on all sides, and worsted in more than one collision with the troops of his enemies, took refuge in Paris, and found himself compelled to give way to the storm. Philippe Hurepel was eager in demanding revenge for the death of the late King his Brother which he continued to impute to Thibaud; and the latter consented as a penance, (by which he in no small measure admitted the validity of the accusation) to serve with one hundred Knights in the Holy Land, at some time which being left indefinite rendered evasion easy. In the year following, a Treaty concluded at Treves, St. Aubin du Cormier put an end to the Wars of the Regency. The Barons were fatigued by their ineffectual resistance; and their ally Henry III., who naturally loved repose, consented to a Truce for three years, of which Philippe Hurepel was named conservator.

It may be convenient in this place to outrun strict chronological arrangement by relating at once the remaining particulars of Thibaud's History. A few years after the above events, the Crown of Navarre devolved to him on the death of his maternal uncle, Sancho VII.; and but a month before his accession to that Kingdom, the opportune decease of his chief enemy, Philippe Hurepel, (so opportune, indeed, that dark suspicion arose as to its cause,) disembarassed him from the pretensions of Alice, thus deprived of her chief supporter. The Queen of Cyprus surrendered her claims in return for a pension of two thousand livres; and the cession of Chartres, Blois, Sancerre, and Châteaudun to the Crown of France, provided Thibaud with the sum necessary to defray this compensation. Thus firmly established in all his dominions, the King of Navarre and Count of Champagne, the *Faiseur des Chanoins*, a title which he considered more glorious than either of the former, took the Cross in fulfilment of his promise to the Barons of France, and died peaceably on his return from Palestine in 1253.

The Fiefs obtained from Thibaud were not the only acquisitions made for the Crown of France during the wise and vigorous Regency of Blanche. On the death of Louis VIII., Raymond of Toulouse acquiring fresh courage took the field with an activity and success which it is to be regretted that he sullied by grievous cruelties. But the War in Languedoc from its commencement had been distinguished by a savage disregard for humanity; and Raymond, when he brutally

* Lobineau, by a strange mistake, writes *Montpelier*.

† *En effet, à l'aide de ces interprétations, la prophétie parait parfaitement claire*, is the acute conclusion of M. de Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vi. 538.

‡ Blanche was not appointed Regent by the Will of Louis VIII., which is given in his *Gesta*, 310; but there is still extant a Declaration by the Archbishop of Sens, and the Bishops of Beauvais and Chartres, that the dying King had so named her in their presence. Sismondi expresses a suspicion as to the authenticity of this Declaration, vii. 52. note.

§ Unless we render the word, in opposition to *Beuclerc*, as *le mauvais avent*. Sismondi, vii. 25.

¶ Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justice of England. Henry was so indignant at finding that his fleet was insufficient to transport the troops already assembled at Portsmouth, that he drew his sword and would have killed the treacherous Minister, had he not been soothed by Pierre Mauclerc who was present. Matt. Paris, 363. Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne*, vii. 75. p. 225. makes Rainulf, Count of Chester, mediator on this occasion, and places the arrival of Mauclerc in England after Hubert's disgrace. Matthew Paris is likely to be the more correct of the two.

¶ The Cardinal Legate of St. Angelo was said to share the smiles of Blanche in common with Thibaud; and Matthew Paris advances the charge against her reputation in terms of grossness not to be transcribed. (308.) After all, the conduct of Thibaud is much more that of an expectant, than of a satiated lover; and we

are inclined to think that the Queen has been traduced, and that she did no more than exercise that legitimate influence of beauty which the peris envying her well warranted her to employ.

History.

From
A. D.
1199,
to
A. D.
1314.
A. D.
1228.
Invasion of
Toulouse.

mutilated two thousand prisoners,* no doubt palliated the crime in his own eyes, by an easy sophism, and advanced the necessity for reprisals. A fearful vengeance awaited him when the Crusaders spread themselves afresh round Toulouse; and the work of destruction was planned and arranged by Fouquet, Bishop of that City, whom we have seen, more than once before, dishonoured by conducting the persecution of that flock which he had been commissioned to fold in peace. "Every morning," says a contemporary Chronicler, "the besiegers attended Mass at daybreak, and each man assisted at it with passing devotion. After that, they took a sober repast, and then having posted sentinels on all sides to keep the garrison in awe, they detached three companies, each destined for a different purpose, and equipped with the necessary instruments for its performance. One with pickaxes demolished and overthrew houses and huddings; another with mattocks stripped and rooted up vineyards; and a third with sickles reaped and trampled under foot the grain. Night alone put a stop to this devastation, which was renewed on the following morn in similar order, and perhaps with greater barbarity. Nearly three months passed during which this distressing spectacle was daily renewed under the eyes of the Toulousians."†

Submission
of Ray-
mond.
April 12.
A. D.
1229.

Toulouse was thus left the centre of a Desert; and Raymond, abandoned on all hands, and without hope of recruiting his exhausted resources, was compelled to submit to whatever terms the Cardinal Legate and the Court of France could be prevailed upon to grant. The conditions of the Treaty which he accepted sufficiently betokened the extremities to which he was reduced. He engaged to expel from his territories not only all the *roustiers*, that is the mercenaries who had fought under his banner, and other disturbers of the public peace, but to exterminate to the full extent of his power all Heretics and their fosterers, without sparing his friends, his Vassals, or even his kinsmen. Among these was specified by name the Count de Foix, his most faithful ally, whom he undertook to pursue by force of arms unless he promptly submitted. He promised to pay twenty thousand marks of silver in the course of the next four years; and out of that sum, apportioned to various Military and Ecclesiastical purposes, four thousand marks were to be dedicated for the support at Toulouse, during ten years, of four Doctors in Divinity, two of Canon Law, six Masters of Arts, and two Regents in Grammar; an establishment which may be considered as the germ of its celebrated University. Furthermore, he bound himself to take the Cross, and to depart forthwith to the Holy Land, where he was to abide during five years' space. In consideration of these marks of obedience he was permitted to hold for the term of his life, as a Fief, a portion of his existing territories; the remainder (with the exception of his possessions in Arles, which fell to Rome) was absolutely united to the Crown of France. Even the Provinces, which he was allowed to retain, were to form a dowry for his daughter Jeanne, whom "the Queen Regent was willing to accept" as a consort for one of her sons. If that marriage were unproductive of issue, the Fiefs, after Raymond's death, were to be annexed to France; and the claim of any issue of the Princess by a second marriage, if such should ever take place, or of any issue which Raymond

himself might have hereafter, was strictly barred.* The fortifications of Toulouse and of thirty other large towns were to be razed, and eight cautionary fortresses, among which was Narbonne, were to be garrisoned by the French during ten years.

For Raymond, thus prostrated and impoverished, there was little further degradation in the public penance which he was enjoined to perform in the presence of the King, the Court of France, and the Legate, in Notre Dame at Paris, as an act of reconciliation to the Church. Yet the Chronicler, who has remarked that each single article of the above Treaty included a concession, which of itself might have sufficed as a ransom for the Count of Toulouse if he had been taken prisoner in battle, appears deeply moved by his final humiliation. "It was in truth," he exclaims, "a spectacle worthy of compassion to see so great a man, after so long and gallant a struggle, led to the foot of the altar like a malefactor, in his shirt and barefooted."† After six weeks' imprisonment in the Louvre, till his daughter had been placed in the hands of the Queen Regent and the other most important articles of his Treaty had been fulfilled, he received permission to return into Languedoc, and obtained a dispensation from the Pope relieving him from his service in Palestine. The exchange of Sovereigns which Languedoc thus underwent, might have been far from diminishing its general welfare, were it not that it contributed to the establishment within the walls of Toulouse of the most formidable tyranny which ever oppressed the spirit of mankind. It was immediately on the overthrow of Raymond, that the Holy Office first assumed a distinct form and permanent authority; and with a remarkable contrast of light and darkness, the University and the Inquisition of Toulouse were twin births of the same cradle.

On the expiration of the Truce of St. Aubin, Henry III. disembarked some troops in Bretany, surprised a detachment of the Royal Guard, and even plundered the King's equipage; but Mauclerc, whom Blanche might have found a dangerous enemy if he had again taken arms, having satisfied himself that the King of England was too weak and feeble to afford hope of permanent aid, discreetly renounced his alliance, and concluded amicable engagements with France. The marriage of her son was now the chief object of anxiety with Blanche, and she selected for his consort one of the most accomplished women of her days, Margaret, eldest daughter of Raymond Berenger IV., Count of Provence.‡ Of the restraint which Blanche's maternal authority imposed upon the new-married pair, some amusing and remarkable instances have been preserved to us; and the patience of Louis, great as it is well known to have been, must have been severely tried by the rigid inspection maintained over his domestic arrangements.§ This teasing interference scarcely appears to have terminated even when he attained the ripe age of one and twenty, and was nominally emancipated from his mother's Regency.

It is to the epoch of the majority of Louis IX. that one of the most romantic incidents of his life is assigned by some of the older Chroniclers. The Sultan of the Ar-

France.

From
A. D.
1199,
to
A. D.
1314.
Raymond
does pe-
nance.

Establish-
ment of the
Inquisition
at Toulouse.

A. D.
1234.

Marriage

and major-
ity of
Louis.
A. D.
1236.

The Old
Man of the
Mountain

* The Treaty is given by Velly, ii. 322, from the *Traité des Chrétiens de la Terre Sainte*, t. 3, p. 2 and 60.

† Gul. de Podio, c. 39, p. 691.

‡ Eleanor, her younger sister, was married to Henry III. of England two years afterwards.

§ Joinville, p. 127. Ed. 1761.

* Matt. Paris, 349.

† Gul. de Podio, 38, p. 690.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
counter-
orders the
assassina-
tion of
Louis IX.

sacides, more familiarly known as the Old Man of the Mountain, is said, from some motive not explained, to have despatched two of his fanatical *Assassins*, with instructions to take the French King's life; and afterwards repenting of his design, from a no less unexplained cause, to have sent out other envoys to overtake the former if possible, and, at all events, to forewarn Louis of his danger. The King of France was sorely alarmed, and immediately marshalled a Body-guard of vigilant warders armed with brzen maces. The first messengers were discovered by their brethren before they had proceeded further than Marseilles; and all four were afterwards received by Louis at his Court with great distinction, and dismissed with liberal gifts. This story, long admitted as authentic, does not wear much appearance of probability; but it was treated with gentleness when examined by the Parisian *Académie des Belles Lettres*; and the Editor of the *Mémoires* of that learned Body, as if reluctant to surrender any legend of his canonized King, gives the Divines who, according to custom, were appointed to pronounce an annual eulogy on St. Louis, full permission to employ the anecdote, without imputation upon their veracity.

Purchase of
the Crown
of Thorns.
Aug. 18.
A. D.
1239.

A deliverance so notable could not but excite deep gratitude to Providence; and it must have been with no slight pious joy that Louis soon afterwards was enabled to obtain possession of a Relic, the most distinguished in the Christian World. The Crown of Thorns had been pledged to a Venetian Merchant, in order to satisfy the pressing necessities of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople; and for a sum amounting to about £7000 of our present money, Louis was allowed to become owner of that inestimable treasure. The negotiation was conducted with due avoidance of Simony; Louis made a voluntary offering of the gold, and received a gratuitous donation of the Crown. True it is that the Monks of St. Denis already boasted the possession of one true similar Crown, the authenticity of which had been avouched by many and even recent Miracles; but that of Constantinople was readily admitted to be the more authentic of the two; and the King himself, with bare head and feet, carried it in solemn procession from the Bois de Vincennes to the Chapel of his Palace; and not long afterwards enshrined it, with many other costly Relics, in a gorgeous sanctuary, *La Sainte Chapelle*, built expressly for their reception.

Erection of
La Sainte
Chapelle.
A. D.
1241.

Hugues de
la Marche
refuses ho-
mage.

Some troubles in Languedoc were suppressed by the activity of Louis almost as soon as they arose; but the investiture of his brother Alfonso (married in pursuance of the Treaty with Raymond VII. to that Prince's

daughter Jeanne) with the Fief of Poitou, provoked open rebellion. Hugues, Count de la Marche, who had taken to wife Isabelle, Queen Dowager of England, (the lady who many years before had been wrested from him by the late King John,) asserted the claim of his step-son, Richard, Earl of Cornwall,* upon the conquered Province, and refused his homage to Alfonso. The King was abandoned at Poitiers by most of the Barons whom he had summoned to witness the ceremony, and lying without troops in the immediate neighbourhood of a considerable armed force which his disobedient Vassal had assembled, he heartily wished himself back again at Paris; a wish which, as Joinville adds, he could not realize till after fifteen days' anxious suspense, and some compromise with the Count de la Marche, of the precise nature of which the Chronicler is unable to inform us.†

Hugues was well aware of the uncertain tenure of a reconciliation thus effected by necessity, and he lost no time, therefore, in strengthening himself by alliances. Raymond of Toulouse, smarting under the deprivation of the chief portion of his dominions, and jealous of the aggrandizement of his daughter in her husband's new Fief of Poitou at his own expense, was easily allured to join in a projected League against France; and he received the hand of a daughter of Hugues and Isabelle (thus a half sister of Henry III.) in the hope of issue, by which he might disinherit Alfonso and Jeanne. The Kings of England, of Aragon, of Castile, and of Navarre, and Trencavel, Viscount of Bézans and Carcassone, (son of that gallant Raymond Roger, who had perished thirty years before in the dungeons of Simon de Montfort,) entered into a confederacy with the Count de la Marche; and it was agreed that he should withhold an open declaration of resistance till Alfonso held his first Court at Poitiers. On that occasion, Hugues publicly renounced allegiance to the French Prince, whom he stigmatized as a usurper; and accompanied his defiance by an act of fierce insult, setting fire to the house in which he had been lodged, and then galloping furiously from the City.‡

War was now inevitable. Henry III., in spite of the disinclination loudly expressed by his Parliament, embarked with his brother, the Earl of Cornwall; and before the close of March landed with his Queen, three hundred Knights, and a considerable treasure,§ at the mouth of the Gironde. During the following month, Louis actively employed himself in reducing the chief towns of Poitou. Before one of them, Fontenay, Alfonso was severely wounded; and on its surrender the King consented to raze it to the ground as some expiation for his brother's sufferings. The Courtiers would have pushed his vengeance to far more odious severity; and they urged him to put to an ignominious death a natural son of the Count de la Marche, who commanded the garrison, and more than one hundred captive Knights and soldiers, who served under him. The King's reply was noble, and in full accordance with many other testimonies of his generous spirit which History has recorded. "The one," he said, "has not

* The original reporter of this adventure is Gul. de Nangis, ap. Duchesne, v. 332. The examination of the story by M. l'Évêque de la Ravallière may be found in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, xvi.

† It was to the *spinea corona* entire, not to a "prickle" of it, as we have inadvertently said in p. 625 of this volume, that the recovery of Louis VIII., when an infant, was attributed in 1191. Rigordus, ap. *Hist. des Gauls*, xviii. 34. Yet later, in 1196 and in 1206, it was employed by the Monks of St. Denis to reduce inundations of the Seine. *Id.* 45. 61. Febliien, *Hist. de Paris*, 294, 295, has given an account of the Translation of the genuine Crown to Paris; and he mentions, that after its arrival it was exhibited to the populace by the Clergy on a lofty scaffold erected near the Church of St. Antoine des Champs. The spot on which this solemnity occurred is still called *La Guellette*, from the old verb *guelter*, (Ital. *guastare*.) to regard attentively. See also Guilelmus de Nangis, 333.

* Second son of King John.

† *Saint Louis aurait bien voulu être arrière à Paris, mais comme il n'eut partie tant qu'il fut accordé au Comte de la Marche.*

* Matt. Paris, 579.

† Id. 580.

‡ Id. 582, 583.

From
Ann
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

League
against
France.

Order
granted
by Henry
III.

Henry III.
lands in
France.
A. D.
1212.

Generous
conduct of
Louis de
France.

History.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Battle of
Tallébourg,
July 21.

committed any crime in obeying his Father, nor the others in fulfilling the orders of their General.”*

The King of England concentrated his forces at Taillebourg in order to dispute the passage of the Charente, but he was greatly outnumbered by the French; since, with the exception of the Count de la Marche, not one of his allies had put their promised contingent in motion. Alarmed at this inferiority, he despatched the Earl of Cornwall to attempt negotiation; and that Prince, who had just returned from the Holy Land, divesting himself of his armour, and bearing a Pilgrim's staff, approached the French camp. Richard had served with great distinction in Palestine, where he had deservedly won the gratitude of many French Knights, who were indebted to him for freedom. His reception, therefore, by his ancient comrades in arms was most kind and affectionate; and in the King's tent he was hailed, not as a messenger from the enemy, but as a Kinsman and as a Soldier of the Cross.† Yet, during this parley, so far as we are able to collect from the indistinct narrative of the Chroniclers, the French, partly in boats and partly traversing a narrow bridge which ought to have been better defended, lodged a detachment on the opposite bank of the river; and the English, struck with panic, fled precipitately to Saintes. So hot was the pursuit that many French entered the gates together with the fugitives, and were made prisoners in spite of their success.‡ Two days afterwards, a severe battle was fought under the walls of Saintes, which terminated somewhat to the advantage of the French. Discouraged by these reverses, little confident in either the ability or the constancy of Henry, and manifestly deceived by his other allies, the Count de la Marche opened secret negotiations with Louis; and the King of England after a few days' abode in Saintes, which he had resolved to maintain against a siege, learned at the same moment that its terrified inhabitants were preparing to open their gates to the enemy, and that Hugues, by whose invitation he had commenced the War, was treating for a separate Peace. His alarm on the receipt of this intelligence assuredly was not without cause, and its effects are most graphically described by Matthew Paris. Messenger after messenger poured in, breathless and panting, to announce some new addition of peril; and it plainly appeared that nothing but instant and most rapid flight could save the whole army from destruction. Dinner was about to be served when the King's terror was raised to its height by fresh and more authentic confirmation of the treachery of his allies; and hastily rising from table, hungry and empty as he was, he spared neither his horse's flanks nor his own spurs, little regarding who of his people had the power of following. For two days and nearly two nights before he reached Blaye on the Garonne, he neither ate nor slept; and the sufferings of his army in its tumultuary

Battle of
Saintes,
July 23.
Hugues
treats for a
separate
Peace.
Alarm and
flight of
Henry III.

Blaye,

* Matt. Paris, 588. Alfonso's wound is mentioned by Gul. de Nangis, 337. Fontenay, after its destruction, received the name of *L'Abattu*.

† *Receptus est cum summo honore a Francis, et vocabatur eum multi Redemptorem suum, quia per compositionem Pacis eos in Terris Suis liberaverat.* Matt. Paris, 590. The King of England and France and the Earl of Cornwall had married three sisters, daughters of the Count of Provence.

‡ This is the account given by Joinville. (Johnes's Translation, 115.) The relation by Matt. Paris is somewhat different. Both Writers, however, agree as to the unkingly haste with which Henry retired: *Festinus non peperci calcaribus*, are the words of the latter, 590.

retreat before it rejoined him were most acute. No provision had been made for this unexpected movement, and the only scanty sustenance which his famishing soldiers could procure during their march, was derived from the wild berries which they plucked by the roadside. The loss of men and horses was consequently great, so great says the Chronicler as to move abundant tears from all who beheld it.*

Louis, content with the entire discomfiture of his enemy, exercised great moderation and forbore pursuit. Yet the King of England renewed his ignominious flight, not thinking himself secure till he had gained the coast at Bourdeaux.† On entering Saintes, Louis received the submission of the Count de la Marche, who did homage to Alfonso as Count of Poitiers. The Count, says Joinville, “knowing that he could not amend himself for the evil that he had done, surrendered himself, his wife and children, prisoners to the King, who, on consenting to a Peace, gained many considerable territories from the Count.‡ I have heard that with the lands the King acquired, the Count de la Marche gave him an acquittance for ten thousand livres Paris which he was wont to receive from him annually.”§ Louis, however, was far from pushing him to extremity, and a noble anecdote of his generosity to another adherent of the English Crown deserves record as most honourable both to himself and to its object. Amid the general defection from Henry which followed his retreat, a single Vassal, Hertolde Sieur de Mirambeau, strictly mindful of his allegiance, offered to maintain his Castle, on the frontiers of La Saintonge and Bourdelois, against the approaches of the French: provided by so doing he could assist the English and they could promise him ultimate relief. To make known this intention he traversed the Country to Bourdeaux; and in a personal interview with Henry learned from him his utter inability to afford assistance, and received permission to adopt whatever course might best ensure his safety. Hertolde, on this declaration, promptly repaired to Louis and tendered submission. The King replied that he was well informed of all that had passed with Henry, that Vassals thus faithful deserved recompense, and that Hertolde's Castle and Fiefs should still remain his own without further guarantee than his oath of allegiance.||

France.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

and Bour-
deaux.
Submission
of the
Count de la
Marche.

Fidelity of
Hertolde de
Miram-
beau,

generously
rewarded by
Louis IX.

* The first messenger of evil tidings is described as *festinus et anxius*; then, *jam prandia paraverant omnes Anglorum adii, praeambuli, procuratores et mariscalci*; et incunctim cum Rex praeveniens fuit, festinanter audito secundo nuncio, &c. The loss of dinner evidently haunts the good Monk's imagination as the heaviest calamity of all which Henry and his soldiers endured, and is the subject of repeated allusions: *non porrens equinus interitus vel acutus calcaribus, iter versus Blavium festinanter fugitivus continuavit, non multum curans quis eorum suorum sequeretur, jejuna praestitis et inanis.* The Nobles followed as they could, *semocincti cibariis relictis, subditi imprans, arreptis equis velociteribat.* Last of all came the main Body *impransus alio, and pro debilitate defecebat.* *Et nisi primum et primum sylvestrium obiter refocillarentur rasilis interim edulis, animae in ipais defeceissent.* The distance from Saintes to Blaye does not exceed forty miles, and since Henry rode at full speed, he probably missed his way or found it necessary to make a circuit; for without some such supposition his allowance of time is most extravagant; *non enim considerat vel dormierat jam per dies duas et etiam duas fecit noctes.* Matt. Paris, 592, 593.

† In this second race, Henry lost Capellen suum, id est omnia Sacerdotia praeciosissima, et multa alia quae longum est enumerare, praeter reliqua. *Id. ibid.*

‡ What these territories were Du Cange has shown in a note upon this passage, by printing the Treaty itself from the *Tricor des Cories*.

§ P. 116.

|| Matthew Paris diminishes the effect of this fine anecdote by

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Contagion
in the
French
army.
Truce with
England,
April 7,
A. D.
1243.

Peace with
Raymond
of Toulouse.

Dangerous
illness of
Louis IX.
A. D.
1244.

If Louis designed to complete his success by chasing the English from Bourdeaux, a task which probably would have been attended with little difficulty, his hope was frustrated by the appearance of a contagious malady among his troops. The unhealthy climate of Poitou, the heats of a Summer passed amid marshes, and the very inadequate supplies which had been provided for the maintenance of the army, (an almost invincible failure in the Wars of that period,) had generated fever and dysentery which made frightful ravages. The King himself suffered under the disease, and unable to pursue active operations, he signed a Truce with England, to continue for five years.* But Raymond of Toulouse was still in arms in the South, the Albigenes had again shown themselves, and the peasants had risen to obtain deliverance from the bloody and intolerable yoke of the Inquisition. Several of the officers and agents of that fierce and relentless Tribunal had been put to death, and if the Spanish Kings had fulfilled their portion of the Treaty, it is probable that Languedoc might again have recovered independence. But their inactivity, and the reverses of Henry III., compelled Raymond to follow the example of the other Barons with whom he had been leagued; and Louis, with unexampled lenity, consented to receive him into grace, on terms similar to those which had been concluded in the Treaty of Paris thirteen years before.

Thus terminated the long struggle which the great Vassals of the Crown of France had maintained with their Sovereigns during nearly one hundred and forty years, from the reign of Louis le Gros; and the independence of the Feudal Aristocracy, which was broken by Philippe Auguste, may be considered as altogether crushed by Louis IX. It was on another and a far distant theatre that the virtues of this great, wise, and good Monarch were now about to be displayed. The seeds of disease which he brought with him from Poitou, did not fully develop themselves for more than a year afterwards, and by lurking in a frame by no means vigorous, they probably acquired much additional strength. Towards the close of 1244, he was so enfeebled by an attack of dysentery at Pontoise,† that all hope of recovery was abandoned. France at that announcement presented one face of tears and desolation. The streets of the Capital and of the chief towns were thronged with votive processions, the Churches with suppliants. The prayers ordered by the Clergy were anticipated by the eagerness of the people, and every individual in the Kingdom awaited the issue of life and death with not less anxiety than he would have manifested for the safety of a Parent. "So bad was the King's state," says Joinville, "that I have heard

the tears with which he has so plentifully bedewed it. According to his account, Hertolde waited upon the King of England, *post lamenta, lacrymas adhibens, et ab alto corde tracta supplicia*; on his arrival he addressed Henry, *genus perfunctum lacrymarum, cunctis aquarum deducebant oculis ejus, singulisque sermones suos inter-rumpentibus*; and he afterwards proceeded to Louis, *flens et ejulans, crinibus hirsutis et oculis præ fletu rubicundis*, 593, 594. All this weeping is much out of character with the firmness, frankness, and fidelity of the chief actor. But every one who has read Villehardouin must recollect the frequency with which the Chroniclers of those days dissolved their Heroes in tears.

* Henry III. abandoned the Isle of Rhé and some fortresses which he had taken in the late campaign, and agreed to pay £5000 sterling annually to France. Matt. Paris, 600, and the Treaty in Rymer, in which latter document the tribute is not mentioned.

† Gul. de Nangis and Les Chron. de St. Denis. Joinville says the illness occurred at Paris.

that one of the Ladies who nursed him, thinking all was over, wanted to cover his face with a cloth, but that another Lady, on the opposite side of the bed, (so God willed it,) would not suffer his face to be covered, declaring continually that he was alive. During the conversation of these Ladies, our Lord worked upon him and restored to him his speech. The good King desired them to bring him a crucifix, which was done; and when the good Lady his mother heard that he had recovered his speech, she was in the utmost possible joy; but when she came and saw that he had not put on the Cross, she was panic-struck, and seemed as if she would rather have seen him dead.*

It cannot occasion surprise either that Louis made this vow, or that the Queen-Mother regarded it with alarm. From his youth upward the King had manifested a most profound feeling of devotion; and the desolation which the Kharizimians, expelled from their native seats by the advance of the Mogul Tartars, were now spreading over the Holy Land; their indiscriminate massacre of the followers both of Christ and of Mohammed; and the profane fury with which they visited every spot held sacred by the former, were calculated to excite a more than usually ardent wish in every mind engrossed by the Religious sentiment of the times, even when not operated upon by the near prospect of the grave, to dedicate itself to the rescue of Palestine. On the other hand, the Crusades had insatiably swallowed up the best blood and the richest treasures of Europe. Few were the feet which trod homeward again from Palestine; and Blanche had seen that those who went out full, returned altogether empty. Exclusively also of the perils which maternal affection described in a far removed and most hazardous seat of War, no small danger was to be apprehended from a renewal of domestic troubles in France, during the long absence of that hand by whose courage and ability they had so lately been repressed. All these arguments were urged, but in vain; and Louis pointedly declared that food should not pass his lips till he had registered his vow publicly and with the customary ceremonies. From that moment, we are assured, that he was slowly but uninterruptedly convalescent.

Before his departure for the East, a fortunate conjunction of circumstances enabled Louis to add materially to the strength of his own House, and to prevent the consolidation of a Power which might have proved greatly injurious to France. Of the four daughters of the Count of Provence three were already richly married, and a Queen of France, a Queen of England, and a Countess of Cornwall, acknowledged Raymond Berenger IV. as their Father. In order to prevent the absorption of his independent dominions by a greater sovereignty, or their exposure to Civil war by partition, the Count of Provence determined to make his youngest

* P. 116. Matt. Paris affirms that it was Blanche herself who affixed the Cross on her son while he was apparently in extremity, 631. A little onwards he relates that which he terms *civitas ac pia Regia Francorum deceptio*, through which Louis obtained a number of recruits for the Crusade, by privily sowing Crosses upon the lanes which he distributed at Christmas. The officers of his household, thus unwittingly distinguished, were invited to attend the King at Mass before daybreak; and when the sun rose and streamed into the Chapel, every man, ignorant that he himself wore a similar badge, remarked the Cross upon the shoulder of his neighbour. Upon which occasion, *fit jocunda admiratio, quod pui nephotici sic decepti eos dominum Rex*; whom, on account of this *seriocomico*, practical joke, they called, *cum jocundi lacrymarum officio, pergravidorum venatorum et hominum novum piscatorem*, 690.

History daughter, Beatrice, his sole heiress; and by espousing her to Raymond of Toulouse, to unite the whole Provençal nation under a single head, and thus to found a Kingdom in the South of France, nearly equal in extent to that possessed by the House of Capet, and far exceeding it in Wealth and Civilization.

That Raymond was already married to a daughter of the Count de la Marche was considered but a slight obstacle to this new arrangement. Those nuptials had been contracted without a Dispensation, which the far-extended consanguinity recognised by the Romish Church made necessary, and it was believed that the Pope would not hesitate to pronounce its dissolution. Before the requisite steps, however, could be taken, the Count of Provence died, and the publication of the Will by which his territories were devised altogether to Beatrice, raised other suitors, besides Raymond, for her hand. The King of Aragon proposed his son, Don Pedro, and Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., advanced his own pretensions. The States of Provence expressed themselves in favour of the latter; Louis IX. marched troops into the South, under the plea of securing the rightful portion of his Queen's inheritance; Raymond was ejected to present himself at Aix, unaccompanied by any armed force; the Pope deluded him by perpetually-evaded promises of forwarding the necessary Bulls, which, at the expiration of three months, he altogether refused; and Charles of Anjou, having joined the French army of occupation, to which no other force was opposed, was received with open arms by the Provençals, and became the Bridegroom of their richly-portioned Princess.

The devotion of Louis IX., although not untinged with the fanaticism of his times, was pure, sincere, and elevated; and his assumption of the Cross did not arise from either of the motives which most usually swelled the ranks of the Crusaders—heat of constitutional temperament discharging itself through the channels of superstition, or remorse of conscience seeking expiation for past crime in a warfare believed to be peculiarly acceptable to Heaven. Religion with this great Prince was neither the acute disease of a too fiery and fevered spirit, nor the empiric and desperate remedy of one troubled and ill at ease: it was a calm, fixed, and steady principle. The many noble instances of humility, of patience, and of self-control, recorded by every pea which has touched upon his History, sufficiently evince the genuineness of his Christianity; as disfigured as it might be (for how in those times should it be otherwise?) by occasional follies and weaknesses.* In points of Faith he might submit too blindly to the guidance of Priests; in personal habits he might be too severe and ascetic; but his resolution to devote himself to the Crusade was not a sudden burst of enthusiasm roused to explosion by the preaching of a zealot; but the slowly-determined and mature resolve of long meditation upon that line of action which he thought most agreeable to the will of God and most conducive to his own eternal welfare. A design so formed was not easily to be shaken, and his preparations, although necessarily occupying much time, were never intermitted. To ensure the repose of France during his absence, he anxiously desired to convert the Truce with England into a definitive Peace; and it is

believed that he offered terms so advantageous, that no one but so weak and short-sighted a Politician as Henry III. would have demurred to accept them. That Prince, although his treasury was exhausted and his subjects were disaffected, thought it not enough to recover amicable possession of a large portion of the former dominions of his Crown, if any part were denied to him; he met the proposals coldly, and would give no further pledge, excepting that during the continuance of the Crusade he would not renew hostilities.

Another important object with Louis was to prevent the great Vassals of his Crown, now happily subdued, from profiting by a brief removal of the curb of his authority; and here he was far more successful than with the King of England. The Counts of Burgundy, of Brittany, of Angoulême, and of St. Paul, assisted at a Parliament, and pledged themselves to follow in his retinue to the Holy Land. Others more dangerous, because discontented, trod in their steps; Raymond of Toulouse was bribed to join in the enterprise by investiture with Narbonne, and a gift of thirty thousand livres to defray his equipages; many of the Chiefs of Languedoc who had espoused the cause of the Albigenses, now assumed the Cross; and Trencavel of Beziers, who was among them, renounced in favour of Louis all pretension to his hereditary Fiefs.

France was without a Port in the Mediterranean which could form a point of communication with Palestine; and notwithstanding its shifting sands and intractable coast, Louis undertook to found a town for that purpose at Aigues-Mortes at the mouth of the Rhone; and after lavishing much toil and treasure on a pestilential shore, he succeeded for a short time in triumphing over Nature. Then, being informed that Haco King of Norway had signified his intention of visiting Palestine, he despatched Matthew Paris, the Historian, as Envoy to that Prince's Court; inviting him to join his own expedition, offering to place a large detachment of troops under his immediate orders, and to give him, as a skilful navigator, the entire command of the French fleet. Haco replied with discretion, that he feared the vicinity of the French and the insubordination of his own subjects could scarcely be brought into contact without dangerous collision; he therefore declined the close confederacy which Louis had proposed, but gratefully accepted permission to touch at his Ports, and to procure supplies.*

His house being set in order, his Will revised and attested, and reparation of all wrongs which he was conscious of having committed against his neighbour being tendered—preliminaries necessary to be executed by every Knight engaged in a Crusade†—Louis summoned his Barons to Paris, received their oaths of allegiance to his children, and appointed the Queen-Mother, Blanche, Regent during his absence. His consort Margaret, and his brothers Robert of Artois and Charles

* Matt. Paris, 741. where he describes Haco as *vir discretus, modestus ac bene litteratus*.

† Joinville, who in the commencement of his voyage suffered greatly from sea-sickness, and who seems to have viewed all the marvels of Ocean with the eyes of a confined landman, gives a sound reason for thus previously making a clean breast, in a reflection which occurs to him when going to bed for the first time on shipboard. "I must say here that he is a great fool, who shall put himself in such dangers having wronged any one or having any mortal sin on his conscience, for when he goes to sleep in the evening, he knows not if in the morning he may not find himself under the sea." 119.

France.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
who only
consents to
protract the
Truce.
A. D.
1246.

Many of
the French
Barons take
the Cross.
A. D.
1247.

Foundation
of Aigues-
Mortes.

Embassy of
Matt. Paris
to Norway.

A. D.
1248.

attempts
conclude
Peace
with Henry
I.

* Many silly monastic austerities, which Louis IX. practised, are recorded in a Life of St. Louis by the Confessor of his Queen, Margaret, printed at the end of Joinville, in the Edition of 1761.

History. of Anjou, were companions of his voyage; Alfonso of Poitiers was to follow in the ensuing Spring. The Pilgrim's scrip and staff and the Oriflamme were delivered to the King with great solemnity at St. Denis; he recommended himself to the prayers of his Clergy, and then, at the head of only his immediate *cortège*, he proceeded to the Gathering at Aigues-Mortes. On passing through Lyon he held a conference with the Pope, who, driven from his own Capital by occurrences which will find a place elsewhere, had taken refuge in that City. Almost the latest act of the King while in France was one evincing unexampled forbearance. Near Avignon, the recollection of former persecution was still vivid, and a band of peasants bearing rooted hostility to the French name, cut off some stragglers from the Royal company, put them to the sword, and plundered their baggage. Louis was strongly urged to lay siege to the City, and at one blow to inflict punishment for both the present outrage and his Father's untimely death. "I am not quitting France," was his dignified answer, "to avenge the wrongs of my father, my mother, or myself, but rather those of my Lord and Saviour Christ."⁹ After two months' abode at Aigues-Mortes, he at length embarked on the 25th of August; his fleet consisting, as we are told, of thirty-eight galleys and a few smaller transports and palanders.[†] Cyprus was the rendezvous at which his larger force was to be assembled.

Outrage at Avignon.

Embarkation of Louis IX.

Raymond of Toulouse renounces Persecution in Languedoc,

and dies, Sept. 27, A. D. 1249.

Probable motives occasioning the Crusade of St. Louis.

Our narrative of this disastrous expedition will be given in another Chapter appropriated to the Crusades, and we here confine ourselves to the little that is known of the internal History of France during the absence of her great King. One of the few important events, in the year following his departure, was the death of Raymond of Toulouse, in whom misfortune and advancing years produced a singular revolution. That early champion of the Albigenses, as he approached middle life, was changed into a confirmed Persecutor of Heresy. While preparing to fulfil his promise to Louis and to follow him to Palestine, he solicited the Pope to enjoin greater activity among the Inquisitors, in order that they might remove the stain of Heresy which had rendered Languedoc infamous; and to arouse them from that torpor which by too much indulgence had neglected the punishment of numerous relapsed offenders. Eighty victims were committed to the flames at Agens, by Raymond's own orders, and under his own eyes, as the first fruits of renewed Persecution; and as if this holocaust had been prepared as his vaticum, he died very shortly after it had been offered. The male line of Fredolin, to whom the Fief of Toulouse had been granted by Charles the Bald, expired in his person; and Blanche hastened to take possession of the Province in the names of Raymond's daughter Jeanne and her husband Alfonso of Poitiers, the latter of whom had already joined his brother, the King, in Palestine.

On the real motives which prompted a great movement among the Agricultural classes, the scantiness of the information which has descended to us forbids a positive decision. Matthew Paris, the fullest and in every respect the fairest Historian of these times, unhesitatingly ascribes it, in the first instance, to the wiles of the Devil; a general expression, which means nothing

more than that he conceived it to be very wicked and very mischievous. A little onward, indeed, he declares that the chief actor was in the pay of the Sultan, and that the object was so far to drain France of her efficient population, as to expose her in nakedness to a Saracen invasion. There are some points in his narrative, however, which lead us to attribute the transaction to a wild and insane fanaticism similar to that which occasioned the Crusade of Boys a few years before. Other incidents again speak loudly of an awakened insight into the grievous abuses of Rome; and almost persuade us that the rising which we are about to relate, was generated by the nascent effervescence of that spirit which, in less than three Centuries afterwards, was to produce the Reformation. Under these doubts we shall confine ourselves as closely as we can to the words of the original authority.

A certain Hungarian, whose name is not recorded, but who is described as having been a renegade from his earliest youth, as having studied forbidden Arts in the brimstone-smelling schools of the Arabs at Toledo,[‡] and as serving in the household of the Sultan of Babylon, in his sixtieth year began to preach in France. He was master of the French, Latin, and German languages, he possessed a copious and fervent eloquence, and he pretended an especial mission from the Virgin Mary to call the Shepherds and herdsmen of France to a Crusade, in which they were destined by Providence to effect the deliverance of Palestine. As a voucher for his communication with Heaven, one of his hands, which he said grasped the written instructions of the Virgin, was kept perpetually closed. Without either Papal or Episcopal license, he scattered these doctrines widely by itinerant Discourses; and the class of rustics to whom he addressed himself, caught by the novelty of his teaching, the fervour of his manner, and the magnificence of his avowed object, flocked round him to the amount of more than one hundred thousand, assumed the badge of the Cross, and marshalled themselves in military array, under a standard blazoned with a lamb bearing a pennon; the lamb betokening humility and innocence, the pennon victory.

Blanche at first, deceived by the professions of the leader of this great, but as yet harmless company, believed that it might assist in the Holy War; and perhaps might release Louis from his captivity, the recent announcement of which had excited unbounded consternation. Far, therefore, from checking the movement in its outset, she regarded it with favour and encouragement. Meantime, a large addition of numbers, the dregs and scum of the population of France, thieves, outlaws, runaways, and the excommunicated, all who are included under the expressive term *Ribaldi*, had associated themselves with the *Pastoureaux*. Five hundred ensigns, each similar to the original standard, floated before the motley-armed ranks, in which glittered swords, axes, javelins, spears, and dirks. The doctrine of their leader and of his lay-preachers soon assumed a most heterodox course. They approved uncanonical marriages; they denounced all the Monastic Orders; the Preachers and the Minorites, they said were vagabonds and hypocrites; the Cistercians pillaged their flocks and swallowed up

⁹ Matt. Paris, 749.

[†] La Chaine, *Hist. de Saint Louis*, vi. c. 27. p. 356.

[‡] *Diribit imperio videtur Inimicos hominum generis, habere fiduciam ut infucret Jordanis in eo rixu, quin jam de eo Soldani Babyloniam propinquarent, cum vidisset quod Fides Christiana etiam in partibus*

dulcis Gallia labaret ut laberetur, novum genus fallacis assueti ostendebat. p. 322.

[§] *Qui praestigiis fallacis versuties a sulfureo puteo Tulei et pluvio exhauserat.* Id. *Rid.*

History.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

lands; the Benedictines and the Cistercians were swollen with pride and gluttony; the Canons were half secular and gorged with carnality; the Bishops and their Officials were hunters after gain and covetous of loose delights. Their statements concerning Rome itself were too profane, says Matthew Paris, to be recited; nevertheless, if we are not greatly mistaken, the Historian feels a sly and pardonable malice in extending his record of these accusations so far as was consistent with his own personal safety; and probably he did not believe in his heart that they wandered very far from Truth. Matthew Paris was a Monk, but he was by far the most honest of his species.

Their
preaching
in Orleans.

Against the inclination of the Bishop and of all his Clergy, but with the good-will of the inhabitants, these Enthusiasts entered Orleans; and an infinite multitude thronged to hear the preaching of their leader. The Bishop forbade any Ecclesiastic from exposing himself to the hazard of these "mouse-traps of the Devil." The Clergy for the most part willingly obeyed this ordinance; and not without some terror and trembling, bolted and barred themselves in their chambers. Nevertheless, some younger students of Theology, less cautious and more curious, stationed themselves close to the scaffold upon which the Preacher mounted in the open air; and when, without giving out any text, he entered upon a furious and incoherent declamation against Church abuses, one of these youths, unable to restrain himself, called him "Liar and Heretic!" Ere the words were ended, the blow of a hatchet split the speaker's skull in twain; and the rabble breaking up tumultuously made a general attack upon the houses of the Clergy, burst in the doors and windows, burned many choice and rare books, plundered all the Priests, wounded several, and threw others into the Loire. About five and twenty were killed, and the number hurt was far more considerable. The Municipal Authorities and the chief Citizens had remained inactive spectators of these outrages, conniving at, if not encouraging the riot; and the Bishop, in consequence, as soon as the *Pastoureaux* had quitted the City, placed it under an Interdict. The Queen, when appealed to, acknowledged that she had been mistaken, and took prompt measures to repress further violence. The *Pastoureaux*, alarmed at this vigour, broke up and dispersed, and their leader endeavoured to prop his drooping cause by announcing that he would publicly exhibit some stupendous miracles. The stupid and giddy rabble assembled again at this promise to hear words which had never yet been heard and to see marvels which had never yet been seen; and one of them, indignant at the disappointment which it need not be added he encountered, brained the Impostor with an axe. His corpse was left unburied, and his chief assistants were hustled down "even as mad dogs," and put to death wherever they could be found. One in endeavouring to escape by sea to "Heathenland," was detected by the ship's crew, bound hand and foot, and thrown overboard. In his baggage was found a considerable sum of money, many papers scrawled with "prodigious" Chaldee and Arabic characters, and certain poisonous drugs made up into

Tumult in
that City.

The chief
Impostor is
killed.

Death of
two of his
principal
followers.

powders. There were some Letters also addressed to the Sultan reporting favourably of the progress of the enterprise. Another made his way into England, where he first gathered a congregation of about five hundred peasants in the neighbourhood of Sorham. His auditors, however, soon thought he was mad, and having chased him from his pulpit, and pursued him to a wood, in which he had taken refuge, they tore the unhappy wretch in pieces, and threw his dismembered body to the crows. So finished this remarkable commotion, which Matthew Paris assures us was esteemed by many grave and discreet personages and Prelates of deep reflection, the most formidable plague which had crept into the Church of Christ since the days of Mohammed.*

The courage and the wisdom of Blanche, notwithstanding these occasional interruptions of tranquillity, continued for the most part to preserve subordination in France; and her death, the precise date of which is not ascertained,† was a heavy calamity upon the Country which she ruled. As she felt herself gradually approaching her last hour, she was conveyed from Melun to Paris; and there, having received the veil in a Cistercian convent, she closed her useful and brilliant life;‡ in her sixty-fifth year, a few days after submission to that ceremony which was esteemed a safe-conduct to at least the Gates of Paradise. When intelligence of his great loss was conveyed to the King, now released from captivity and occupied in strengthening the fortifications of Sidon, he shut himself up in his chamber for two days, and refused admittance to any of his attendants. The account given by Joinville, who of all others appears to have enjoyed his chief confidence and the most familiar access to his person, is very touching from its simplicity. "On the third day he sent one of his valets to seek me, and on my presenting myself he extended his arms and said, 'Ah, Senechal, I have lost my mother!' " The good Knight's consolation in return was somewhat common-place, and partaking of the "budge doctrine of the Stoic fur." " 'Sir,' replied I, 'I am not surprised at it, for you know there must come a time for her death; but I am indeed greatly so that you, who are considered so great a Prince, should so outrageously grieve; for you know,' continued I, 'that the wise man says whatever grief the valiant man suffers in his mind, he ought not to show it in his countenance nor let it be publicly known; for he that does so, gives pleasure to his enemies and sorrow to his friends.' I thus appeased him a little, and he gave orders that most magnificent Religious services should be performed in the Country in which he then was, for the Salvation of the soul of the late Queen. He sent likewise to France a load of jewels and precious stones to the National Churches, with Letters from him to entreat they would pray to God for him and for the soul of the late Queen his mother."§

France.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Suppression
of the en-
thusiasts

Death of
Blanche.
A. D.
1252.
or
A. D.
1253.

Grief of
Louis IX.

* *Astutus hæc omnia esse Diaboli manipulationes.* Id. p. 823.
† *Confluxit undique populorum numerosa multitudo, ut inaudita à sæculis tunc audirent, et viderent quæ antea non viderant.* Id. p. 824.

‡ *Quasi comes robati paucum detruncati.* Id. *Ibid.*

§ *Versus Paganismum unde venerat.* Id. *Ibid.*

* There is a very brief account of the Crusade of Shepherds in Gul. de Naugis, p. 358; and in Matthew of Westminster one yet more so. *Mirabilis prelia arsit in Francia de quibusdam reclusoribus, videlicet Pastoureaux, ad triginta milia multiplicatis. Omnes tamen evanescerant.* 350.

† Most Writers name December 1, 1252, as the day of Blanche's decease; but Gul. de Naugis throws it a year later.

‡ Matthew Paris characterises her as *dominorum secularium domina*; and adds, *magnanima Blanchia, exæ femina, consilio mascula, Senirami merito comparanda, vixit cunctis sæculis, regnum Francorum omni solio reliquit devotum.* 859. We wish the indiscreet Panegyrist had let Senirami alone.

§ Joinville. *Johnes's Translation*, 222.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
He embarks
for France.
April 25,
A. D.
1254.
Dangers
of the
voyage.
Generous
conduct
of the King.

The affairs of France now peremptorily demanded the return of Louis, and he embarked from Acre with Queen Margaret and his suite on the Festival of St. Mark, in the Spring of the following year. "The King told me," says Joinville, "he was born on St. Mark's day, and I replied that he might well say he had been born again on St. Mark's day, in thus escaping from such a pestilent land, where he had remained so long."^{*} But the perils of the expedition had not yet terminated. The Royal Galley struck upon a sand-bank off Cyprus during a fog, and was not disengaged till all on board had given themselves up for lost. On the morning after a night of no small peril, the King gave a memorable instance of calm and rational courage, and of kind consideration for the interests of others. Some divers who had passed under the vessel, in order to ascertain the extent of its damage, reported that eighteen feet of its keel had been stripped away; and the mariners were urgent with Louis to betake himself to a sounder ship; instancing the total loss of another Galley during the outward voyage in consequence of a similar accident. The single question which the King put to his Captains, and which he commanded them to answer upon their faith and loyalty, was this, whether they would abandon the ship if she were their own and full of merchandise? when they all replied in the negative. "Why then," he said, "should I quit her? If I do so, there are five or six hundred persons with me who must remain in Cyprus for fear of the danger which must happen to them if they remain on board, thus losing all chance of return to their own Country. I declare, therefore, that I will rather put myself, the Queen, and my children in this danger, under the good Providence of God, than make such numbers of people suffer as are now with me."[†]

This noble and generous self-devotion, happily, was justified by the event. The Galley soon afterwards, notwithstanding its previous injury, rode out a violent storm, in which the partitions in the Royal Cabin were swept away by the wind, and it was not till a fifth anchor had been dropped that a mooring was secured. On approaching Pantaleone, the Queen, who earnestly wished to procure a supply of its delicious fruit for her children, despatched some boats to land, and here again the King displayed both his kindness and his courage. The boats' crews were absent a much longer time than appeared necessary for the execution of their orders; and the Captain represented that they had probably been captured and detained by the Saracens who peopled the Island; that the immediate neighbourhood of Tunis and of Sicily, neither of whose Kings bore good will to the French, rendered any longer abiding in that Strait extremely hazardous to Louis; and that if he would give

orders to make sail, a few hours would place him beyond the reach of danger. The King, on the contrary, immediately commanded the helm to be put about, and declared his intention of seeking after the missing sailors. They ill-deserved his thoughtfulness and condescension; they had been indulging in the luxurious gardens of the Island, and their selfish breach of discipline delayed the fleet at least eight days.^{*}

After ten weeks' voyage, the Royal party landed at Hieres, a Port belonging to the Count of Provence; the King's anxious desire to proceed to his own harbour at Aigues-Mortes having been overruled. He then advanced, by slow journeys, to Paris; and the magnificence of his reception, and the loud expressions of popular joy on his return, singularly contrasted with the profound melancholy of his own demeanour. No smile ever found its way to his lips, and he sat wrapped in moody abstraction, an unconcerned spectator of the festivities denoting public congratulation. Eyes fixed on the ground, and frequent sighs, betokened his bitter remembrance of his losses in the Holy Land, and the great misery which had resulted from them to his People. To a "holy and discreet Bishop," who endeavoured to console him, and who brought forward the received and well-handled examples of Job and St. Stephen, he answered, that if he alone suffered under the shame and the calamity, he could endure them patiently. But, alas! that his sin affected the whole Church, and all Christendom was thrown into confusion on his account. If we believe Matthew Paris, who relates these particulars, a Mass celebrated in honour of the Holy Ghost, at last prevailed upon him to admit some refreshment of spirit.[†]

To the same Historian we are indebted for a most picturesque and detailed narrative of a visit paid by Henry III. of England to his brother of France, some time after the latter had returned to his dominions; and many of the incidents by which this Royal meeting was distinguished, afford so lively an illustration of the habits of the times, that we cannot pass them wholly in silence. Henry's motives for this progress were to see France itself, his brother and sister-in-law, the Cities, Churches, and manners of the natives; and especially that noblest of Religious structures, *La Sainte Chapelle*, and the inestimable relics with which it had been enriched. Louis, on receiving a notification of this wish, immediately issued a safe-conduct for Henry and his train; and directed especial orders to the Governors of those towns through which his illustrious visitors would pass, to cleanse their streets, to remove from them every thing offensive to sight, and to deck the fronts of their houses and churches with flowers, green branches, and tapestry. When the two Princes first met, they rushed into each other's arms, and embraced repeatedly. The four daughters of Beatrice of Provence (the Queens of France and England, the Countesses of Anjou and of Cornwall) greeted one another with sisterly affection; and Beatrice herself, like another Niobe, regarded her progeny with just pride, for, in truth, there was no living woman in the World who might so rightfully glory in her issue.[‡]

* Joinville. *Johnes's Translation*, 224.

† *Ibid.*, 226.

‡ Joinville puts some homilies into the King's mouth after this deliverance, which, if they be genuine, impress us more deeply with a belief of the sincerity of his gratitude, than of his power of expression. A miracle also is added concerning an Esquire who, having fallen into the sea, exclaimed *inter cœdem*, "Our Lady of Valbert!" and, on the strength of that invocation, floated safely for half a league, without attempting to swim or to exert himself, till he was picked up by one of the King's Boats; the crew of which, from the Esquire's want of motion, had at first mistaken him for a sea-chest. "In honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary," continues the narrator, "and to perpetuate this miracle, I had it painted in my Chapel at Joinville, and also on the windows of the Church at Blécourt." 230.

* Joinville. *Johnes's Translation*, 395.

† *Matt. Paris*, 495.

‡ The *secundissimus et nobilissimus venter Comitissæ Provençæ Beatricis*, as Matthew Paris elsewhere (956.) calls it, is a frequent theme for admiration with that Historian.

His kindness and courage.

France.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1311.

He embarks
for France.

His melancholy.

His visit to
England.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

Louis dines
with Henry
in the Old
Temple.

The students of the University of Paris, many of whom were English by birth, suspended their lectures and disputations; and in their holiday garb, crowned with chaplets, and singing to musical instruments, advanced in procession to meet the Royal train. The King of England was lodged in the Old Temple, but neither in that most spacious structure, fully competent as it was to accommodate even an army, nor in the adjoining houses in the Place de Grève, could all his attendants find room; and many of them accordingly slept in the open air. On the morrow, Louis dined with his illustrious visitor, and every apartment in the Temple was crowded with guests. No jealous warlike closed any of the gates, but every one who presented himself was admitted and bountifully entertained. Not even in the days of Arthur or of Charlemagne had so splendid a banquet been prepared; and words fail the Historian in which he may describe the abundant variety of dainties, the delicious richness of the wines, the polished attention of the serving men, the orderly arrangement of the guests, and the lavish munificence of the gifts distributed. There might you see among the French Barons one presented with a massive silver cup, another with a silken belt, a third with a golden buckle; all of them such tokens of friendship as it well became a King to give and Nobles to receive. There, indeed, were to be found unnumbered venerable personages, whose superiors, nay whose equals were not to be met with in the World.

Around the walls of the chief banquetting chamber were suspended as many shields as could be collected, and one of the most distinguished among them was that of Richard Cœur de Lion. A minstrel,* who perceived its device, laughingly inquired of Henry, how he could suppose that the French would enjoy themselves in company with that hero's buckle? If they eat, he said, while in sight of it, it must be with fear and trembling. The jest would have been rude and ill-timed, if it had been more than whispered; that it was not so, the continued harmony of the feast sufficiently proves, and it need scarcely therefore have provoked so much anger and incredulity as a modern French Historian has exhibited while relating it.†

Henry, with very delicate courtesy, placed the King of France in the chair, (as it would be termed in a modern entertainment,) supported by himself on the right, by the King of Navarre on the left hand; and when Louis would have declined that honour, and have vacated the highest seat in favour of his host, Henry excused himself by replying that he was a Vassal of the King of France, and would always continue so; and consequently that his Sovereign was entitled to pre-eminence. The private feelings and wishes of Louis relative to the claims of England upon Normandy and

Aquitaine, were sufficiently implied in the answer, which the presence of his haughty Barons would not permit him to return in a tone higher than that of whispering. "Would that every one without offence could enjoy his rights!" The Royal table was spread with twenty-five covers. We are especially informed that twelve Bishops and eighteen Countesses were intermingled with the rest of the company, and that although it was a meagre day, on which fish alone ought to have regaled a Catholic palate, every luxury with which the *Ars coquinaria* of those times was acquainted was profusely exhibited. The King of England slept on that night in the Palace of Louis, who was peremptory in his request. "I am Lord and King in my own dominions," was his playful observation, "and therefore I insist upon being obeyed."

The chief objects in Paris which excited admiration among the English, (and a mention of them may probably acquaint us with some of our National deficiencies at the time,) were the elegance of the stuccoed houses, many of which presented three, four, or even a greater number of stories, the windows being thronged with an infinite multitude of both sexes.* Much and most confidential conversation passed between the two Monarchs in their subsequent interviews; and Louis frequently regretted that their bond of family connection could not be accompanied by stricter Political union; that the obstinacy of his great Vassals and of the Normans should prevent the completeness of their friendship; and that Rome should find gratification both for her violence and her arrogance by encouraging discord between them.† They parted with mutual expressions of esteem, the sincerity of which, on one side at least, is rendered undoubted by the love of Truth which always distinguished Louis.

The Truce between the two Kingdoms was prolonged, in consequence of this interview, for an additional three years; and Louis, on every subsequent occasion on which there was an interchange of diplomacy, manifested his good-will towards England.‡ He considered the claim of that Crown on Normandy as justly founded, and being acutely sensitive in point of conscience, had it depended upon himself only, he would gladly have made restitution. His character as a Statesman, indeed, is somewhat tarnished by the almost Monastic spirit which regulated his Political conduct after his return from Palestine, and which doubtlessly contributed greatly to his subsequent Canonization. Not content with the issue of an Ordinance commanding all the books of the Jews to be burned; another, by which every woman of doubtful virtue was to be stripped to her very undermost garment, and expelled from his dominions; he di-

France.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

Elegance of
French domestic
architecture.

Amicable
professions
of Louis.

Monastic
spirit

Arrangements of
the Banquet.

* *Quidam jocularior.* We do not feel quite certain of our translation in this place. It may be doubtful whether the word *jocularior* is used *professionally*, as we have rendered it, or whether it is simply "a merry fellow," in allusion to the joke which follows.

† *Velly* shows great seriousness after recounting this anecdote, and expresses a doubt as to its genuineness. *C'est bien dommage que ce prétendu bon mot, rapporté avec tant d'affection par l'Historien Anglois, ne trouve aucun fondement dans l'Histoire.* On n'y voit ni Philippe Auguste trembler, ni les Français fuir, ni les murs de nos villes tomber devant ce Prince qu'on suppose si redoutable. iii. 71. The alarm of the French at Richard may be spiritively exaggerated; but it can scarcely be thought that Matthew Paris, who relates the story very briefly and simply, and concludes without any comment, and *de hac non amplius*, invented the joke in order to flatter national pride.

* *Elegantium domorum quæ de gipso, videlicet plestro, sunt in Civitate Parisiaca, et mansiones triceminas, et quatuor stationum, vel amplius.* Matt. Paris, 900.

† *Discordia nostra foematum præstat debacchandi Romanis et materiam superbendi.* Id. 901. Notwithstanding the devout spirit by which Louis was animated, he had a keen perception of the vices and disorders of the Romanish See. At the moment in which he determined to leave Palestine, he expressed himself to Joinville as much concerned and grieved at heart "to quit such good and religious companions to return among such a set of wretches (*si diligeat gens*) as the Court of Rome consists of." 223. Velly has shown very remarkable candour in his observations upon this anecdote. iii. 60.

‡ In 1257 Embassadors were sent by Henry to demand restitution of his French dominions, *quibus*, says Matt. Paris, *Rex Francorum modestè respondit, et Fratres ejus et Optimates Francorum asperè nimis, et negotiorum et negotiorum responderunt.* 955.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
and severe
ordinances
of Louis
IX.
Sept. 1.
A. D.
1256.

He
strengthens
the Inquisi-
tion,

and wishes
to retire to a
Monastery.

Wisdom of
many of his
Ordinances.

rected a most severe and mistaken proscription against the Lombard merchants, who had settled in France as Bankers; and on one and the same day all who followed that calling within the realm were arrested.* The single town of Asti had sent forth one hundred and fifty of these money-changers, relying on commercial protection; and the capital which they had lent on interest, as much to the national benefit as to their own, amounted to eight hundred thousand livres. Their trade, however, was pronounced to be Usury, and their moneys were confiscated. For themselves, they were delivered up to the Count of Savoy, at that time warring against their native City, committed by him to prison, in which they languished during many years of privation and suffering; until death released some of them from their miseries, and torture compelled others to purchase, by the surrender of their remaining property, a freedom which afterwards possessed little enjoyment.

A similar blind zeal induced the King of France to strengthen the establishment of the Dominicans in Paris, and to extend the powers of the Inquisition. In his application to Alexander III. for new and more active inspectors of Faith, he expressed his reluctance any longer to wear a Crown sullied by toleration of Heresy.† And so profoundly was he impressed with a belief that the superintendence of a Government, which he found himself unable to purify entirely from abuse, was incompatible with his Salvation, that he at one time determined to abdicate, and retire to a Cloister. This design was strengthened by the blasphemous encouragement of a Dominican, to whom he communicated it; and who remarked, that if the Virgin Mary was esteemed blessed for having carried the Son of God only nine months in her womb, much more so would Louis be when, after having assumed the Priestly habit, he might bear the same Divine personage in his hands all the days of his life. The remonstrances, however, of his Queen and of his Brothers eventually prevailed against this ascetic fancy.‡

Far greater wisdom marked some other portions of his legislation; and we may fairly attribute his mistakes to the prejudices of his time, his sounder policy to an intellect which not unfrequently burst from their control. Thus, after a long struggle, he succeeded in prohibiting within his dominions all Duels and even Judicial Com-

bats; he obtained a partial reform in the Ecclesiastical Tribunals; he deprived the Clergy of many of those flagitious immunities which enabled them to escape punishment after the perpetration of the very foulest crimes; and he in some degree atoned for the ignorance and the cruelty of his persecution of the Bankers by restraining the oppressive rights of private Mintage, claimed during his reign by not less than four and twenty Barons; by regulating the national currency; and by forbidding the deterioration of Coin.

We have thrown together these legislative acts,* although they bear various dates, in order that we may not interrupt the continuity of our more active narrative. In 1259 a definitive Treaty with England was adjusted, in which Henry, at that time more than ever distressed by the insubordination of his Barons, obtained singularly advantageous terms from the generosity of Louis. Perigord, the Limousin, the Agenois, and parts of Quercy and Saintonge were confirmed to the English Crown in consideration of his surrendering of all claim upon Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou, and the performance of homage for the restored Fiefs. So indignant were the inhabitants of the Provinces thus transferred, that, cherishing their resentment even after the decease of Louis, they refused to celebrate the Feast of his Canonization. In a similar spirit he concerted a Treaty with James I. of Aragon,† whose Fiefs in the South of France were perplexedly intermingled with his own; and by a slight present sacrifice he secured a reasonable prospect of unbroken Peace for the future. Henry III., before the close of the year in which his Treaty was concluded, did homage in Paris; and performed the additional melancholy duty of offering consolation to his ally and brother-in-law, on the death of his eldest son Louis, a Prince of extraordinary promise, who expired in his sixteenth year.

The refusal of the Crown of Sicily tendered to the acceptance of Louis IX. by Urban IV., is another splendid instance of the equity and the moderation which he assumed as his guides. He declined that glittering prize both for himself and for his sons, but he wisely permitted the ambition of his brother, Charles of Anjou, which had shown many symptoms of outbreak and might otherwise have proved dangerous in France, to expend itself in a contest which we shall relate elsewhere. Chosen as arbiter between Henry III. and the turbulent Barons of England, Louis maintained the full dignity of Kingly power, by annulling the *Provisions of Oxford*, which struck at the very foundation of Monarchy; and the Barons in return evinced how little worthy they were of being trusted with the exorbitant power the extortion of which they had sought to render permanent. Disregarding their oaths and the solemn compact by which they had agreed to receive the decision of the King of France as final, they rejected his equitable Sentence, renewed hostilities against their Sovereign, and plunged their Country once again into the horrors of Civil War.

Thus beneficially employed for France and for Europe, Louis passed thirteen years after his return from Palestine in almost unbroken tranquillity. His gentleness, his probity, and his disinterestedness, won for him a

* They were called *Catacras*, *Caracras*, or *Cornas*, either because they first settled at *Cakors*, or because one of their principal associates was a branch of the Florentine *Corsini*. Du Cange, *ad v. Corsini*.

† Raynaldus, *ad ann.* 1256. § 33. tom. ii.
‡ Richetti *Chronica Semonensis*, l. iv. c. ult. ap. D'Achery, *Spicilogeum*, ii. 645. Well might the compiler of that History term the Monk who thus advised Louis *unus eorum qui ceteris audacior erat*. The whole story is told with considerable *noieité*. The King, although much impressed by the Dominican's admonition, appears to have entertained considerable fears of proceeding without Queen Margaret's sanction, "*sed prius valorem et iudicium Regine et ab eis impetrata huius facti licentiam*." But he had calculated far too hastily upon this permission. Margaret, although *mirabiliter stupfacta*, wisely abstained from any reply; but, sending for the Count of Anjou and the Princes her sons, she asked the latter whether they preferred being called Sons of a King or of a Priest? All who were present, when the Queen explained the import of her question, abused Louis mercifully. Comes (Charles of Anjou) *cum hac audisset, in furorera versus, cum impudentissime objurgaret et Prædicantibus muneretur*. Louis, the heir apparent, followed up these reproaches with so great violence that, at length, the meek King appears to have lost all patience, and to have boxed his son's ears: *Rex vero convulsus eorum convulsus filio suo alapam dedisse fertur*.

* The legislation of St. Louis is examined at very great length by Velly, iii. p. 262—336.

† Philippe (III. Le Hardi) the son and successor of Louis IX. married, in 1262, Isabella, daughter of the King of Aragon.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

Peace with
England,
May 29.
A. D.
1259.

With Ara-
gon, May 1.
A. D.
1258.
Death of
Prince
Louis.
Dec. 25.
A. D.
1259.

Louis IX.
refuses the
Crown of
Sicily.
A. D.
1262.

He decides
in favour of
Henry III.
against the
Barons.
A. D.
1264.

Tran-
quillity
France.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

The Mamelukes in
Palestine.

Capture of
Cesarea.
A. D.
1265.

Fall of Antioch,
May 29,
A. D.
1268.

The Crusading spirit
almost extinct.

Louis IX.
announces
his intention
of gain-
ing the
cross,
March 26,
A. D.
1267.

far higher ascendancy over both his own subjects and the Monarchs his contemporaries, than he could ever have attained by preeminence in arms, however lofty, if unaccompanied by those qualities; and even his mistaken devotion so far contributed to strengthen the influence of his character, that, by an inversion of the words of an acute and elegant modern writer, it might, perhaps, be said with justice, that the good consequences of this Prince's chief weakness—his superstition—on some occasions, almost ranked it among his virtues.* Happy would it have been, however, in the end, if he could have resisted its solicitation. A new enemy had arisen in the Holy Land; and the Mamelukes, advancing from Egypt, had spread themselves over Syria with a rapidity of conquest and a desolating cruelty, which threatened extermination to the small remnant of Christian settlers. The Papal See was, at that season, far too deeply occupied by its own ambitious projects in Sicily, to allow any portion of its active care to be diverted to Palestine; and the Vatican supplied no further aid, than such as could be afforded by Bulls. Even these Bulls were empty and disregarded; and the Clergy, harassed by often-repeated and oppressive exactions for the support of the Crusades, fearlessly refused the subsidy which Urban IV. pursued the like equivocal course. At the very moment at which he received intelligence of the capture of Cesarea, he absolved from their vow all those who had taken the Cross for Palestine, on condition that they would engage in the service of Charles of Anjou. Nor was it till Antioch fell without resistance, till that former Queen of the East was rendered desert, till ten thousand of her citizens were put to the sword, and more than one hundred thousand sold into slavery, that the overwhelming magnitude of this calamity compelled attention from the reluctant Pontiff.

It cannot be supposed that we are here arguing in support of the original policy of the Crusades, however much might elsewhere be reasonably urged in its favour. Our object is no more than to suggest that, whatever motives had at first poured myriads into the East in order to win dominion, might be expected to operate with tenfold force to prevent that dominion from crumbling away after it had been partially won. A Century and a half of disaster, however, had almost extinguished the fanaticism which once summoned universal Europe to arms for that which it esteemed the Cause of God. Few were the bosoms which now partook of that unabated zeal by which Louis IX. continued to be inflamed; and when he made known his intention of embarking once more for the Holy Land, he must have been grieved and surprised at the coldness with which his announcement was received by some of the most faithful partners of his former expedition. It was during the Lent of 1267 that, without any previous declaration of his object, he convened at Paris a great Council of his Barons. Joinville, who from long confidential intercourse with the King, and intimate acquaintance with his ruling passion, suspected, as there can be little doubt, the design of this meeting,†

declined attending, and pleaded a quartan ague as his excuse. But Louis, who highly esteemed and loved the Seneschal of Champagne, and knew the importance of his presence, was not thus easily to be baffled; and he returned answer, that he had enough of people who understood how to cure a quartan ague. The loyal Knight therefore obeyed; and when the King and his three sons had assumed the Cross in the presence of their Nobles, and the first strongly urged his ancient friend and companion in arms to imitate his example, the result clearly evidenced the great revolution which had occurred in men's minds. We shall give it in the Chronicler's own words.

"The King of France and the King of Navarre pressed me strongly to put on the Cross, and undertake a pilgrimage with them; but I replied, that when I was before beyond Sea, on the service of God, the officers of the King of France had so grievously oppressed my people, that they were in a state of poverty, insomuch that we should have great difficulty to recover ourselves; and that I saw clearly, were I to undertake another Crusade, it would be the total ruin of my people. I have heard many say since, that those who had advised him to his Crusade had been guilty of a great crime, and had sinned deadly. As long as he remained in his Kingdom of France every thing went on well, and all lived peaceably and in security; but the moment he left it things began to decline. They were criminal in another respect; for the good King was so weakened in his body that he could not support the weight of his armour, nor remain long on horseback. So great, indeed, was this weakness, that when I was taking leave I was obliged to carry him in my arms from the Hotel of the Count of Auxerre to the Monastery of the Cordeliers; yet, weak as he was, if he had continued in France, perhaps he might have lived longer, and have done much good."

The preparations for this enterprise were far too extensive to be made with haste, and they occupied no less than three years. The reputation of the King, more, perhaps, than any Religious ardour, induced many distinguished Soldiers to engage under his banner: a band of illustrious English followed Edward, the heir-apparent to their Crown; and of the brothers of Louis

France.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

Joinville's
narrative.

misgiving that Louis projected a Crusade. Men's dreams are, for the most part, a wild combination of images which have been presented to their minds while they were awake; and a dream which the Knight of Champagne, with either great shrewdness or great simplicity, professes to consider as a prophecy, most probably was no other than the reflection of thoughts which had occupied him in the daytime, and which he either did not choose to remember or perhaps really forgot afterwards. "It happened, as God willed, that I fell asleep during matin service. In my sleep, I thought I saw the King on his knees before an altar, and that he was surrounded by many Prelates, who clothed him with a red chasuble, that was of serge of Rheims. When I awakened I told one of my Chaplains, who was a very wise man, my dream; and he answered that I should see the King next day put on the Cross. I asked him how he knew this? he replied, by what I had told him of my vision; and that the red chasuble I had seen him clothed with, signified the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was dyed with the precious blood he had shed from his side; and as the chasuble was of serge of Rheims the Crusade would be of little benefit (*serge de petit profit*), which is explained in the margin, *de petit profit*, and afterwards a strangely translated by John first "of short duration," and afterwards "a trifling business," as you will see if God grants you life. Now on the next day, the King and his three sons did put on the Cross, and the Crusade was of little benefit according to the prophecy of my Chaplain." Joinville, 153. Ed. 1761.

* "The principal weakness of this King which almost effaced all the good consequences of his virtues, was Superstition." Hallam, *Middle Ages*, xi. 31. etc.

† Notwithstanding Joinville's assertion that after he had arrived in Paris he was unable to "find out why the King had thus summoned him," we cannot but believe that he had a very strong inward

History.
From
A. D.
1199,
to
A. D.
1314.
The Prag-
matic San-
ction,
March 8,
A. D.
1269.

The expedi-
tion sails,
July 1,
A. D.
1270.

himself, Alfonso accompanied, Charles engaged to join him. One event occurred in the interval which forms an epoch in French Ecclesiastical History. During a long interregnum which followed a vacancy in the Pontifical Chair by the death of Clement IV., Louis published an Ordinance, the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which has always been esteemed the keystone of the liberties of the Gallican Church.* His cares were then directed to measures, by which the tranquillity of France might be secured during his absence; and, as a preventive of discord among his sons, he bestowed a sufficient apaupe upon each of the three younger. Matthieu, Abbot of St. Denis, and Simon de Nesle, Count of Ponthieu in right of his wife, were named Regents, and the choice appears to have been received with general approbation. At last, after many weeks unhappily spent in the pestilential marshes of Aigues-Mortes, in which the seeds of disease were scattered among the host, and some bloody affairs occurred with the Provençals, the expedition sailed from its harbour on the 1st of July, 1270. It is said to have numbered six thousand horse and thirty thousand infantry.

Some doubt appears to exist as to the precise moment at which Louis decided upon the first point to which his arms should be directed; but, as the deliverance of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was his main object, it is but reasonable to suppose that he embarked with the design of

sailing at once to the Holy Land. So little certainty, however, was felt in foreign Courts respecting the destination of his armament,—and the events of the IVth Crusade had so strikingly demonstrated with what ease the Crusaders might turn their arms to enterprises unconnected with the Cross,—that Michael Palæologus who then occupied the throne of Constantinople, desirous to avert all hazard of invasion, which the enmity of Charles of Anjou induced him to apprehend, despatched an embassy to the King of France before his embarkation. The Envoys were charged to propose a reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches; and to request the mediation of Louis in promoting so happy an concordance. No task it was thought would be more agreeable to the taste of the Prince from whom danger was to be feared, and no offer, therefore, was more likely to disarm any concealed intention of hostility. But Louis, who had never entertained a thought of attacking the Eastern Empire, directly replied that the adjustment of a Religious schism did not belong to a Secular Monarch; and referred the Ambassadors to the Cardinals by whom the vacant Papacy was administered. The Cardinals, in return, warned the King against the artifices and the insincerity of the Greeks; and Palæologus, whose sole object was to obtain assurance that the French armament was not prepared against himself, ceased to negotiate further on a matter, to the consideration of which he had been prompted not by Religion but by Policy.

The voyage from Aigues-Mortes to Sardinia had been calculated as likely to occupy four days, but twenty were actually consumed before the fleet anchored off the Port of Cagliari. Water and Provisions had then failed, the sick were numerous, and even the healthy were wearied of confinement on shipboard. Damietta, or St. Jean d'Acre, the nearest Ports in Syria open to them, were not to be gained under at least a month's additional sail; and this dreary prospect served perhaps as a strong motive for the singular destination which the armament ultimately received. The coast of Tunis might be made in three days; Tunis was in possession of Infidels; and to attack Infidels of any description whatsoever was the duty of the Soldiers of the Cross.

Little was it considered that for the rescue of Jerusalem all triumphs over the Moors in Africa would be utterly unavailing; that if the power of the Mamelukes was to be subverted, they must be either chased from Syria which they were ravaging, or else attacked in their strong-holds in Egypt; to attain which Country by a march across the Desert from Tunis was an utterly hopeless speculation. To such reasoning, powerful as it might be, the impatience and the privations of the Crusaders opposed answers which they deemed incontrovertible. A yet further motive for the attack on Tunis has been suggested by the ingenuity of Voltaire, nor, in spite of his gross ignorance of early authorities,* does it appear to us so little deserving of regard as it has been considered by Velly. Charles of Anjou was to afford

* The Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX. does not stand single in French History; another Instrument, under the same name, was issued by Charles VII. in 1418; and some confusion, perhaps, has occasionally arisen between the two. The latter prevents far more barriers against the domination of Rome than that of St. Louis; which, in six very brief Articles, does no more than assert the maintenance of the ancient rights of the Clergy; the freedom of Ecclesiastical elections; the pestilential nature of Simony; the disposition of benefices according to the Common Law, the decision of Councils, and the Institutes of the Fathers; resistance to subsidies exacted from the Clergy by Rome, unless the necessity be "reasonable, pious, very urgent, and inevitable, and expressly and spontaneously admitted to be so, by the Clergy;" and a renewal of all liberties, franchises, immunities, prerogatives, rights, and privileges, granted to the Clergy by former Kings.

This Decree may be found in the *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, i. 97, in Velly, iii. 61, in Vilaret, vii. 125, and in Simonetti, *Hist. des Français*, viii. 101. Respecting its name, Mureti gravely tells us, that one of the words is of Latin, the other of Greek origin; and that when put together, they are applied to Ordinances affecting the great concerns of Church or State, *ou du moins les affaires de quelques Communautés*. Others again, he says, think that reference is made to the many Lawyers whom it is necessary to consult respecting these Instruments, because the Accents called *Lawyers' l'egislation*. And a third party, he continues, affirms that no more is meant, than that the King has taken a great deal of trouble about the matter, and has not issued his Decree till *après avoir bien examiné l'affaire dont il s'agit*. The last, which, probably, is the correct derivation, is stated with far more precision by Du Cange, *ad v. Pragmatica Sanctio*, where he defines it to be an Ordinance *quo adhibitis diligenti Cause cognitione, ex omnium procerum consensu in modum auctoritatis ultra a Principe conceditur aut fertur*; and such an Ordinance is, no doubt, a work *l'œuvre* of lawyers, not acceding that word in its invidious sense. After all, the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX. is not of undisturbed authority. Certain expressions in it have been noticed not warranted by coeval Writers. Velly supports it, and cites a formidable list of names in its favour: Fontanon, Boulay, Bouchel, Labbe, Cosart, Lauriere, Poinson, Tillet, (ii. 239. note). The learned Benedictine Authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, consider that Velly has fully established his point (i. 335). M. de Simonetti does not express any doubt respecting its genuineness; but he shows, that which is very true, that it can be considered as a check upon the usurpation of Rome, solely on account of the vagueness of its expressions, which permitted interpretations almost *ad libitum*; (viii. 106.) and, lastly, Mr. Hallam inclines against it. (*Middle Ages*, xi. 75. note. 4to.)

* *Je ne sais sur quel fondement*, says Voltaire, (*Sur les Mœurs*, ch. 58.) when denying the hope of converting the King of Tunis, which Louis entertained, and which we are about to relate. But surely it was his business to have made inquiry as to the foundation; and, as Velly has shown, if he had done so, he would have discovered them in the writings both of a trusty Chronicler, Gul de Nangis, and of Geoffroi de Beaulieu, the King's Confessor, who accompanied him in this expedition. Both are printed in Duchesne's *Script. Franc.* v. 387, 462, and we have followed their relation accordingly.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Ambition of
Charles of
Anjou.

Lope entered
used by
sons of the
Conversion
of the King
of Tunis.

Embark-
ment at
Carthage.
July 17.

French
sieged in
Carthage.

a powerful reinforcement to the Crusading armament, and even among the Barons already embarked he must have had numerous partisans. Not content with the mastery of Sicily, Charles might hope for the conquest of Tunis also, from which Kingdom his Sicilian Crown claimed an arrears of tribute; and it was not difficult to find a pretext which should satisfy his more conscientious Brother that this worldly project of ambition was no other than a Religious duty. An amicable intercourse had long subsisted between the Kings of France and of Tunis, and from some expressions dropped on one occasion by Embassadors from the latter, Louis had caught a hope, how well or ill founded cannot now be affirmed, that his ally Muley-Moztanca might be prevailed upon to embrace Christianity, provided his Conversion could be avowed without tarnish to his honour, or hazard to his safety. "Would to God," exclaimed the enthusiastic Louis, "that I might be Godfather to a Mohammedan King!" and from that moment the design deeply occupied his thoughts. Once again, while he was assisting at the Baptism of a Jew at St. Denis, he addressed himself to the Tunisian Envoys, who were present at the ceremony, "Tell your master," were his ardent and impassioned words, "so earnestly do I desire his Conversion that I would cheerfully pass the rest of my days in the most obscure dungeon, provided, through God's blessing, I might obtain the consent of your King's nation to impart to him the Grace of Baptism!"

To enable Muley-Moztanca to declare his adoption of the true Faith if he were sincere, to punish him for his duplicity if he were not so, were the motives which prompted the King of France to direct his course to Africa; and we cannot but think that Voltaire's conjecture relative to the intrigues of Charles of Anjou derive strength from the operations which ensued. On nearing the village which occupies the site of Ancient Carthage, Louis despatched a few Galleys to reconnoitre the Port; and as it appears without hostile intention. The officer employed on that service exceeded his orders, seized the vessels which he found in the harbour, forcibly occupied the village, and demanded reinforcements for his support. The gauntlet was now thrown down, and War, whether at first designed by Louis, or brought upon him against his will by the secret instructions of the Count of Anjou, was in either case inevitable. We need not detail the horrors which crowded the short, ensuing campaign; one specimen may suffice, and it shall be taken from the pen of an eye-witness writing home during the ferocious conflict. "In the citadel of Carthage," says Pierre de Condé, a Canon of Meaux and Chaplain to the King, "are still left many Saracens, concealed within its numerous vaults and souterraines. Of these Infidels we every day kill as many as we can find; some are suffocated in their hiding places by fire and smoke, some remain whom we shall contrive to despatch by other kinds of death."

The first step of the King of Tunis on learning this unprovoked invasion, was to seize the numerous Christians resident in his dominions or serving in his armies, and to menace their instant death in case the French should advance upon his Capital. But Louis had resolved to await the junction of his brother, Charles of Anjou, before he moved onward; and ere many days

elapsed, instead of besieging the Moors, he himself was besieged in the Camp which he had pitched amid the ruins of Carthage. The African horse, trained to advance and retreat with a rapidity not to be intercepted, rode hourly up to his lines, slaying and capturing the surprised sentinels and the unwary stragglers, without a chance of being brought to general combat. To this most harassing mode of war was soon added the scourge of disease. The Sun and the sands jointly produced ophthalmia; the waters of the canals, of the marshes, and of the salt-pools exhaled mephitic vapours; those of the tanks became stinking and corrupt, and bred noxious reptiles. Burning winds rolled from the Desert oceans of sand, in masses so palpable as to obscure the light of day, in separate grains so fine and subtle as to penetrate to the eyes and throats of the miserable sufferers. Within eight days after the occupation of Carthage, Pestilence had swept from the French ranks thousands of their choicest soldiers, among whom it may be enough to mention a few illustrious names known to every period of History; Vendôme, De la Marche, Nemours, and Montmorency. Two sons of Louis were attacked, the younger fatally; the Papal Legate was among the victims; but all former losses were forgotten or esteemed lightly, when the appalling intelligence was circulated that the King himself had sickened. A constitution naturally feeble, and impaired by long austerities, forbade any hope of his recovery; yet he lingered during two and twenty days, engaged for the most part in exercises of Religion; and before his strength utterly failed, he ordered his body to be placed on a bed of ashes, and crossing his hands on his breast, with eyes uplifted to Heaven, expired at noon on the 25th of August, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.* His demeanour in these trying moments, has extorted from a pen more inclined to ridicule than to reverence genuine devotion, this invaluable eulogy, that he died with the piety of a Saint and the courage of a Hero.†

Scarcely had Louis IX. breathed his last when the long-expected Sicilian fleet hove in sight of Carthage. Charles of Anjou, stern, selfish, cruel, and ambitious as his actions evince him to have been, was overcome even to tears when he stood by his brother's couch, and embraced the corpse with lively transports of grief and affection.‡ But the melancholy condition of the Christian army demanded his active and immediate exertions for its relief. The new King, Philippe III., was incapacitated by sickness from assuming the command, and the task at first of War and ultimately of negotiation devolved upon Charles. The former he appears to have conducted with no inconsiderable skill during more than two months of hostilities. On one occasion he cut off a large division of Moors whom he had entrapped into an ambushade; on another he avoided a similar snare

* There is not any reason for doubting the genuineness of the Instructions to his son Philippe, which have been repeatedly printed, and may be found in Joinville; but it is plain from internal evidence that they were not written by Louis on his death-bed. He may have delivered them to Philippe at that season, but it is manifest, from the following paragraph, that they were not prepared under the prospect of immediate dissolution. *A son père et à sa mère pour honneur et révérence et gard leur commandement.*

† Voltaire, *sup.*

‡ Gul. de Nang. *ap. Duchesne*, v. 517. The Chronicler's expressions are not a little courtly when we call to mind the real character of Charles of Anjou; with whom tears, no doubt, were of rare occurrence. *Coactus est, ut dicitur, lacrymas effundere, in sua est credere pietas iam mobile corpus gigantum modum muliebrem autem et infantulum induisse.*

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* D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, iii. 665. This Letter is dated from the Camp beneath Carthage on the Sunday after the Feast of St. James.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Secret ne-
gotiations
of Charles.

The King
of Tunis
wishes for
Peace.

Its condi-
tions,

and con-
clusion.
Oct. 29.

Re-embark-
ation of
the French.

Storm off
Trapani.

spread for himself, and without losing a man returned laden with the spoils of the Saracen Camp, which had been abandoned in the false hope that its pillage must occasion disorder in the assailants.* Nevertheless, it was but upon the defensive that he ventured to act; and the French felt their weakness too acutely to attempt the siege of Tunis. In negotiation, the King of Sicily had only to pursue a course which he had long since commenced in secret; for his agents had been employed at the Moorish Court even before the expedition first touched the African shore; and it was the hope of a pacific result, and of obtaining by diplomacy an arrer of three years' tribute due to his Crown, which had induced the wily Prince to urge his unsuspecting brother to suspend final operations till his own arrival.† The Barbarian King, on the other hand, was most anxious to disembarass himself from the invaders. His Capital, if besieged, might be unable to resist the superiority of European military science; and the History of the Despot, his predecessors, had fearfully taught him that the loss of the Capital often involved with it the loss of the Crown and of the life of its possessor. It was his most earnest wish, therefore, to avoid these hazards even when the chances of success were in his favour; and it can excite little surprise that we find him consenting to terms apparently ill warranted by the relative positions of the two armies. The Christians whom he had thrown into captivity on the disembarkation of the French were to be released; they were to enjoy the free exercise of their Religion, and not to be prohibited from attempts to convert the natives; the Port of Tunis was to be opened to all Christian traders, and the rate of its commercial duties was to be lowered; finally, the King engaged to reimburse the French for the expenses of the War, and to pay a large annual tribute to the Crown of Sicily. Half of the indemnity, amounting to no less than one hundred and five thousand ounces of gold, was delivered on the signature of the Treaty, and the remaining moiety was to be discharged in two subsequent annual payments.‡

It is manifest that the burden of these conditions pressed not upon the Prince but upon his People. Personally, Muley-Mostanza surrendered nothing; the toleration which he promised might gradually be evaded when the Christian army was no longer present to enforce its observance; and for the drain upon his Treasury, the coffers of an arbitrary Sovereign are little likely to be empty while a sequin or a ducat remains to be exacted from his subjects. The Crusaders re-embarked and pursued their homeward voyage; part, among whom was King Philippe, with the intention of returning to France; part burning to fulfil their original vow in the Holy Land under Alfonso of Poitou. Off Trapani they encountered a terrific gale, which destroyed eighteen galleys, a far more considerable number of smaller vessels, and with them nearly four thousand lives. The French Knights, discouraged by this new loss of many of their bravest comrades, of most of their warlike stores, and of all the treasure received from the King of Tunis, believed themselves to be visited by the wrath of Heaven, and postponed their Syrian expedition to a season more favourable. The English, who had not partaken in the Tunisian negotiation,

whose hands were clean from Infidel bribery, and who had escaped unharmed from the fury of the storm, claimed a miracle in their favour,* and under their Prince Royal, Edward, proceeded with alacrity to Palestine.

Philippe, having disembarked in Sicily, crossed the Strait of Messina, and pursued his journey to France over land. His march was a funeral procession. Already, while at Trapani, his brother-in-law, Thibaud II. of Navarre,† had yielded to a disease contracted under the burning sun of Africa: Isabelle, Queen of France, died at Cosenza, in consequence of premature labour brought on by a fall from her horse; and the mourning cavalcade with which the King re-entered his dominions presented the unwonted spectacle of five coffins conveying the remains of his Father, of his Wife, of her still-born infant, of his brother the Count of Nevers, and of his brother-in-law Thibaud. The obsequies of these illustrious dead were performed at St. Denis; and after May 22 a decent period of mourning had elapsed, Philippe celebrated his Sacré at Rheims.

We seek in vain for events of interest during this obscure and inglorious reign.‡ Edward I. of England, when called to the throne by the death of his Father, visited Paris on his return from the Holy Land, was pompously entertained, and did homage for his Comtental Fiefs. "My Sovereign," were the significant terms in which he expressed himself, as he knelt and placed his hands between those of Philippe, "I pay you homage for all the Lands which I ought to hold under you."§ This allusion to Normandy was too plain not to be understood, but it does not appear to have been resented. We read also of a futile attempt made by Philippe to support the claim of his orphan nephews, sons of Ferdinand de la Cerda and Blanche of Castile, to the throne of Castile. But so ill were his preparations conducted, that when his troops had already advanced to the Pyrenees, he was obliged to disband them from want of provisions and magazines.¶

In the little which we know of the personal character of Philippe le Hardi, no trace of any quality can be discovered to justify that epithet assigned to him by contemporary flattery.** He appears to have been weak and ignorant, the dupe of unworthy Favourites, who obtained his confidence chiefly through that intimate access which is the necessary privilege of servile attendance. Thus, before his accession to the Crown, the

* *Alii in nobilibus perierant cum potentissimis Barbarorum, unde Edwardus inter alias potius miracula servavit. Ad hoc cum Angli Dominum prestantidum non pervenit, meritis, quia precum Barbarorum non cupivit, sed terram asperam sanguine Jero Solvi, quantum in se fuit restituerit voluit Christianis.* Matt. Westminster, 400. Knyghton, ep. X. *Scriptores*, 3456. writes to the same purpose.

† Thibaud married, in 1255, Isabelle (Hemault calls her Elisabeth) of France, daughter of Louis IX. She followed her husband to the grave within four months after his decease; and as they died without issue, the Kingdom of Navarre, together with the Counties of Champagne and Beie, passed to Thibaud's brother Henry.

‡ Gul. de Nang. 525.

§ In 1271, the important dominion of Toulouse, the prius brought by Jeanne, daughter of Raymond VII., to Alfonso of Poitou, brother of Louis IX., became united to the Crown of France by the death of that Prince without issue.

¶ *Domine Rex, facio vobis homagium pro omnibus terris que debetis tenere de vobis.* Matt. Westminster, 402.

** Gul. de Nang. 533.

** The Benedictines, in *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, go yet further, and name him *Cœur de Lion*.

* Gul. de Nang. op. Duchesne, v. 518.

† Sales Malaspina, *Rev. Sec. v. 1. ep. Muratori*, vii. 859.

‡ *Id. 522. Guo. Villani, Hist. Univers. vii. 38. op. Muratori*, xiii.

259.

History. chief post of honour in his household, that of Chamberlain, was filled by a man of base extraction, Pierre de la Brosse, who performed the then united duties of Barber and Surgeon. To the same hands, Philippe continued to intrust the exercise of power after he became King, and the ancient Nobles observed with scorn, jealousy, and disgust, that they were supplanted by a menial.* By his first wife, Isabelle of Aragon, Philippe had four sons. One son and two daughters were the issue of his second marriage with Mary of Brabant, whose beauty won an ascendancy over her husband, which De la Brosse regarded with alarm. In order to counteract this influence, under which he feared that his own power might crumble away, he endeavoured to excite his Master's suspicions as to projects which the stepmother might entertain against the children of his first bed; and the death of Louis, the eldest of Philippe's sons, was sedulously reported to have been the effect of poison administered by the Queen.† To satisfy the doubts thus excited, the King was persuaded by his Minister to have recourse to certain Religious of both sexes, who were believed to be under supernatural guidance, and inspired through divine revelation; and care was taken by De la Brosse that these fanatics or impostors should return mysterious answers tending to increase the evil impressions already raised against the Queen. Philippe, however, pressed his inquiries further, and one of his Commissioners, a brother of De la Brosse, who had been raised to the Bishopric of Bayeux, unable to obtain so direct an accusation against the Queen as he desired, pretended that the Nuns whom he consulted had replied under the seal of Confession, the inviolability of which he was bound to respect. The King, irritated at this pertinacious and unseasonable secrecy, despatched a fresh Commission; and the Nuns, alarmed at these repeated examinations, then admonished him to place entire confidence in his Queen, and altogether to reject any whispers which he might hear to her disadvantage.‡ Two years elapsed during which the power of De la Brosse appeared undiminished; when one day a Monk placed in the King's hands a packet of Letters bearing the seal of the Favourite, which he stated had been found upon a courier, recently deceased while on his journey, in a Convent at Melun, and who on his death-bed had enjoined the Abbot to deliver them into no hands but those of the King. The contents of these letters never transpired; but they occasioned the immediate arrest, trial, and condemnation of De la Brosse. He was hanged at Montfaucon; and his brother, apprehensive of a similar fate, took refuge with Pope Nicolas III. at Rome, who refused to abandon him.§ Even when the Duke of Brabant, the Queen's Father, jointly with the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Artois, who had sat in judgment upon Pierre de la Brosse, earnestly besought the Pontiff to surrender the delinquent, Nicolas replied with firmness, that it was not his habit to confer a favour upon one party at the expense of an injustice towards another; and that all the great power of the enemies of the Bishop of Bayeux would be unable to contravert that personage's innocence.||

* Hist. de Nang. 529.

† Messey states, but without producing his authority, that the Queen would have been buried alive for this murder, but that the Duke of Brabant despatched a champion to challenge the accuser, who being afraid to combat, was accordingly hanged. ii. 739.

‡ Gul. de Nang. 532.

§ Id. 536.

|| Raynaldi Annales, ad ann. 1279, § 47.

The Letters which the Pope wrote at the same time to the King and Queen of France are framed in cautious and somewhat equivocal language.* They advise a disregard of the evil rumours which had been scattered abroad concerning the latter, but they by no means contain any assurance that Nicolas disbelieved them. Not the least remarkable portion of this mysterious history is that, on the accession of Philippe le Bel, son of Philippe III. by his first wife, the Bishop of Bayeux was reinstated in his Episcopal functions; an act of grace which implied the new King's conviction that he had been wronged, and that his brother was a faithful servant who had perished by the artifices of a faction.†

The long struggle between Charles of Anjou and Sicily and Pedro III. of Aragon, (which belongs to our Italian Annals,) placed Philippe also in a hostile relation to the latter; but it was not until Martin IV., strenuously espousing the cause of Charles, directed the full vengeance of Rome against his enemy, that the King of France was stimulated to active operations. The prize which lured him to the field was the donation of the Crown of Aragon (of which Martin pronounced Pedro to be deprived) to his second son, Charles of Valois. The death of the King of Sicily, the original cause of enmity with Aragon, was not likely to divert Philippe from a War to the conduct of which so strong an additional motive had been supplied by the Pope; and for this Crusade, as it was named, he gathered a mighty armament, which has been said to amount to twenty thousand horse, and four times that number of fantassins.‡ At the head of this great force, he penetrated to the walls of Elma, a town esteemed the key and bulwark of Catalonia. Some treachery of the inhabitants roused the French to uncontrolled fury, and in the assault and storm which followed, but a single individual was spared; and that one, the Bastard of Roussillon, more wretched than his comrades who had fallen honourably beneath the sword, purchased life by the infamy of betraying his Country, and of acting as guide through the difficult mountain passes which were his sole hope of defence against invasion.§ One engagement occurred at Ostalrich, in the plains beneath; and victory in it was claimed by each nation. It was not till after nearly three months' siege that the French captured Gironne, which the King, provoked by the obstinacy of its defence, had rashly vowed he would master at all hazards, before he returned to France; and disease by that time had made so great havoc in their ranks, that further advance became impossible. All the calamities of retreat in an enemy's country overwhelmed them on their first backward movement; the peasants in every village rose and massacred such stragglers as fell within their power; and Pedro with his now superior army pressed upon their rear. Philippe himself, languishing under a mortal sickness and in peril of defeat and capture at every step, slowly traversed the defiles through which he had advanced but a few months before in the pride of conquest; and exhausted by pain, toil, and chagrin, expired, in his fortieth year, on his arrival at Perpignan.||

In the short space of five weeks after the death of the

* Raynaldi Annales, ad ann. 1278, § 34, 36.

† Chr. Nangui apud D'Achery, Speculogium, iii. 44. Gesta Philippi III. ap. Duchesne, v. 536. Duhaime, Hist. de Paris, li. 276.

‡ Gio. Villani, lib. vii. ap. Murat. xiii.

§ Id. de Gul. de Nang. 543.

|| Id. 548.

France.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

Martin IV.
declares
Charles of
Valois
King of
Aragon.
A. D.
1253.

Philippe's
expedition
against
Aragon.
A. D.
1285.
May 25.
First suc-
cesses.
Aug. 14.

Sept. 7.

and dimen-
sions re-
treat of the
French.

Death of
Philippe
III.
Oct. 25.

History.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Philippe le
Bel.

Peace of
Anagni.
Feb. 23.
A. D.
1295.

Quarrel
with Eng-
land.
A. D.
1292.
Edward I.
cited to
Paris.
A. D.
1293.

Guy Count
of Flanders

declares
war against
France.

Successful
invasion of
Flanders.
A. D.
1297.

Truce for
two years.
Interference
of Boniface
VIII.

enemy whom he had thus repulsed, Pedro of Aragon followed him to the grave. The Crown of France devolved upon Philippe IV. (*le Bel*, as he was named from the beauty of his person,) a Prince scarcely seventeen years of age at the time of his Father's decease; yet he had been a Bridegroom more than a year, and in right of his Consort Jeanne he was the first French Monarch who bore the title of King of Navarre. The War with Aragon continued to rage in spite of the mediation of Edward I. of England, a near kinsman to both thrones; and with a few occasional spasms of hostility, the two Powers maintained an uninteresting and inglorious struggle during the ten succeeding years. Peace was at length concluded at Anagni, by the abandonment of the pretensions of Charles of Valois to the Aragonese Crown.

A quarrel with England, arising at first out of a petty affray between some Norman and British mariners, and heightened by repeated outrages on both sides, involved Philippe in much more active warfare than that which he inherited from his Father. When Edward I. hesitated to afford redress for a great violence offered to the French Commerce, he was formally cited to appear before the Royal Court at Paris.* Acknowledging vassalage to the Crown of France for his Duchy of Aquitaine, in which quality he had already paid homage to the King, he eluded rather than refused this summons. His brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster,† was deputed to represent him, and Philippe seizing the pretext of the King's non-appearance to declare him contumacious, partly by treachery, partly by force, overran and occupied the whole of Guyenne.‡ A series of marauding expeditions followed; the English made a descent upon the Province which had been wrested from them; the French burned and pillaged Dover. But it was against an ally of England that operations were most seriously directed. Guy, Count of Flanders, had promised the hand of his daughter Philippa, with a portion of two hundred thousand livres, to the eldest son of Edward. The Treaty, although secret, was suspected by the King of France; who, having enticed the Count of Flanders and his daughter to Paris, charged the former with a breach of vassalage in contracting this marriage without consent of his Sovereign, and would not permit the Count to return to his dominions until he consented to leave Philippa as a hostage. Justly irritated by this affront, Guy no sooner felt himself at liberty, than he renounced his allegiance to Philippe, and openly declared war.§

In the invasion of Flanders which ensued, the French encountered stubborn resistance, but were invariably successful. Nevertheless, as Wieter approached, Philippe, whose disposition was unwarlike, and who desired rather to secure himself in the conquests already made than to hazard them by attempting others, willingly listened to proposals for an armistice, and consented to a Truce for two years with both the Confederates. Mediation had already been attempted by a hand little skilled in the application of lenitives. No spirit more fiery and arrogant than that of Boniface VIII. ever ad-

ministered the government of the Holy See; and when he assumed the character of a Peacemaker, he employed menaces as his chief instruments of persuasion. To his threat of excommunication unless France and England should become reconciled, Philippe replied by disclaiming the Pope's temporal interference; and Boniface in return issued a Bull, by which he thought at once to deprive him of the sinews of War, peremptorily forbidding the Clergy to pay any impost assessed by lay authority, unless the Court of Rome should grant its previous sanction.* Philippe, in return, prohibited the exportation of treasure from France, a reprisal by which the revenues of the Holy See were severely affected. Yet notwithstanding these mutually venacious acts, a more open rupture at the moment did not accord with the policy of either party; but a feeling of deadly hate and bitterness was generated between them; the pride of tempers equally irritable was equally wounded; and when Philippe, to whom forgiveness was unknown, afterwards obtained the power of inflicting vengeance, he exercised it with relentless perseverance, to the utter destruction of the Pontiff from whom he had received offence.

Boniface, engaged in an important struggle nearer home, for a while exhibited symptoms of conciliation. He published a Bull explanatory of his recent prohibition;† and he consented to a request, long urged by France, and most gratifying to her National Pride,—the Canonization of Louis IX. A Commission had been instituted, twelve years before, to make inquiries concerning the life of the deceased King and the miracles performed by him since his death. The investigation had lingered on through no less than eight Pontificates, when Boniface renewed it with vigour. Joinville was examined during two days, the testimony of three hundred and one other witnesses was received, and sixty-five miracles performed at the King's tomb were verified.‡ When the Report of the Commissioners was presented to Boniface, he immediately issued the desired Bull, and himself delivered two Speeches in memory of the virtues of the new Saint.§ This act of favour excited universal joy in France; the remains of the canonized Monarch were translated with extraordinary pomp from St. Denis to the *Sainte Chapelle*; Philippe ordered the particulars of his Biography to be written at the public expense; and more than one Religious Community erected altars to his worship.|| Joinville was prompted by a vision to a similar good work, and founded a perpetual daily Mass "in honour of God and of St. Louis." The warm imagination of the loyal Knight, and the intensely affectionate reverence with which he contemplated the memory of his departed friend and master, may easily have deluded him into a fancy that he actually saw in his own chapel the image of the beatified King "resplendent with glory," and held with it a very edifying conversa-

* This Bull is known in Ecclesiastical History by the title of *Gloria Lauca*, the two words with which it commences. It is printed in the *Preuves* at the end of Dupuy's *Hist. du Differend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, which Treatise, without the *Preuves*, may be found in the VIIIth Volume of the London Edition of De Thou, 1731.

† *Preuves du Differend*, 39.

‡ See the *Miracles de Saint Louis* at the end of Joinville, Ed. 1761, and another collection also by the King's Chaplain, William of Chartres, *op. Duchesne*, v. 466.

§ Both these Speeches are printed by Duchesne, v. 481—485.

|| Among them were the Jacobins of Evreux and the Canons of Tournai; several miracles performed in the Church of the former are recorded by Duchesne, v. 477.

* *Florentin*, *ad ann.* vol. i. part ii. p. 723.

† Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, had married the Dowager Queen of Navarre, mother of Jeanne, Consort of Philippe.

‡ Letter of Edmund to John de St. John. *Florentin*, *ibid.* p. 794. Explanatory Letter from Edward I. to the Prelates and Barons of Gascony, *id.* *ib.* p. 805.

§ Matthew Westminster, 429.

France.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Bull of Ga-
rret Louis.
Aug. 15.
A. D.
1296.

Disputed
treaty be-
tween Phi-
lippe and
Boniface.

Canoniza-
tion of St.
Louis.
A. D.
1297.

Aug. 25.

History. tion.* But the judicious and sober-minded comment which he has annexed to his narrative of the Canonization distinctly evinces the rational estimate which he entertained of the chief benefit to be derived from it. "This was a great honour to his descendants, particularly to such as may follow his example, but dishonourable to those who shall not do so; and they will be pointed at by the fingers of the public, who will say, the holy man, had he been alive, would never have committed acts so disgraceful."†

Boniface negotiates.

Edward I., who during the winter had passed into Flanders, was soon recalled by troubles in Scotland; and he readily confided to Boniface full power to negotiate a final Peace, which might altogether disembarass him from a very formidable enemy. The King of France entertained equally pacific views; and there was yet another point in which the hostile Princes accorded. Both were alike jealous of the Papal claims to supremacy, and both took especial care, that in the Bull which announced their consent to the Pope's mediation, it should be expressly stated that they submitted to him, not in his Pontifical character, but as a private person, Benedict Gaetan.‡ The principal stipulations of the *Final Bull* (which, notwithstanding that title, was chiefly prospective) regarded a double marriage between Edward himself with Margaret, a sister of Philippe, and Edward Prince of Wales, with Isabelle, a daughter of the same King. The portion of territory to be restored to England, and other matters of scarcely less importance, were postponed for subsequent deliberation; and it will be perceived that the main point effected was the rupture of alliance between England and Flanders by setting aside the former compact of marriage which had been the foundation of their union. This new Treaty was signed at Montreuil sur mer on the 19th of June, and the nuptials of the King of England with Margaret of France were solemnized at Canterbury on the 12th of September following. Nevertheless, four years elapsed before the definitive arrangements were concluded; and it was then agreed that Edward, considering himself a Vassal of France, should be reinstated in his Fief of Aquitaine.

The Count of Flanders had been passed by in silence in the Treaty of Montreuil; and thus shamefully and faithlessly abandoned, he could oppose slight resistance to the overwhelming force with which, on the expiration of the armistice, Charles of Valois was instructed to pour into the Netherlands. Arras, Douay, Bethune, Courtrai, Dam, and Bruges rapidly yielded to the invaders; but Gand, the wealthiest and the strongest of his fortified towns, still remained to the veteran Prince, and within its walls he prepared to withstand a siege. Charles, however, enforced upon him the hazard of his situation and the inequality of the struggle, and ex-

pressed a conviction, little supported by experience, of the gentleness of Philippe's disposition. "Approach my brother's presence," he said, "with offers of submission, and I engage on the faith of a Prince, that if he does not reinstate you in your full sovereignty, he shall at least permit you to return to your present defences." The Count indiscreetly relied on this promise, which the Count of Valois was unauthorized to give, and which Philippe refused to sanction. When Guy had permitted a French garrison to occupy his last strong hold, and accompanied by his two elder sons, had thrown himself at the feet of the King of France, he was sternly informed that he was a rebel and a prisoner, and that Flanders henceforward was incorporated with the dominions of his Sovereign.*

It was in the year following this act of treachery that the smothered enmity between Philippe and Boniface kindled into open flame. Bernard de Sayset, Bishop of Pamiers, whom the latter despatched into France for the adjustment of some Ecclesiastical dispute, was a headstrong, passionate, and arbitrary Prelate, whose violence on former occasions had rendered him especially odious to the King. The choice of such a Minister, if accidental was unfortunate; if premeditated was insulting; and it was in the latter view that it was regarded by Philippe. A charge of Treason was instituted against the Legate by the Crown lawyers; he was affirmed to have used imprudent and unbecoming expressions concerning the King, and to have compassed his dethronement; and the ready accusations of heresy, blasphemy, and simony being annexed to his political offences, his servants were submitted to the rack in order to extort confessions; and himself, in spite of his advanced age, his high dignity, and his numerous infirmities, was ignominiously thrown into prison.

The first steps taken by Boniface on learning this unexampled outrage upon his Legate—whose diplomatic office, exclusively of the peculiar sanctity of his mission, ought to have guaranteed him sufficient protection—were calm and temperate. He summoned the French Clergy to attend him at Rome in the following November; and he addressed a Remonstrance to Philippe, full indeed of severity, but nevertheless tinctured with the spirit of paternal admonition which was claimed by its opening paragraph. It admonished the King as an erring Son, and commenced with the words from which it has received its name in History, *Ausculat Fili*.† But Philippe, unused to any voice but that of flattery, rejected with indignation a document which presumed to discuss his faults; he carefully suppressed the original missive, and in laying his complaints before an Assembly of the States-General—probably the first States-meeting in which the *Tiers-Etat*, or Commons, were General. summoned together with the Barons and the Clergy—his Chancellor was instructed to omit all those strong expressions which might be grating to the ears of Royalty; and to exhibit no more than a short abstract which has been termed *La petite Bulle*,‡ and which is sometimes mistakenly considered as another genuine *Bulle*. Instrument promulgated by Boniface.

* Malt. Westminster, 432. *Promettendo Messer Carlo sopra se fu guarentirti, et di rimetterli nello amore del Re et in loro stato et signoria..... la qual cosa por lo unverso Mondo fu tenuta grande dalestia a si fatte Signore.* Giov. Villani, viii. 32. See also Oudberg, *Chron. de Flandre*, ch. 136. f. 224.

† *Preuves du Differend*, 43.

‡ *Id.* 44.

France.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

Surrender
and cap-
tivity of
Count Guy.

Quarrel be-
tween Phi-
lippe and
Boniface.

A. D.
1301.

Imprison-
ment of the
Legate.
July 12:

The Bull
*Ausculat
Fili*.

*La petite
Bulle*.

**The Treaty
of Montreuil sur
mer.**

June 19.

A. D.

1299.

**Final
Treaty of
Paris.**

May 20.

A. D.

1303.

**resh in-
vasion of
Flanders.**

A. D.

1300.

* "I was on a certain day in my Chapel of Joinville when I thought I saw him resplendent with glory before me. I was very proud to see him thus in my Castle, and said to him, 'Sire, when you shall depart hence, I will conduct you to another of my Castles that I have at Cherillon, where you shall also be lodged.' He thought he answered me with a smile, 'Lord de Joinville, from my affection to you, I will not, since I am here, depart hence so soon.' When I awakened I bethought myself that it was the pleasure of God and his own that I should lodge him in my Chapel, and instantly after I had an altar erected to the honour of God and of him."—*Johnes's Translation*, i. 246.

† *Id.* *ibid.*

‡ *Fiedera. Bulla de compromise*, &c. vol. i. pars ii. p. 694. *Bulla finalis pronunciationis*, &c. *ibid.*

History.

From
A. D.
1199,
to
A. D.
1314.

The Vatican declared this Little Bull to be an impudent forgery; and the condensation which it presented of the original expressions, divested of all the explanatory and qualifying context, went very far to justify this opprobrious designation. Its terms ran as follows: "Boniface, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to Philippe, King of the Franks, Fear God and keep his Commandments. We wish you to know that you are subject to us in matters temporal as well as spiritual; that the collation of Benefices and Prebends in no wise appertains to you; that if you are allowed the guardianship of vacant Benefices it is only to preserve their fruits for those who succeed to them; that if you have conferred any of them, we declare such collation invalid and altogether revoke it, pronouncing those persons to be Heretics who maintain an opposite opinion." These words were erroneously received by the Assembly as if they constituted the original Bull, and the Chancellor, Pierre Flotte, permitted his auditors to remain in their delusion. The answer framed by the King in return (but, as it is supposed, never absolutely despatched) was coarse, blustering, flippant, and undignified. "Philippe, by the Grace of God King of the French, to Boniface, who calls himself Pope, little or no greeting. Let your very great Fatuity know that we do not submit to any one in matters temporal; that the collation of vacant Churches and Prebends appertains to us by right of our Royalty; that their fruits are vested in us; that the collations which we have made or shall make are valid both for the past and for the future; that we will support all persons thus appointed with the full extent of our power; and that we consider as Fools and Idiots those who maintain an opposite opinion."²

The King's
Answer.

The Three
Estates
write to the
Pope.

April 10.
A. D.
1302.

His indignation
against
Pierre
Flotte.

Nogaret de-
nounces
Boniface.
March 12.
A. D.
1303.

Even if this Letter was kept back, sufficient indignity was shown to Boniface by other proceedings. His Bull was publicly burned, and each of the Three Estates addressed to him a Remonstrance less insolent in expression but not less firm in defiance than the document which we have recited above.³ His chief indignation on receiving these addresses was directed against Pierre Flotte; he characterised the French Church no more harshly than as a foolish and mistaken daughter; but the Chancellor, he said, was "a very Beial;" and, alluding to the near-sightedness with which he was afflicted, he added, that he was "blear-eyed in body, and mentally altogether blind."⁴

It was early in the following Spring, that in a fresh Assembly of French Barons the ultimate designs which Philippe meditated against Boniface were distinctly avowed. Guillaume de Nogaret, an ambiguous character, half Military and half Civil, who had been a Professor and a Judge, and was now a Knight, received instructions from the King to denounce Boniface as a usurper, a false Pope, and a Heretic, who ought to be cut off from the bosom of the Church; and whose arrest and imprisonment he therefore formally demanded, until judgment could be obtained from a future Council. The Pope, in self-defence, retorted by a general

Bull of excommunication against all persons who had prevented the French Clergy from obeying his citation already issued, and summoned the King's Confessor to Rome; but the messenger who conveyed this Bull was seized and imprisoned, and in a new Assembly of the Barons the accusations of Nogaret were reduced to form and exhibited in detail. The nine and twenty counts of this Indictment, as we may term it, were framed according to the subtlest rules of special pleading. Many of the charges were mere repetitions little varied from each other; and almost all of them depended upon a somewhat nice induction. Thus, the Pope was accused of denying the immortality of the Soul, and the proof was obtained in the following Logical course. Boniface had said that he had rather be a dog, an ass, or any other brute animal, than a Frenchman; which he assuredly never would have said if he had believed a Frenchman to have an immortal Soul.⁵ No sensuality, however odious, was omitted in the Catalogue of his crimes, which contained a singular admixture of the blackest with the most frivolous offences. He was stigmatised as a sorcerer, the possessor of a Familiar Spirit,⁶ a violator of the secrets of the Confessional, the incestuous seducer of his own niece, and the murderer of many Priests, and of his predecessor Celestin; and in the same page, just as seriously, and with as much emphasis, he was declared a calumniator of the French by having called them Patarins, and of the Monks black and white, the Minorites, and the Preachers, by taxing them with hypocrisy. Guillaume de Plasian, the accuser, swore on the Gospels that he believed each charge which he had recited to be well founded; the King admitted the appeal which was demanded to a Council, in order to procure the speedy assembling of which he promised to exert himself to the utmost; the whole Parliament assented; the Ecclesiastics, who were present, adding their wish, rather than their hope, that Boniface might establish his innocence, and in the mean time protesting, beforehand, against any Excommunication or Interdict with which he might visit France for these proceedings.

Weapons more to be dreaded than these wordy Protestations of Ecclesiastics were employed by Philippe to avert the Spiritual Censures which it could not be doubted the Pope would now issue. The King's agents had long been secretly engaged in establishing powerful influence within the Pontiff's own dominions; and the party which a lavish distribution of treasure had gained in the town of Anagni was especially formidable. In that town, the place of his birth, Boniface passed the ensuing Summer, and he had already fixed the 8th of September as the day on which he would promulgate a Bull reciting every past incident of the struggle in which he was engaged, directly and personally excommunicating Philippe, and releasing his subjects from their allegiance. On the evening before that day, Nogaret, at the head of three hundred Knights and a numerous Body of other armed followers, entered Anagni, with the cry of "Death to Boniface, The King of France for ever!" The Muni-

From.
From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Formal ac-
cusation of
the Pope,
June 15.

and appeal
against him
to a Coun-
cil.

Seizure of
Boniface at
Anagni.
Sept. 7.

² *Preuves du Différend*, 44.

³ The Letter of the Nobles and that of the Prelates may be found in the *Preuves du Différend*, 60, 67. That of the Commons is lost.

⁴ *Verba delictantis Alit. Bull of Boniface to the Clergy of France*, Id. 65.

⁵ *Beial sile Petrus Flotte; armenidens corpore, ventrique exco-
catus*. Id. ibid.

⁶ Nogaret in his Speech condescended to a miserable pun upon the Pope's name. *Sed et enim in cathedra Beati Petri mendaciorum*

*magister, faciens se, cum sit omnisforti maleficus, Bonifacium nomi-
nari*. *Preuves du Différend*, 56.

⁷ *Ore pulchre dicere et prodicare non erudit, se magis velle rui
vel curare, vel curare, se quodcumque animal bestium, quem Gulli-
cum; quod non dixit, se crederet Gallicum habere amicum qui
posset eternam beatitudinem promereri*. Id. 102.

⁸ *Habet Damoclem privatum cujus consilio utitur in omnibus*. Id. 103

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.His dis-
tinct con-
duct.

His rescue

and death.
Oct. 11.Massacre of
the French
at Bruges.
March 21.
A. D.
1302.

epal Authorities had been bribed to abstain from opposition, and the interference of the rabble was dexterously prevented by exposing the Pontifical residence to their plunder. Nogaret was accompanied by Scliarra Colonna, one of a family exiled by the Pope, and at whose hands therefore little mercy was to be expected. But the high-spirited old man, more dignified under misfortune than in his loftiest height of power, listened undismayed to the noise of tumult increasing as it approached more nearly to his chamber of audience; and when the doors were broken in, he was found clad in his robes of office, with the tiara on his brow, the keys and a Crucifix in his hand, and seated on his Pontifical Throne.* "Strike when you please," was his sole reply to the menaces with which he was assailed; "betrayed like my Saviour, and hard by the gates of death, I will still die as becomes His Vicar."† During three days in which he was permitted to remain in his Palace, (perhaps because his captors, embarrassed by the very completeness of their success, were not yet fully prepared for their ulterior course,) he refused all sustenance, either from fear of poison, or from the bitterness of a wounded spirit. On the third morning, the populace of Anagni, shamed by this outrage upon the Head of their Religion, their fellow-towansman, and their patron, and struck with remorse at the apathy into which they had been seduced by a pitiful lust for booty, rose in arms for his deliverance. They were joined by peasants from all the surrounding districts, who swelled their numbers to ten thousand men; the French were chased from the town after the loss of many lives, and Boniface was delivered from his captivity. But the object of Philippe was already compassed, notwithstanding the Pope's release; and the remembrance of his late sufferings and humiliation acting upon a frame enfeebled by the burden of eighty-six Winters, contributed to bring him speedily to the grave. He expired at Rome exactly one month after his restoration to freedom; and the delirium of the violent fever which immediately occasioned his death, was magnified by his enemies into a judicial phrenzy, in a paroxysm of which inflection, they affirmed that he dashed his head against the walls of his chamber and destroyed himself by his own act.‡

Thus freed from a dangerous opponent and fully triumphant in one quarter, Philippe in another had not been equally successful. The tyranny of Jean de Chastillon, the Governor to whose rule Flanders had been committed, goaded the Citizens of Bruges to a rising in which nearly four thousand French were massacred.§ A son of the imprisoned Count placed himself at the head of twenty thousand Burgheers, and taking post at

Courtrai awaited the attack of the French army which had been put in motion for the punishment of the Rebels, as they were styled by their proud conqueror. The force led by Robert Count of Artois, cousin of the King and the most distinguished Captain of his time, amounted to seven thousand and five hundred Knights of gentle blood, ten thousand archers, and forty thousand fantassins.* The Flemings were drawn up on a plain having the town of Courtrai in their rear, and their front and flanks protected by a narrow, semicircular canal which had not been remarked by the enemy. The few gentlemen among them dismounted, and mixed on equal terms with the Burgheers, who fixing in the ground the butts of their long pikes presented an impenetrable *cheval de frise*. When the hostile columns appeared in sight, the Priests commenced the solemnization of Mass; and each soldier, without moving from his ranks to communicate, stooped forward, and plucking up the turf before him, pressed it to his lips, and devoted himself by a silent vow to what appeared almost certain death, in defence of his Country.

Robert d'Artois moved on proudly and carelessly as if secure of triumph. What could the lowly artisans of Flanders hope to effect against the high-blooded chivalry of France! When Raoul de Nesle, a veteran soldier, holding the important dignity of Constable, proposed a manœuvre which must infallibly have terminated in victory, Robert spurned every movement but that of direct advance; and, taunting his colleague with a marriage connection by which he was united to a daughter of the Count of Flanders, exclaimed scornfully, "They are no more than Flemish rabbits, and you yourself have some of their skin?" The brave Knight, stung by the imputation, replied with energy, "Sir, if you charge even with me, you will charge far enough!"† and his words were soon amply verified. Enveloped in clouds of Summer dust, the whole cavalry, headed by De Nesle, galloped on the enemy's line; and when the leading files arrived at the brink of the canal, of the existence of which they were ignorant, on account of the flatness of the country, they were pressed forward by the weight of the still advancing rear. Without the power of disengaging themselves on the smooth and perpendicular banks, man and horse continued to roll over each other; into this narrow but all devouring trough; while the light-armed Flemings, seizing the moment of confusion, readily threw themselves over the canal, closed upon their enemy in rear and upon both flanks, and completed their entire destruction. The richest blood in France was most profusely shed in this memorable defeat. Six thousand men at arms, more than two hundred of whom were of distinguished note, perished on the field. The Constable was one of the earliest who fell; Jean de Chastillon, whose severity had occasioned the revolt, was left among the dead; and Robert d'Artois atoned for his rashness after having been pierced with thirty wounds. Some estimate of the triumph of the Flemish may be formed

France.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Battle of
Courtrai.
July 11.Rashness of
Robert
d'Artois.Total defeat
of the
French.

* *Si free parare dell' amante di San Piero, et con le chiavi et croce in mano, et posati a sedere in su la sedia Papale.* Giov. Villani, viii. 63.

† *Da che per tradimento come Gherardo Christo veglio essere preso, et convenissi morire, almeno voglio morire come Papa.* Id. ibid.

‡ A prophecy of Celestin after his dethronement by Boniface is often cited: *Ascendisti ut Fulpes, regnabis ut Leo, morieris ut Canis.* Thomas Walsingham, *op. Anglica*, &c. Camdeni, 437. *Ce qui arrive, says Du Puy*, 73.

§ Peter König, a weaver, headed this insurrection, as the French chose to term the struggle of a free people to throw off the yoke of foreign conquest obtained by treachery. In order to prevent any of the oppressors from escaping, König placed sentinels at all the gates, with instruction not to allow any one to pass without delivering the watchwords *Scit ende Friend!* a shibboleth which effectually defied all the attempts of French pronunciation, *good hosts imitari student, nec valent recte offerre.* Meyer, *Annal. Flandriae*, x. f. 91. b.

* Giovanni Villani, viii. 55.

† Robert's words, as given by G. Villani, viii. 56. are, *Puis diable, ce sont deaconal de Lombars, et vos Constable avez ancor deu pel delu.* The Constable's reply is, *Sire, se vou ve res uge ira, vos tres bene avant.* Or as they stand a little more intelligibly in the margin, *Trus diable ce sont de guigles des Lombars, e vous Constable avez ancora du pel de la Sire, si vous tres ha je irai, vous tres bien avant.*

‡ *L'uno supra l'altro*, is the repeated expression of G. Villani.

History. when it is added, that they collected no fewer than four thousand pair of gilt spurs as trophies of their prowess.*

From A. D. 1199. to A. D. 1314. Philippe de-teriorates the Coun-try, and unsuccess-fully invades Flanders. No effort was spared by Philippe to repair this great loss, and, among other expedients, he had recourse to the short-sighted and hazardous experiment of deteriorating the national coinage; a financial blunder which he adopted more than once during his reign, which on each occasion impoverished his own coffers and produced almost universal bankruptcy, and which has entailed upon his name the dishonourable title of *le faux monnoyeur*. The army which he levied to revenge his defeat exceeded in numbers that which he had just lost; but it was firmly encountered, it suffered much in skirmishes, and the King, unable to provoke a general engagement, was surprised by the rains, lost his convoys and baggage in the inundations which they caused, signed an armistice to continue during the Winter months, and fell back on France without retrieving his glory.

Renewal of war in Flanders. A. D. 1304. Before renewing his invasion he concluded that definitive Treaty with England, which we have mentioned in an earlier stage of his history; and in order that he might the more fully prepare himself for final and complete vengeance, he even extended his Truce with the Flemings for twelve months longer. But the sturdy and unyielding opposition of that singular people in the end frustrated his hopes. Their fleet was destroyed on the Zurrick-see, and their army completely routed at Mons en Pruille; yet so great was their energy, that within three weeks after their second disaster a well-appointed force of sixty thousand men was prepared to dispute the further advance of the invaders. A war in which the defeated, Antwerp-like, derived increase of strength from their fall, was apparently interminable; and Philippe wisely abandoned his futile design of conquest. He released his prisoners, and acknowledged the independence of Flanders; in return, Lille, Douay, and a few places in their vicinity, were ceded to him, and he received two hundred thousand livres as an indemnity for the expenses of the war.†

Peace. The two remaining chief transactions of Philippe's reign arose out of the paramount influence which a happy chance enabled him to establish over the Holy See, but they are involved in doubts which can never be dispelled. The troubled Pontificate of Boniface VIII. was succeeded by the short reign of Benedict XI., on whose demise, (attributed to poison, not unconnected with the quarrel of his predecessor,) the Conclave remained undecided in their choice after nine months' deliberation. At length, by a secret agreement of two leading Cardinals of the opposite factions, Gaetano and Di Prato, it was determined that the former should nominate three ultramontane Prelates, one of

whom having been approved within forty days by the latter, should be raised by their joint influence to the tiara. Gaetano, a nephew of the late Boniface, named three Prelates of his own party, and Di Prato, who was in the interest of France, found means to inform Philippe that he only waited his consent in order to choose Bertrand de Goub, Archbishop of Bordeaux; a Prelate whom the King by that timely intimation might probably attach to himself, notwithstanding his hitherto avowed enmity.* Philippe, accordingly, in a secret interview made his compact with Bertrand,† whose election was immediately declared. The new Pope assumed the title of Clement V., and instead of proceeding to Rome for the solemnity of his Coronation, he invited the Cardinals to attend him at Lyon. A fearful accident which occurred by the falling of a wall crowded with spectators, on the day on which he received the tiara; was long considered as an evil omen of that subsequent residence of the Papal Court in France, which, from its seventy years' duration, has been compared by the angry zeal of the Italian Historians to the Babylonian captivity.‡

The financial distresses of Philippe were far from being removed by a confiscation of the property of all the Jews in France, preparatory to their expulsion from his dominions. The superstition of the times rendered this most crying and cruel injustice eminently popular; but it was far otherwise when the King assailed the purses of his Christian subjects; and when, having dis- charged a portion of the Crown debts in an adulterated coin, to which thrice its real value was assigned, he suddenly changed the standard, and ordered the same money to be received in payment of imposts at no more than its intrinsic worth. Public indignation was fiercely roused at this iniquitous Ordinance; the Palace was surrounded by a tumultuous mob, and but for a prompt and vigorous exercise of severity the throne might have been endangered. The King suppressed this brief insurrection by terror, but he perceived the necessity of rescinding his late fiscal regulations. It was not among the lower classes only that discontent had been excited: the rich Body of Knights Templars, whose revenue suffered greatly by the irregular value of the currency, is said to have secretly prompted the popular movement; and the relentless hatred with which Philippe was soon about to pursue that devoted Order has been attributed, among other motives, to his discovery of their participation in this sedition.

But the real motives of the Persecution which we are

* *Consecratus humo vago di homere et di signoria, et che era Guascone, che di natura son cupido.*

† Philippe made six demands upon the future Pope: 1. his own reconciliation with the Church; 2. the abolition of all his debts in the quarrel with Boniface; 3. a Grant of Tenth from his Clergy for five years; 4. the condemnation of Boniface; 5. the reinstatement of the Colonna Family; and 6. a condition, which for the present he was not prepared to state. It probably related to the Templars. G. Villani, viii. 80. This account of a transaction, which it was the interest of both parties to keep profoundly secret, may be thought too precise to deserve entire credence.

‡ Jean II. Duke of Burgundy was killed, and the King himself, together with his Brother Charles of Valois, who was holding the bridle of the Pope's mule, were hurt by this accident. Du Puy, *Hist. du Differend*, 77.

§ The Cardinal Matthew Rosso degli Orsini, one of the heads of the opposite faction, who most reluctantly quitted Rome on this occasion, observed with great foresight to Di Prato, whose intrigue in Boniface's election he had discovered, *I'avevo se' alto fon di con- durreme oltremona, ma tardi ritornarò la Chiesa in Italia, si conosci fatti i Guasconi.* G. Villani, viii. 81.

Pontificate and death of Benedict XI. July 7.

A. D. 1304. Intrigue for the

* Velly, iv. 156. where with more than customary elegance of allusion he notices the parallel of the three bushels of equestrian rings gathered by Hannibal at Canna. In our account of the Battle of Courtrai we have closely followed the picturesque, although doubtless very accurate narrative of G. Villani.

† G. Villani, viii. 79. One of the conditions of the Peace was the delivery to the Flemings of the remains of their unhappy Count Guy, who had died in prison the year before. Oudeghorst, *Chr. de Flandres*, ch. 140. f. 234. b.

‡ Benedict at first showed himself favourable to the French interests; but he soon acquired sufficient courage to excommunicate the chief agents in the outrage committed at Anagni. Within a month after the issue of a Bull to that effect, he was poisoned by a dash of figs, and strong suspicion attached to the parties whom he had spiritually censured.

France. From A. D. 1199. to A. D. 1314.

Election of Clement V. A. D. 1305.

Confiscation and banishment of the Jews. A. D. 1306.

New altera- tion in coin- age.

Tumult at Lyons.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

The
Knights
Templars

about to relate, belong to the many mysteries which accompany it, and which defy investigation. The Military Order of Knights Templars had existed little short of two Centuries from its original foundation at Jerusalem.* During that long period, it had continually increased in wealth, in reputation, and in illustrious connections; till, under the reign of Philippe le Bel, it is supposed to have numbered fifteen thousand members, many of them scions of the noblest and most ancient stocks of every Country in Christendom. France still maintained her preeminence among them; she had supplied a great majority of their Grand Masters; and Jacques de Molay, the occupier of that dignified office at the moment of which we are treating, himself a Frenchman, was planning, in conjunction with the Knights Hospitallers, that conquest of Rhodes, which the latter afterwards achieved single-handed.

On one and the same day, by virtue of sealed orders delivered to each Provincial Governor throughout France, every Templar in that Kingdom was arrested and thrown into prison, his property was sequestered, and an account of it transmitted to the King. One hundred and forty Knights were seized in their own abode, the Temple, at Paris; and De Molay, who was in their company, had not long arrived from Cyprus, at the express invitation of Philippe, by whom he had been received with much kindness and distinction. The Pope, on first receiving intelligence of this extraordinary exercise of power, testified some resentment at the violation of the privileges of a Religious Order; but his abode at Poitiers and his obligations to Philippe forbade any long resistance to the designs of the King; and content with reserving to himself the Processes against the Grand Master and a few other of the principal Officers, he abandoned the remainder to the ordinary Civil Tribunals.

The principal charges brought against the Order are said to have been framed by two Criminals condemned to imprisonment, one of them himself an apostate Templar; and they involve sufficient absurdity and contradiction, in many of their leading particulars, to ensure rejection, at least by posterity. It was pretended that the rites of admission to an Association, professedly established for the honour of God and the support of Christianity, commenced by a solemn renouncement both of God and Christ, by spurning the Crucifix, by the worship of a hideous Idol, and by an act of initiation disgusting, unmeaning, and ridiculous. Unspeaking pollutions were not only tolerated but enjoined by their rules. The choicest unguent with which a Templar could nourish the long beard distinctive of his Order, was the fat of a roasted Babe, the illegitimate offspring of some one of the Brotherhood, perhaps of himself, after it had been sacrificed with hellish orgies. His most delicious cup was mingled with the ashes of some deceased comrade, burned expressly to temper a beverage, which was asserted to inspire courage and mutual fidelity.† And lastly, it was averred that, being secretly

and in heart Mohammedans, the Templars had betrayed the Holy Land and bartered it to the Sultan for Gold.

Pride, licentiousness, avarice, and ambition, an overweening lust for both wealth and power, and an influence and ascendancy dangerous to the existence of every Government under which they lived, might perhaps have been charged upon the Templars with justice; and might have afforded sufficient reasons for the policy of extinguishing their Order. But common sense and all experience revolt against belief in the atrocities which formed the basis of their accusation. Wheu were fifteen thousand men ever linked together by professed bonds of unprofitable crime and unnatural demoralization? What benefit was to be derived by secret apostasy from a Religion which they had openly sworn to uphold with their lives? Yet the solitude of a dungeon, the agonies of torture, and the terrors of an execrating death, wrung from many of the prisoners a partial confession of guilt; and in each of the Interrogatories of more than one hundred Knights still preserved to us, the admission of some one of the charges is to be discovered.* No further evidence, it may be thought, need be required of the utter futility of any criminal process in which the rack is admitted as chief cross-examiner.

Meantime, the Pope, urged on by Philippe, avowed his conviction of the guilt of the accused, and summoned an (Ecumenical Council to meet at Vienne on the 1st of October, 1310, to decide respecting the ultimate destiny of the Order. But the prisons of France overflowed with captives, notwithstanding the many who had perished by torture, by hunger, or by despair. The first capital punishments were not inflicted till nearly two years had passed since the arrests; and then fifty-six Knights, who had retracted their confessions, were burned as relapsed—burned, not only alive, but slowly, gradually, and limb by limb,† in the suburbs of Paris, protesting their innocence amidst their last shrieks of agony. Fresh executions, attended with similar horrors, rapidly succeeded each other; and when a Commission appointed by the Pope commenced the examination of the Grand Master, so acute had been his sufferings in prison, that the *Procès-verbal* (unused as are such documents to tenderness of expression) describes him in words of irresistible pathos. The old man, says that Instrument of blood, appeared "to have lost his faculties, and seemed as one beside himself."‡ He was remanded for a few days till he could answer; and he then affirmed that he knew no evil of his Order, to which he had belonged during ten years; and that, notwithstanding his ignorance and his poverty, four deniers being the only money which he possessed, he was ready to undertake its defence. He was reminded that no advocates were allowed to criminals accused of Heresy; and a former deposition which it was pretended that he had made, attested by three Cardinals, was read to him. He listened with unfeigned astonish-

France.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.
Abundantly
of the pri-
cipal
charges.

Confessions
extorted
from the
prisoners.

Clement V
summons
the Council
of Vienne.

Executions
in Paris.
A. D.
1309.

Examina-
tion of the
Grand
Master.

* The Order was founded in A. D. 1118 by nine French Knights, who devoted themselves to the service of God and the defence of Pilgrims to the Holy Land. The Brotherhood derived its name from a residence near the Temple, assigned to it by Baldwin II.

† The Uskok Pirates in the Adriatic, suppressed by Venice in the early part of the XVIIth Century, drank the blood of their murdered prisoners from a similar superstition; but the Uskoks were a barbarous horde composed of outcasts from every nation in Europe: the Templars, on the other hand, were a *corps d'élite* of her noble sons.

* Simonâ, *Hist. de François*, ix. 206. and the authorities cited in his note to the page following.

† *Fecit mettere fuoco a piede, et a poco a poco l'uno innanzi l'altro ardere.* And see the account of the executions given by Boccardo, *I Casi degli Humani Miseri*, ix. *Lentamente facevano arderli, per tutto il corpo pian piano gli abbracciavano.* p. 368. Ed. Firenze, 1590.

‡ *Futurus est non bene compos mentis*; words which Du Puy (*De la Condamnation des Templiers*, ap. Thuanum, vii. p. xi p. 96.) wishes to interpret of natural imbecility and weakness; but it is little likely the administration of the Order would have been intrusted to any but a person of sound abilities.

History.

ment to its contents, crossed himself, and observed, that if the Cardinals had been of another quality, he should have well known in what fashion to answer them. The Cardinals, he was told, were not personages to take up wagers of battle; and he explained that such was not his meaning, but that he would have prayed God to award to them that punishment which the Turks and Saracens inflict on liars by beheading and evisceration.*

Council of
Vienna.A. D.
1311.Suppression
of the
Order.

May 6.

A. D.
1312.Execution
of the
Grand
Master.

March 11.

A. D.
1314.

The Council of Vienna did not assemble till more than a year after the time originally appointed for its meeting; and on its second Session, Clement solemnly pronounced the abolition of the Order of Knights Templars. The Apostolic Constitution enjoining this suppression is couched in equivocal language. "Whereas many confessions obtained from prisoners render their Order greatly suspected, and whereas moreover evil reports bruited abroad, vehement suspicions, and more especially the loud accusation presented by the Prelates, Dukes, Counts, Barons, and Commons of France have occasioned great scandal, which cannot be extinguished so long as the said Order continues to exist—therefore," &c. These are not the terms in which a Judge, convicted of the guilt of a prisoner, delivers his sentence.

The last act of this Tragedy was the execution of the Grand Master, which did not occur till nearly two years after the suppression of the Body over which he had presided. Three other dignitaries of the Order had been reserved with him in confinement, and all of them were led out before an Ecclesiastical Commission, to a scaffold erected in front of Notre Dame, where their pretended confessions were read, and they were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment. When the chief Commissioner had finished his recital, De Molay and one of his comrades in a firm tone protested their innocence, and retracted the confession attributed to them. It had either been falsified, they said, in the *Procès-Verbal* by advantage taken of their ignorance of Latin, or it had been extorted in moments during which they were bereaved of all mental power by the acuteness of torture. The Prelates were embarrassed by this avowal, not less unexpected than that made by Cranmer under similar circumstances; and they recommended the prisoners to their dungeon. But Philippe was more prompt; he prepared a stake within sight of his Palace Gardens, and burned the two Knights on that same evening, at the hour of Vespers. It was said that De Molay, while amid the flames, cited the Pope to appear within forty days, the King within a year and a day, before the judgment seat of God. The death of each of his Persecutors, which followed within the term prescribed, no doubt gave birth to the story; but its very existence may be assumed as a token that popular opinion inclined in favour of the sufferers.

To attempt any discussion of the secret History of this most striking transaction would far exceed our narrow limits, and could not lead to any satisfactory result. The only one of Philippe's motives for originating and following up the persecution, which is free from obscurity, is the great gain which accrued to him by the confiscation of the property of the Order. Nominally, indeed, it was transferred to the possession of the Knights Hospitallers, but they did not obtain it till after payments so extravagant as for a long time to impoverish them by their appa-

rent increase of revenue.* To avarice there is little doubt must be added some bitter feeling of personal hatred. Philippe never forgave; and the other Process which we have before mentioned that he negotiated with Rome, sufficiently attests that even the grave was powerless to disarm his inextinguishable resentment. The object nearest his heart, immediately after the accession of Clement V., was to wreak a posthumous vengeance on Boniface, by coupling his name with perpetual infamy. He offered to establish his Heresy by indisputable witnesses before the Apostolical Court; he demanded that his remains should be disinterred; and that all the Acts of his Pontificate should be annulled.

To declare that Boniface had not been a legitimate Pope, was in great measure, as Clement could not but perceive, to invalidate his own election; for the nominations made by a false Pontiff could be of none effect, and the majority therefore of the existing Sacred College would be said to occupy their dignities illegally. Without directly opposing the requests of Philippe, Clement therefore discreetly temporized, and postponed the examination of the Cause till the assembly of the General Council at Vienna. But the rancour and impetuosity of the King urged him to an earlier hearing; and the Process, as conducted at Avignon in the beginning of the year 1310, is among the most remarkable judicial investigations presented by History. Nogaret and Plaisan were again, as before in his lifetime, the accusers of the deceased Pope; and the charges which they advanced were similar to those already recounted. Among the statements of numberless other witnesses, (many of them of broken character, and affording evidence of their own crimes by the very testimony through which they endeavoured to establish those of the Pope,) all Christendom was struck dumb by one deposition. Three gentlemen of unblemished reputation and of distinguished birth, natives respectively of Florence, of Bologna, and of Lucca, and who had filled the honourable office of Ambassadors from their separate Governments, declared that Boniface, in their joint presence, had asserted the eternity of the Universe, and denied the immortality of the soul and the divinity of Jesus. The charges which impute licentiousness to Boniface may readily be admitted, for the morals of the Clergy of his time were universally dissolute; those which assert his alliance with Demons and Sorcerers, grave as they were esteemed when produced, will not now require consideration; but that, on testimony which appears indisputable, the Head of the Christian Church should be proved wantonly and gratuitously to have avowed an infidelity which struck at the very root of his own power, is a paradox which Human Wit must ever be incompetent to resolve.

Every fresh witness increased the embarrassment of Clement. He could not exonerate Boniface without at the same time imputing falsehood and subornation to the King of France; he could not condemn him without disorganizing the whole frame and constitution of the Church. It is probable that Philippe had acuteness enough to perceive this latter hazard; and that satisfied with the exposure which he had made of his great enemy, and fully aware of the importance of the mastery which he possessed over Rome, he of his own

Fraser.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.Philippe
demands
the condem-
nation of
Boniface.A. D.
1305.Clement V.
temporizes.The Cause
is heard at
Avignon.A. D.
1310.Remarks
on the
ev-
en-
ing.Embarrass-
ment of the
Pope.Philippe
relaxes.

* *De la Condamnation des Templiers*, ap. Thuanus, vii. p. xl. p. 96.

* *Li quali ricompensarono grandissimo tesoro del Re et de' Signori che l'avevano occupate; onde lo Magistro dello Spedale si ereditò esser ricco, et per lo granche debito in che entrò per rancore venne in mal stato.* G. Villani, ix. 22.

History.

From
A. D.
1199.
to
A. D.
1314.

accord forebore to press to dangerous extremities a measure which might render nothing worth a tool now so valuable. He agreed, therefore, to a compromise, by which Clement was extricated from his dilemma; and a Bull appeared, which, without touching upon the principal question of the guilt or innocence of Bouiface, declared that the motives of the King of France in instituting the inquiry were pure and honourable. It at the same time annulled all the spiritual censures which the late Pope had directed against France, and granted absolution even to Nogaret and thirteen others who had participated with him in the outrage at Anagni, on condition of their devoting the remainder of their lives to service in Palestine. Subsequently, at the Council of Vienne, the Pontificate of Boniface was declared legal, and he was exculpated from the imputation of Heresy.*

A few words may suffice for the remainder of this reign, the peculiarity of many transactions in which has imperatively required a somewhat detailed narrative. A feud between the Citizens of Lyon and their Archbishop, which Philippe himself had encouraged, enabled the rapacious Prince to annex that important City to his Crown. The state of Flanders once again obliged him to arm, but without proceeding to absolute hostilities. His finances continued embarrassed, and his domestic tranquillity was broken by disorders in the families of his three sons. One of them avenged the infidelity of his wife by death; another by the Cloister; the third by temporary repudiation; and the adulterers were condemned to a punishment, in which cruelty appears to have exhausted itself in search of refinement. At length after a tedious illness, produced by an accident in hunting, Philippe le Bel terminated a life of forty-eight years and a reign of twenty-nine, in which, although it is in many points of great note in History, he contributed neither to the happiness of his people nor to his own glory.

withstanding the allegiance which Henry had exacted before his death; and the Ghibelins named as King of the Romans, Philip Duke of Suabia, next brother of their deceased Monarch, who assumed the Crown as custos for his nephew; the Guelphs bestowed the same title on Otho IV., Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and son of Henry the Lion. The Holy See had invariably shown itself hostile to the Suabian Family, and Innocent followed the steps of his predecessors by continuing to oppose its aggrandizement; but in the long ensuing contest between the rival Princes which harassed Germany for nearly eight years, neither party ever attained sufficient strength to enable him to claim the Imperial Crown at Rome. Philip was at length triumphant, and having forced his competitor, after a total defeat at Cologne, to seek refuge with his uncle John in England, he readily found means of reconciliation with the sagacious and politic Innocent. At the moment, however, at which his power appeared for the first time to rest on an enduring basis, his life was terminated by a private feud. The fierce temper of Otho of Wittelsbach, Count Palatine of Bavaria, had induced Philip to retract a promise which he had once made of bestowing his daughter's hand on that powerful Noble; and Otho, in revenge, poniarded him while confined to his chamber by indisposition, sprang upon his horse after disengaging himself from the terrified attendants, and escaped pursuit.*

Wearied by Civil war, the Germans, on the death of Otho IV., Philip, unanimously acknowledged the claim of Otho, who in the following year was crowned by Innocent at Rome. Yet notwithstanding the Imperial power was now vested in a Family whose cause had always been espoused by the Papacy, the main interests of the two Courts were too decidedly at variance to permit their amity to be of long continuance; and for a while we shall perceive the strange spectacle of a Ghibelin claimant opposed by the Pope to a Guelph possessor of the Empire, whom himself had but recently invested with that

Germany and Italy.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.

Success of
Philip.
A. D.
1206.

His assassination.
A. D.
1208.

His quarrel
with Innocent III.

PART II.

ANNALS OF GERMANY AND ITALY

The Crown
of Ger-
many dis-
turbed be-
tween
Philippe of
Suabia and
that of
Saxony.
A. D.
1197.

During the first half of the XIIIth Century it is still necessary to confine the GERMAN and ITALIAN Annals in a single channel. The former indeed, if taken separately, are altogether barren; and the sole interest which the History of the Empire affords arises from its connection with the Southern peninsula. The death of Henry VI. and the accession of Innocent III. to the Pontifical Chair were nearly simultaneous; and the late Emperor's infant son Frederic was left under the guardianship of the Pope, who administered the government of Naples and Sicily far more as if they were his own Kingdoms than as belonging to a ward. The two great factions in Germany, however, were little inclined to submit themselves to the government of a child, not-

* Otho had treacherously assassinated a retainer of Philip, who on that account refused to complete the proposed alliance with his daughter. The Count afterwards sought the hand of a Princess of Poland, and asked letters of recommendation from Philip, who was her kinsman. Having some misgivings, however, as to the real contents of these despatches, which he himself was unable to decipher, *nam rer. militaria litteras ipse non agnovit*, he compelled a Secretary to read them, *qui, ubi edit litteras Urise, exprobra.* Philip, it seems, had written his real opinion of the Count, and had dissuaded his relation from the match, and this candour cost him his life. Krantz, *Saxonia*, lib. vii. p. 193.

† We have already explained the origin of these party names as connected with *German History*, ch. lxxiii. p. 633. The last heiress of the Bavarian Guelphs married a younger son of the House of Este, the most powerful Family in Eastern Lombardy, which about the end of the XIIIth Century became the Head of the Church-Party in their own district. The opposition raised by this faction to the Ghibelin or Suabian Emperors, transferred the two German names to Italy; and in the case of Otho IV., those names, with little regard to their Family origin, signified no more than that a Guelph espoused the side of the Pope, a Ghibelin that of the (Guelph) Emperor. The story related by Gianoone (xvi. l.) of the Feud between the Houses of the Buondelmonti and Amadei at Florence, by no means accounts for the adoption of the names in Italy.

Krantz has given a fearful, but probably by no means an exaggerated account of the fury of this party spirit in Italy. *Sed quid de uno Tartaro nati dissensionis Italica Civitates per tot annos tumultuantes, miris circumventionibus et vertiginosis circuitu implicites, implorabiles obsecuri invicem, necessest quidam rē in te inquantur. Non modo enim agna bellica habent aeterna, sed colores, terrores, fremitus, hostilia corporum, ipse hominum incensus, digniorum convectus, et ora huius nam adhuc partium triumphantem.* *Saxonia*, viii. p. 207.

* See the Bull, *Preseus de Differend*, 592. One of the most masterly portions of M. de Simond's *Hist. des Français* is the clear analysis which he has presented of the Process against Boniface VIII. (tom. ix. ch. xxiii.). Any one who has but glanced at the interminable pages of Raynaldus and of Du Puy, must be at once aware of the unwearied diligence and dexterous faculty of arrangement which so apparently hopeless a task required, and has received.

History.
From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.

War with
Frederic II.

Invasion of
Naples.
A. D.
1210.

Otho re-
called to
Germany
by an in-
surrection.
A. D.
1212.
His depres-
sion after
his defeat at
Bouvines.

A. D.
1214.
His anse-
rities.

and death.
A. D.
1218.

dignity. Innocent's grand object was to erect the Holy See into a powerful temporal State; and during the weakness of the Empire by its late disputed succession, he had obtained possession of the March of Ancona and the Duchies of Spoleto and Romagna. In his further hope to extort from Otho more important portions of the great donation of the Countess Matilda, which had been withheld by his predecessors, Innocent, however, was disappointed; and the enmity which this refusal generated, occasioned for a time the anomaly which we have just mentioned in Italian Politics. The intrigues of the Pope secured for the youthful Frederic II., hitherto restricted to his hereditary Sicilian dominions, the powerful support of Philippe Auguste of France, and of many of the discontented Saxon Nobles; and he was already preparing to dispute the Imperial claim, on German ground, when Otho prudently anticipated the struggle by invading Naples. In spite of an Excommunication which Innocent hastened to promulgate, Otho was everywhere successful, and he felt assured of wresting his throne from the young King of Priests,* as he contemptuously termed Frederic, when he was recalled to Germany by a hazardous insurrection.

Frederic pursued with vigour the advantage thus offered to him, and at once transferred the seat of war into Germany. So powerfully was he supported in the upper districts beyond the Moselle, that Otho felt unable to meet him in the field; and when the memorable overthrow at Bouvines had destroyed the force with which the Emperor hoped to check the diversion made by Philippe Auguste, no chance remained of further opposition. He lived, indeed, four years longer, but abandoned by all his Princes, and apparently in privacy at Brunswick. From the details which we possess of his last moments, it would seem that he addicted himself to the austere penance, under a belief that his misfortunes were the result of the Papal wrath. Stripped naked, and prostrate on the ground, he submitted to a long discipline from the Priests who surrounded him, while the *Miserere* was chanted; ever urging them to strike yet harder, and inviting even his scullions to trample upon his neck.† So profound a humiliation won mercy from the Vatican. Honorius IV., who had succeeded Innocent in the tiara, confirmed the absolution which the attendant Bishop had not denied; and the remains of this spirit-broken and degraded Prince were allowed interment with Imperial honours in the Abbey of St. Blaise;‡

Of the great part which Innocent III. took in the IVth Crusade, and of the chief stains on his active and ambitious Pontificate, the Persecution of the Albigenses

and the establishment of the Inquisition, enough has been already said in a former part of this Chapter. Few Papal reigns have been more enterprising, more brilliant, and more successful; and there was scarcely a single European Sovereign who at some time did not bow beneath his despotism. Occupied in the engrossing pursuit of enlarging the temporal power of his See, in his private habits he was liberal and unostentatious; he adorned the Chair of St. Peter by Learning, and he did not pollute it by immorality.* In the year after the close of the IVth Council of Lateran, which he had successfully directed to the support of Frederic II., and to the condemnation of Heresy, he terminated at Perugia, a reign which had lasted nineteen years, and which he had commenced at the unusually early age of thirty-seven.

Frederic II. had been crowned King of the Romans four years before the death of Otho. When that event occurred, he could entertain little doubt of his investiture with the Empire by the hands of Honorius III., who before his elevation to the Pontificate had long held the honourable post of Governor of Palermo. But the Pope not only knew, but resolved also to exercise the superiority which change of station had bestowed; and he refused to bestow the Imperial Crown till his former master solemnly engaged to undertake a Crusade. Two years elapsed after his accession before Frederic appeared at Rome; and many obstacles then intervened to prevent the rapid fulfilment of this extorted promise. Puglia demanded organization, and many of its Barons were to be restrained only by force of arms. Sicily was yet more disturbed; for the Saracens, who occupied the mountainous districts in the centre of the Island, profited by their strong position to ravage the surrounding plains; and were not unfrequently assisted in their work of rapine by roving bands of their Countrymen from the neighbouring coast of Africa. To remedy this crying evil it was necessary first to dislodge the brigands from their fastnesses, and then to locate them afresh; and many thousands were allured by the fertile plains of the Capitanata, to colonize Lucera and its neighbourhood.†

Five years had thus passed and Palestine was still neglected, while every moment diminished the waning power of the Christians in the East. But the policy of Honorius discovered means of stimulating the tardy and

* Nevertheless the Spirit of this Pope, which appeared to the Holy Virgin Lutgarde, informed her that it had merited eternal damnation for three sins; but that, through the intercession of the Virgin, to whom, while living, Innocent had dedicated a Monastery, those eternal pains had been commuted for the sufferings of Purgatory till the Day of Judgement. Lutgarde revealed the nature of these three sins to her Biographer Thomas Cantimpræ, who, out of respect to the great Pontiff, forbears to repeat them. *Vita Lutgarde*, ii. 7. *Ap. Surium, Vita Sanctarum*, iii. die 16 Jan. M. de Sigmund, from whom we derive this legend, which he has related with great happiness, concludes it by adding, *Le lecteur trouvera peut-être plus de tristes crimes, dont Innocent pouvait être appelé à rendre compte devant la Majesté divine. Hist. de Rep. B. ii. 347.*

† The reasons given for this transportation by G. Villani are *per essere più al sicuro dell' Isola dai Saraceni della Barberia, et ancora per tenere la guerra per loro i suoi subditi del Regno di Puglia*. The site chosen is described as follows: *Una antica Città deserta, che anticamente fu in lega coi Romani, et fu disfatta per li Saraceni, così per quelli di Bravento, la quale all' hora si chiamava Lucera et oggi si chiama Noerra, et furono più di sex mila Saraceni da arme, et quella Città rifeccero molto forte. Lib. vi. c. 14. apud Muratori Script. B. xiii. 162.*

* *In contemptum Romane Ecclesie Regem Fredericum Regem appellavit Presbyterorum.* Riccardo da S. Germano, cited by Giammoze, xv. 3.

† *Optima autem spes salutis in tantâ contritione* is the orthodox deduction of Krantz after relating some of the above particulars. *Saxonia*, vii. 199. The others may be found in Martenne, *Thes. Anecdotorum*, tom. iii. p. 1374, where a *Narratio de morte Othonis IV. Imp.* is printed *ex MS. Viterbensi*. Thomas of Walsingham assures us that the dying Emperor, being unable to swallow the viaticum, humbly adored it with outstretched arms; and that the consecrated wafer, leaping from the hands of the Priest, buried itself within the left side of the willing recipient, towards the region of the heart; the aperture, which spontaneously opened at its approach, closing again without a scar. *Ap. Camdeni Anglica*, p. 461.

‡ According to an ancient inscription in that Church, which, with the customary privilege of an epiphany, describes it as the burial-place of the *grosmâchtige Kayser Otho*.

Germany
and Italy.
From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
Pontifical
and death
of Innocent
III.
July 16.
A. D.
1216.

Accession
of Frederic
II.

He promises
to undertake a
Crusade.

The Saracens
re-moved
from Sicily
to Lucera.
A. D.
1223.

Marriage of
Frederic
with
Isabella,
daughter of
Jerusalem.
A. D.
1223.

History. reluctant Emperor. Frederic was a widower;* and the Pope engaged for him the hand of Yolanda, whose portion in right of her Father, John of Brienne, was no less than the nominal Kingdom of Jerusalem.† Little honour could be derived from the possession of this shadowy title, unless its reestablishment were attempted; and Frederic accordingly, during the year which followed his nuptials, appointed a general rendezvous for the Crusaders at Brindisi, and at length embarked on person. But a Summer passed in the burning and unwholesome climate of Southern Italy had spread disease among the troops; so rapid and so fatal was the contagion, that to proceed appeared hopeless; and after severe loss among his followers in a voyage of only three days' continuance, the Emperor returned to land. Some doubt may reasonably exist whether, after all, he had been sincere in this demonstration; and whether he did not still intend to evade a promise which from the first he had repented.‡

That Gregory IX., who had succeeded to the Papacy by the death of Honorius, esteemed the excuse no other than a subterfuge, is clear from the heavy penalty of Excommunication with which he immediately visited the Emperor. Shamed or alarmed by this censure, Frederic, in the following year, really sailed for Palestine. But his departure, without having sought previous absolution, was esteemed by Gregory an increase of sin: he occupied Puglia with troops;§ he pursued the Emperor even to the Holy Land by fresh Excommunication through the Patriarch of Jerusalem; he crippled his power by forbidding the Knights Templars and Hospitallers from serving under his command; and he even despatched Envoys to the Sultan to warn him against negotiation. When, in spite of all these unexpected obstacles, Frederic had concluded a most honourable Treaty with that Prince, by which the Christians were allowed free access to Jerusalem, and himself celebrated his Coronation within its walls,|| so inveterate was the

enmity of the Pontiff, that he denounced the signature of a Peace thus advantageous, as an execrable crime which excited horror and astonishment.*

But the return of the Emperor changed the face of affairs in Italy. He recovered all the towns which the Papal troops had occupied in Puglia; and with the sword in his hand and a petition for absolution on his lips, he compelled Gregory to release him from Excommunication. In the Treaty negotiated with the Pope was included also a Confederacy, then first recognised, and long afterwards most harassing to Frederic. The Lombard Cities a few years back had embodied themselves in a Second League,† of which, as before, Milan was the Chief; the Pope assumed its protection; and as the obstinate refusal of the Iron Crown of Monza had greatly irritated Frederic against the Milanese, Gregory ensured their safety, which was essential to his own, by making them parties in this negotiation.

There can be little doubt, however, that the Pope's reconciliation was hollow, and that he was deeply concerned in the sedition which ere long assailed Frederic's power in Germany, and called up an unnatural enemy from the bosom of his own family. His son Henry, deluded by promises of support from Milan, actively excited rebellion on the Rhine, and engaged Ferdinand of Austria in his behalf. But the rapid movements of the Emperor, who hastened from Italy on the first alarm, anticipated this treachery; the guilty Prince besought mercy at his Father's feet, and expiated his crime by degradation from his title of King of the Romans, and by imprisonment for life in Sicily.‡ The Lombards merited severer punishment; and the Emperor was urgently instigated to wreak his vengeance upon their League, by one who indulged the hope of private aggrandizement in the renewal of War. The Family of Romano had long headed the Ghibelin faction in the Trevisan March; and of the two Brothers, Alberic and Eccellino, who now shared the Fiefs of that powerful House, the latter, eminent by his talents, his courage, his subtility, and his recklessness of crime, was earnestly waiting an occasion for the establishment of an independent Sovereignty; and regarded with especial avidity the Lordship which his ancient rival, the Marquis d'Este, had established at Ferrara.

Verona and Vicenza were soon mastered by the force

Germany and Italy.

From A. D. 1197.

to A. D. 1298.

He returns to Italy,

A. D. 1229.

and concludes a Treaty with the Pope,

and the Second Lombard League

A. D. 1230.

Rebellion and punishment of his son Henry.

A. D. 1235.

Eccellino Romano excites the Emperor against the Lombards.

A. D. 1235.

A. D. 1235.

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A. D. 1235.

* By his first wife, Constance of Aragon, to whom he was married at fourteen years of age, Frederic had issue Henry, crowned King of the Romans in 1222.

† Yolanda was daughter of John, Count of Brienne, by Maria, eldest daughter and heiress of Isabella, wife of Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat. Upon Isabella, although she was the youngest child of Amaury, King of Jerusalem, that empty title had devolved in consequence of the failure of the elder branches; and the marriage of Frederic with Yolanda affords the present Roy a House of Naples one of their claims to the same title, which they still preserve, and which the lapse of six Centuries has not increased in value. See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 264. 4to. The title of Yolanda (Iole) is very clearly traced by Giannone, xvi. 2.

‡ The representation given by Matthew Paris certainly warrants this suspicion. The Emperor, he says, embarked *cum parvo comitatu*; *sed postquam per triduum ad terram promissionis tendere vidisset, dixit se subitū infirmatum præcepit, ita quod maris intemperies simul et æra corruptio non potuit mortis discrimine diutius sustinere, unde relictis velis ad portum quo mare ingressus fuerat post tres dies applicuit.* p. 339. Here is no more than an appearance of sailing, and the excuse for giving up the voyage is a little seasickness.

§ The soldiers employed in this Crusade, as it was called, were named *Chavengnati*, Giannone, xvi. 6.

|| In a Letter cited by Struvius, the Emperor writes from Jerusalem with very just exultation. *Scitis quod die Sabbathi, anni hujusce mensis Martii, prædictam civitatem sanctam Jerusalem intraui cum ingenti gaudio exercitus Christiani; in qua sepulcrum Dei cunctis præceperat visitandum, longum Catholicis Imperator; ac sequente die Dominici, anni ejusdem mensis, coronam ibi portavi, ad honorem et gloriam Sancti Regis.* It is not easy to account for his great and rapid success under so many disadvantages. The heads of the Treaty with the Sultan are given by Raynaldus, *ad ann.* 1229, § 15.

* Raynaldus, *ad ann.* 1229, § 24. Letter from the Pope to the Duke of Austria.

† The Cities which signed this League were Milan, Bologna, Piacenza, Verona, Brescia, Faenza, Mantua, Vercelli, Lodi, Bergamo, Turin, Alessandria, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso: Cremona, Parma, Modena, and Reggio remained devotedly Ghibelin. A very lucid arrangement of the complicated petty States into which Northern Italy was divided at this period, is given by Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 265, 4to.

‡ Bocaccio, in his *Tract De' Coni degli Humani Illustri*, gives a romantic account of the death of Henry. After he had been long imprisoned, his Father, touched with compassion, sent for him with the intention of restoring him to liberty. Henry, who anticipated some severe punishment, found an opportunity of eluding the watchfulness of his escort as he was passing a river, leaped his horse over the parapet of the bridge by which it was crossed, and was drowned in the water beneath. The more general belief assigns him a natural death in the year 1242. Krautz, who pursues the memory of Frederic with a bitterness of spirit which would have rendered him, if he had been contemporary, an oracle among the Guells, implies that Henry was put to death by his Father's order. The charge is qualified by an *ut ferunt*; the effect of which, however, is greatly diminished by the concluding remark, *Crementum Imperium quod suis viaceribus non parceret.* Saxonia, viii. 6.

History.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
Battle of
Corte-
Nuova.
Nov. 27.
A. D.
1237.
Siege of
Brescia.

Frederic
excommu-
nicated,
A. D.
1239.

and a Cru-
sade
preached
against
him.

A. D.
1240.

The French
Clergy pro-
ceeding to
a Council
in the La-
teran

which Frederic directed against them in person; and Padua, a more important conquest, was won during his absence by Eccellino. When the Emperor reentered Italy, his force was strengthened by a body of ten thousand Saracens drawn from his new Colony in Puglia. Penetrating along the banks of the Oglio to Corte-Nuova, he surprised and totally overthrew the Milanese with the loss of their Carroccio; and the first check in his victorious progress was received under the walls of Brescia. That City, often afterwards similarly distinguished in Italian History, endured a siege of sixty-eight days, during which the assailants maintained themselves with unbroken perseverance, and in the end compelled the Emperor to burn his artillery and withdraw to Cremona. New enemies, meantime, had arisen. An ill-judged and cruel act, the execution of a Son of the Doge of Venice, who filled the office of Podestà of Milan, was not forgiven by that Republic; which, in conjunction with Genoa, allied itself to the Lombards. When Gregory also, in full Consistory, pronounced a Sentence of Excommunication against the Emperor, Frederic, well aware of the defection from his cause which was likely to result from this manifestation of Papal displeasure, determined to march at once on Rome. Gregory, as he approached, far from endeavouring to conciliate his powerful enemy, prepared for war with redoubled energy; he roused the passions and excited the imagination of the populace of the Capital and its neighbourhood by repeated processions, in which the most venerated relics were borne through the streets, and the spectators were besought to arm for their protection; and he summoned a General Council to meet at the Lateran during the following Easter. To his first call, and to the Crusade which the Dominicans and Franciscans preached by his instructions against Frederic, the people replied enthusiastically; and so numerous was the army which marshalled itself in defence of the Eternal City, that the Emperor, without attempting its investment, passed on into Puglia. Bitterly resenting the arts which had been employed to convert into a War of Religion that which ought more justly to have been considered a private feud, he ruthlessly put to the sword every prisoner upon whom he found the badge of the Cross, thus desecrated from its legitimate purpose.*

The invitation to a Council was promptly met by the Clergy of France; and the Emperor perceived that if he allowed it to assemble, his Excommunication would be confirmed, and his adherents would gradually drop away. He addressed letters, therefore, to all the European Princes urging them to oppose the gathering of this Council, which was not convened for the promotion of Ecclesiastical Peace, but rather to excite a cruel war against one of the Chiefs of Christendom. In order to intercept the French Clergy in their progress to Rome, he adopted yet more active measures. All approach by land being blockaded, for Frederic had six armies in the field,† the Genoese undertook to convey the Depu-

ties to the Council, from their rendezvous at Nice to the mouth of the Tiber. Seven and twenty galleys freighted with this holy burden were already on their passage between the Isles of Meloria and Guglio, when they were encountered by a confederate fleet of Pisans and Sicilians. Never was victory more complete than that attained by the Ghibelins; nineteen of the hostile galleys were captured, three were sunk; the booty in money was so enormous that the allied sailors are reported to have divided their spoil, not by the tedious operation of counting, but by measuring it with a bushel; and the two Cardinals and the many Prelates who were found among the four thousand prisoners who had been taken, were confined in the Chapter House of the Cathedral of Pisa, and fettered, in mock respect, with silver chains.* The ultimate fruits of his victory were far greater than the conqueror had ventured to anticipate. Overwhelmed with chagrin and mortification, Gregory died within a few months after the discomfiture of the hopes which he had entertained from the Council, no longer to be assembled.

The Pontificate of Celestin IV., his immediate suc-
cessor, endured but eighteen days; and so reduced in numbers, and so distracted in opinion, was the Conclave after his death, that an interregnum of twenty months ensued. Its choice at length rested upon Simbaldo di Fresco, a noble Genoese, who assumed the title of Innocent IV. When Frederic was congratulated on the elevation of an Ecclesiastic with whom he had always lived on terms of familiarity, and whose House had invariably espoused the Ghibelin principles, he evinced no small knowledge of mankind in his reply: "I am rather to be pitted than to be congratulated, for I have lost a zealous friend in the Cardinal, and I shall find a virulent enemy in the Pope."† If the speech be genuine, greater foresight has seldom been evinced. No efforts were wanting on Frederic's part to conciliate the new Pontiff; the noblest officers of his Court were despatched to compliment him on his accession, to offer entire submission, and to ask the hand of a niece of his Holiness for Conrad the Emperor's son and presumptive heir. As a preliminary, however, the Pope demanded the release of all prisoners and the cession of all conquests; a proposition which was met by another for the abandonment of the Lombard Cities, and the recall of the Legate who was preaching a Crusade. On neither side

* We have here followed Sismondi and his numerous authorities, (*Rep. Ital.* iii. 48.) Giannone, however, assigns a far heavier fate to the distinguished prisoners. He states the number of captured galleys to have been twenty-two, containing three Legates, the Archbishop of Rouen, many English and French Bishops besides inferior Clergy, and *un grosso numero d'Ambasciatori*. Some of these, he says, were massacred on the spot; some were distributed in various prisons, in which those who were not released at the instance of their respective Sovereigns died wretchedly by starvation. Struvius also writes, although more briefly, much to the same purpose. i. 463.

† *Perdidi bonum amicum quia nullus Papa potest esse Ghibellinus.* Galvaneus Flamma, *Monip. Flor.* c. 276. ap. Murat. xi. 680. *Ex optimo amico Cardinale se infestissimum hostem Pontificem habuit.* Raynaldus, *ad ann.* 1243. § 12. Giannone, when speaking of the change which Honorius III. on his accession had shown towards Frederic, has the following remarks which are very much to our purpose. *Fu osservazione de' più diligenti investigatori de' costumi e delle azioni umane, appoggiata sopra antichi e moderni esempi, che i Pontifici maggiori nemici che hanno avuto i Principi, sono stati quelli che in tempo della loro privata fortuna furono di lui famigliari e domestici.* Innocenzo IV. essendo Cardinale fu grand amico di Federico, ma questi quando intere la sua elezione si accorru, e prevede quanto accedeva a lui di male. xvi. ad fin.

* Both Giannone and Struvius represent Frederic as inflicting great cruelties upon his prisoners, but they do not cite authorities. The former says, *Quant de Croisignants faicent prigioniers, tant faicent loro, a fendere in quattro parti la testa, o con ferro infocato signore in fronte una Croce*, xvii. 2. The latter accuses the Emperor of throwing his captives after various molitions, and adds, *Clerici carissimi in Cruxis furcam vulcerant per primum cutem usque ad cranium, quibusdam per se crani*. i. 461.

† *Habuit enim cum exerecibus, magnos, populosos et formidibiles*. Matt. Paris, 256.

Germany
and Italy.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
are cap-
tured by the
Ghibelin
fleet.
A. D.
1241.

Death of
Gregory
IX.
Aug. 21.

Celestin IV.

Innocent IV.
A. D.
1243.

Frederic
attempts
negotiations.

History. did there appear willingness to comply, and Frederic again took the field.

From Still the negotiations were not entirely broken off, and in the course of the following year they appeared ripe for amicable conclusion. Whether Innocent had been no more than temporizing, or whether he was apprized of some treacherous design, it is not now possible to determine; but at the moment in which the Emperor expected to receive his signature to the pending Treaty, he was astonished to learn that the Pope had taken horse by night, and had ridden to Civita Vecchia with the utmost speed, wholly unattended and in a military disguise.* He there found a well-armed fleet from Genoa waiting for his arrival, and embarking for that City he entered it in triumph, and proceeded over land to Lyon, where he fixed his Court under the protection of Louis IX. of France. On the first receipt of this astounding intelligence the Emperor published abroad that the Pontiff's flight had been occasioned by guilty terror. "Certain Monks," said Frederic, "have conspired to poison me, and all the evidence which I have received fixes the origin of the plot upon the Pope." From events which followed it is possible that his suspicion might be true; it is very probable, also, that, impressed with this belief, he had determined to seize the person of Innocent who saved himself by timely escape.†

Flight of Innocent IV.

A. D. 1244.

to Lyon.

Council of Lyon

A. D. 1245.

deposes Frederic.
July 17.

his conduct on hearing he was—
nice.

"have I lost my Crown: nor shall it be torn from me by any Pope or Council without a bloody struggle! This new outrage is indeed a benefit, for it has freed me from all former bonds of reverence and obedience to the ungrateful Pontiff!"‡

The sentence of deposition was followed up by the open excitement of a revolt in Sicily, whither Legates were despatched to preach the duty of insurrection against this "second Nero." It seems, also, that the vengeance of Innocent directed itself not less against Frederic's person than his power. A Plot for his assassination was discovered in which many of the chief Sicilian Nobles participated; and each culprit who was brought to the scaffold affirmed that he had received encouragement from the Pope.† That which most profoundly afflicted Frederic was his knowledge that many whom he esteemed familiar friends were included among the conspirators. A similar spirit of rebellion was inflamed in Germany also, where Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia, having assumed the Imperial title, found powerful support, and overthrew the force with which Conrad, King of the Romans, was despatched for his suppression. Although, in a subsequent engagement, the Pretender was defeated upon the very eve of his Coronation, and died not long afterwards a victim to chagrin,‡ so deeply was Frederic impressed by the numberless perils with which he had been beset since the commencement of this last quarrel with the Holy See, that he was now willing to purchase reconciliation at almost any price which might be demanded. He offered to accompany Louis IX. in the armament which he was equipping for Palestine; and, with a promise of never again returning to Europe, to devote the whole remainder of his life to service against the Infidels. He agreed to the separation of the German from the Sicilian Crown in a partition of his dominions between his sons, stipulating only that Conrad should inherit the former.§ Innocent demanded yet one humiliation more, and insisted that the Imperial Penitent should personally appear at his Court. Even to this last contumely the Emperor professed willingness to submit, and he had already arrived at Turin on his route to Lyon, accompanied by a retinue slender in proportion to his high dignity, when he learned that the ceaseless enmity of the Pope, during this seeming approach to friendship, had stimulated the Guelphs in Parma to revolt, and had wrested that important City from his sway. Stung to fury by this insufferable perfidy, he renounced all further negotiation with Innocent; and rapidly assembling a numerous army, to whose ranks the Saracen archers and the retainers of Eccellino largely contributed, he invested the rebellious City.

In his first paroxysm of anger, Frederic had recourse to odious cruelties in the hope of striking terror. More than a thousand Parmesans languished in his prisons;

Germany and Italy.

From A. D. 1197, to A. D. 1298, Innocent excites rebellion in Sicily, A. D. 1246.

and in Germany.

The Emperor seeks reconciliation with the Church.
A. D. 1247.

Revolt of Parma.

Rupture of negotiation with the Pope.

Frederic besieges Parma.

* *Dominus igitur Papa non mediocriter attentus, et perturbatus vultum præfrens, in hora primi anni, relictis Papalibus ornamentis, veterem intus vesiculidum (a word which we do not find explained either in the Glossary to Matt. Paris, or in Du Cange,) et leviter armatus equum aëreâ ebullitione; manu non vacillans, et viribus concussis concussis subito discedens, non equum pepercit lateribus: ut quod ante primam, triginta quatuor milibus pertransiit, nemine constanti vel ipsum equum potente.* Matt. Paris, 637.

† Innocent propagated a report to that effect. *Significatum fuit Domino Papæ, ut idem postea narravit, quod trecenti milites Turchi arant in veniendo ipsi nocte at ipsum apprehenderent.* Id. ibid.

* Matt. Paris, 679. Raynaldus, ad ann. 1245, § 58.

† Letter from Frederic to Henry III. of England. Id. 712.

‡ Id. 726. Authorities differ as to the cause of Henry's death, some assign dysentery, some a wound by an arrow received before Ulm.

§ The second son here mentioned was another Henry, the issue of Frederic's third marriage with Isabella, daughter of John of England, a Princess of whose beauty, virtues, and accomplishments, Matthew Paris repeatedly speaks with unbounded commendation.

|| *Quo audito idem Fredericus pro fratre vis se capiens totus accenditur irâ vehementer.* Matt. Paris, 734.

History. and four of these unhappy captives, two of them soldiers, two civilians, were led out to a spot removed two bowshots from the walls and beheaded in view of the citizens who thronged the ramparts; proclamation being at the same time made that a similar bloody spectacle would be exhibited every day till the garrison should surrender. On one day more it was indeed repeated; and might have been continued according to the original menace, but for the interference of the Pavian troops who served under the Imperial banner. A sense of shame, or a fear of mutiny prevailed with Frederic, and he countermanded his sanguinary order.

and build
the town of
Vittoria.

Resolutely bent upon vengeance, and yet having made little progress towards the conquest of Parma, Frederic, as Winter approached, instead of distributing his troops into cantonments, resolved to fix them in the very lines which they had hitherto occupied. About four bowshots Westward from the great City which he was besieging, he laid the foundation of a town equalling it in dimensions* and strongly fortified; its houses were constructed out of the materials of all the neighbouring villages which he had destroyed; he turned into the fosses by which it was surrounded the waters of the Canal Navilio which hitherto had fed the cisterns of Parma; and he made a vow that when he had captured that City and razed every stone in it to the ground, he would transport its remaining inhabitants to this new creation, which he named Vittoria. So confident was he of success, that he refused all offers of capitulation proposed by the justly terrified insurgents; and having fully completed his arrangements, he contented himself by a blockade, till the return of Spring should permit the renewal of active operations. Meantime, he employed his unoccupied hours in the pleasures of the chase and of lawking, to which he was passionately devoted.† This careless security inspired the Parmesans with the hope of deliverance by a most daring project. While the Emperor one morning was distantly

Sortie of the
Parmesans,
A. D.
1248,
Feb. 18,
and destruc-
tion of Vit-
toria.

William
Count of
Holland
crowned in
Germany.

Frederic
retires to
Tuscany.

engaged with his Falcons, the garrison made a sortie; stormed the defences of Vittoria; put to the sword or captured the greater part of its occupants; utterly destroyed every vestige of habitation within its circuit; and retired laden with an inestimable booty, among which were the Carroccio of the Cremonese, and the jewels and Regalia of the Emperor. Frederic himself, while returning from his sport, was met by some fugitives from this great overthrow, and not without difficulty, after escaping a hot pursuit, gained an asylum in Cremona.

Nor was this his sole reverse; a new Pretender had succeeded the Landgrave of Thuringia in Germany, and William Count of Holland, after having been crowned by the discontented Nobles, defeated Conrad, and compelled him to seek refuge with his Father in Italy. The Pope, still obdurate, declined all renewed offers of submission; and Frederic, abandoning his attempts upon the Lombard Cities, directed himself to operations in Tuscany. The Ghibelin Cause, although predominant in other Cities of that Republic, did not establish itself in Florence till after a severe struggle; and even when the Guelfs, perceiving further opposition to be hopeless, evacuated the town by night in one body,

* So it is described by Matthew Paris: *civitatem grandem et populatam ut ipse Parmam perfricat exterior. Ibid.*

† Under the head FALCONRY, in our *Macedonian Division*, may be found some account of a Treatise written by Frederic II. on that Art.

the Emperor forbore from personal occupation of his important conquest. He was deterred by a superstitious dread. Astrology had been among his favourite studies, and he had read the stars under the guidance of Michael Scott, whom he admitted to the most intimate familiarity. The Wizard, it seems, had cautioned him that if he entered the walls of Florence, death would be the consequence; and Frederic, intimidated by the warning, after a short abode in the neighbourhood, proceeded onward to Puglia.*

More than one calamity pursued him during the short remainder of his troubled days. On quitting Lombardy, he devolved the care of that district upon one of his natural sons, Heinisius, to whom he had also given the Crown of Sardinia. But the force under that young Prince was inadequate to the maintenance of his great charge; and when he encountered the Bolognese, at that time the most active among the Guelfs, at Fossalta, it was to experience a signal overthrow, the prelude of more than two and twenty years of hopeless captivity. Partly from hatred to the lineage, partly from a just apprehension of the distinguished talents and valour of their prisoner, the Senate of Bologna passed an express law prohibiting the future release of Heinisius, whatever might be the ransom tendered for his liberty. He was lodged honourably, and treated with marked indulgence in all points which excluded hazard of escape; and at his decease, in 1271, a pompous monument and a gilded statue were erected in the Church of S. Domenico, more, doubtless, to perpetuate the triumph of his captors, than as a token of respect to the memory of the prisoner.†

But the treachery of a familiar friend and most able Minister, whom he had long regarded with lively affection and unbounded confidence;‡ was perhaps the severest affliction which clouded the latter days of Frederic's reign. Piero delle Vigne, one of the most remarkable personages of his own, or indeed of any times, was born in obscurity at Capua. At the University of Bologna, in which he begged alms for subsistence during the progress of his education, he astonished his teachers by the facility with which he ranged over all varieties of knowledge; and when accident had once introduced him to Frederic, his elevation was rapid and permanent. During a long course of years, the brilliancy of Piero's administration fully justified his Master's choice; and his profound Juridical knowledge, the persuasiveness of his eloquence, and the singular skill in diplomatic composition evinced by his numerous Letters (the State Papers of that Age) which are still extant,§ prove how richly he merited the high ascendancy which

Germany
and Italy,
From
A. D.
1197,
to
A. D.
1298.
The Guelfs
lose every
Florence.

Prince
Heinisius
defeated at
Fossalta,
May 25,
A. D.
1249.
His capti-
vity.

Rise of
Piero delle
Vigne.

* *Non volle entrare in Firenze, perche per vana predicatione di Michele Scotti, grande Astrologo e Mago di que' tempi, gli era stato detto che aveva da morire dentro, e fermatosi ad un luogo suo vicino, poco dopo passò l'Imperatore in Puglia.* Giannone, xvii. 4. The prophecy ran that Frederic was to die in *castris Florentinis*; (*Florentinae*) and like Cambyzes and our own Henry IV. he referred the prediction affecting him to a wrong place, and verified it in the end by dying at Ferentino in the Capitanata. See also G. Villani, vi. 35.

† Giannone, *ibid.*

‡ *Del cuor di Federico.*

§ *Io non così che tenni ambo le chiavi* Dante, *Inf.* xiii.

And Matthew Paris expresses himself very similarly when he calls Piero delle Vigne *ipsum Fredericum familiarissimum consiliarium, et singularis amaris silius carum.* 764.

¶ The best Edition of these Letters was published at Basle, in 1746, under the superintendence of M. Isel.

History.
From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.

he enjoyed. On one occasion only does he appear to have been wanting, and his motive is undiscovered. At the Council of Lyons, to which Frederic had deputed him, he maintained an unbroken and mysterious silence, and the defence of the Emperor was conducted solely by the exertions of a colleague. This breach of duty may have produced some estrangement on the part of his Sovereign; and Piero, mortified by the loss of favour, may have listened, in an evil hour, to the fatal suggestions of the Papal emissaries. But we are without details, and some obscurity attaches to the remainder of this sad story. The Emperor, on his return to Puglia, was attacked by severe illness, and Piero is said to have bribed the attendant Physician to mingle poison with the medicine which he administered, and to have stood together with him by the sick Prince's couch. Frederic, seasonably apprized of his danger, looked steadfastly at Piero as he received the cup, and observed, "I do not think you would give me poison!" He was answered with loud assurances of fidelity; but disregarding those protestations, the Emperor, before he tasted, commanded the Physician to drink half the potion. The traitor raised the chalice to his lips, and affecting to stumble at the same moment, spilled the greater part of its contents upon the ground. Enough, however, was remaining to allow proof of their deadly nature by experiment on some condemned malefactors. The Physician was immediately executed; and Piero, having been first deprived of sight, and exhibited as a spectacle of scorn to the chief towns of Italy, was delivered for capital punishment to his most grievous enemies the Pisans; a fate which he anticipated by dashing out his brains against a column to which he had been chained.*

His attempt
to poison
the Empe-
ror.

His punish-
ment,

and suicide.

St. Louis
intercedes
with the
Pope,

Once again was a most powerful solicitation, not less unavailing than all which had preceded it, to be addressed to the Holy See in behalf of the excommunicated Emperor. After the Winter which Louis IX. of France had passed in Cyprus on his route to Palestine, that Island, exhausted by the great influx of population brought by the Crusading armament, was exposed to the peril of famine. But the cause of St. Louis was the general cause of Christendom, and Frederic not only granted safe-conduct to the Venetians, with whom he was at war, to transport convoys to the famishing

army, but himself also furnished considerable supplies. Louis was not likely to be deficient in gratitude; he wrote earnestly to Innocent, and he was seconded with no less ardour by his Queen-Mother Blanche, expressing his desire that a Prince who had saved the whole Christian army might no longer be excluded from the favour of the Church. "But our Lord the Pope," says Matthew Paris, never backward in stigmatising the pertinacity of hatred which Innocent manifested to the last, "spurned all these prayers, and every hour became more and more inveterate against the Emperor."† Death alone was to terminate the quarrel; and a dysentery removed Frederic from all further contests in his fifty-sixth year, after a few months spent in Puglia.‡ Perhaps the fairest estimate of his character may be drawn from the admissions of his opponents; many of whom, while denouncing him as an evil incarnation, on account of his schism with Rome, are nevertheless compelled to allow him more good and great qualities than form the ordinary portion of humanity. That he was occasionally cruel when roused to anger, and that he yielded with too great facility to the allurements of pleasure, are charges which, it is to be feared, may be fully substantiated; but we read at the same time of his rare talents, his general vigour of intellect, his love of letters, his cultivation of Science, his sagacity, his generosity, his courtesy, his prudence, and his valour. That Prince who can win testimonies such as these from the virulence of party animosity, (and that party a party of Religion,) needs little defence from his friends, and may be content to seek his epitaph from hostile pens.

Germany
and Italy.
From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
but in vain

Death of
Frederic II.
Dec. 13.
A. D.
1290.
His cha-
racter.

With the death of Frederic II. the History of ITALY ceases for a while to maintain the intimate connection which it has so long held with that of Germany; and we shall at present confine ourselves singly to the Annals of the former Country, as they treat the fortunes of the deceased Emperor's immediate posterity. Of the two sons of Frederic born in wedlock who survived him, Conrad IV., the elder, succeeded to the Crown of Germany. To the younger, Henry, his Father bequeathed the Kingdom of Sicily; and a far more stirring spirit than either was found in Manfred, Prince of Tarento, a bastard whom Frederic appears to have legitimized,‡

Distribution
of Frederic's
dominions.

* Matt. Paris, 764.

† The rumour that he was poisoned or suffocated with a pillow by his natural son Manfred is indignantly rejected by the Neapolitan Historian Pandolphus Colletanus. *Minimè autem credibile est quod quidam scribunt, rumorem de Manfredi sparsum fuisse, ne si pulvino ari admoto obitum illi acceleráret; id enim nec verisimile est, neque ab eo fieri potuisset; et longè aliter scribere qui eo tempore vivebant Ecclesiastici auctores.* Lib. iv. p. 181. *op.* Struvium, i. 475.

Struvius also mentions a romantic tradition long believed in Germany, that Frederic was not really dead, but that he slumbered in a cave in the mountains of Kyffhusen, and would awake and return to power in his own good time. To increase the marvel of this legend, which may be found at large in the *Herzogia curiosa* of Behrens, (*esp.* vi. p. 151.) it is by no means certain which of the three Frederics it is who does within the mountain. Not less than four impostors, each asserting himself to be the Emperor, appeared within forty years after his decease, and paid the forfeit of their lives on the scaffold for their ambitious daring. Even so late as the year 1546, another pretender arose, in the person of a mad cobbler, who succeeded in establishing his claim among a credulous rabble, and escaped with the milder punishment of exile from the scene of his folly.

‡ Frederic is believed to have married the Marchioness of Montferrat, (by whom he was Father of Manfred), overcome by her piteous solicitations on her death-bed. Matt. Paris, 930.

5 s

* Matthew Paris, 764. No reader of Dante can have forgotten the touching speech, in part already cited, in which Piero delle Vigne, when suffering like Polydorus in the *Enéid*, addresses the Poet who has plucked a branch from the Tree in which his Spirit is confined. He there pleads entire innocence, and attributes his fall to Envy, *La Morteccia-delle Corti virio*. The strong attestations which Dante puts into his mouth, sufficiently evince that he was convinced how unjust had been Piero's treatment.

*Fi giuro, che giammai non ruppi fede,
Al mio Signor, che fu d'onor sì degno;
E se di voi alcun nel mondo ride,
Conforti la memoria mia, che giace
Ancor del colpo ch'è invidia te diede.*

Inf. xiii.

It should be added, that the location of Piero in Hell does not in any degree arise from a suspicion entertained by the great Florentine that the common accusations against him are true. He is condemned solely on account of suicide, a crime which transferred him to the *meata selva*, in which the leaves of the tortured Plants furnish a Banquet for the Harpies.

Piero delle Vigne is little noticed by modern writers, with the exception of Tinocchini, who has given a very detailed account of him, vol. iv. lib. i. § 5. *Ac.* Ed. Modena, 1774, &c. He discredits the story of the attempt to poison Frederic; and also the imputation against Piero of having written the disputed Blasphemy, *De tribus Impostoribus*.

VOL. XL

History.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
Naples
united to
the Holy
See.
A. D.
1251.

Recovered
by Conrad.

Innocent
offers the
Sicilies to
Richard,
Earl of
Cornwall.
A. D.
1253.
who de-
clines.

The invest-
ture accept-
ed for Ed-
mund of
England.

Death of
Henry,
King of
Sicily;
A. D.
1254.

and to have equalized in rights to his half brothers in case of their death without issue. Although scarcely eighteen years of age, Manfred, as Regent, administered the Government of the two Sicilies with distinguished vigour; and before the arrival of Conrad in Italy he had suppressed a dangerous rebellion, and had reduced all the insurgent towns excepting Capua and Naples. The latter of those Cities had indeed been formally united to the Holy See by a decree of Innocent IV. at the moment of Frederic's decease; when, hastily quitting Lyon, he made a triumphal progress through Lombardy and fixed his Court for a while at Perugia, the factious state of Rome preventing his further advance. But it was not long before he discovered that the Church in herself was too weak to hope for the acquisition of the Sicilies; and when both Capua and Naples had yielded to the arms of Conrad, Innocent, still actuated by insatiate hostility to the House of Swabia, resolved, at any price, to remove so dangerous a neighbor from the vicinity of Rome. The Holy See might be unable to conquer Naples for itself, but it might assign that Kingdom as a Fief to some hand sufficiently powerful to win it; and the double object of overthrowing an enemy, and of introducing an obedient vassal, might be compassed by dexterous negotiation.

The first offer of the Crown, as if it had been vacant and his own to bestow, was made by Innocent to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England; a Prince distinguished by personal valour and by extraordinary wealth, upon which latter, it cannot be doubted, that Innocent chiefly relied for the success of his design. But Richard, upon whom Fortune had resolved in her sport to thrust more than one vision of a Crown, discreetly perceived in this instance that his resources were inadequate to the enterprise, and declined the glittering offer. When a like tender was made to Henry III. himself, for his second son Edmund, that weak King was flattered into acceptance; and during ten years of idle pursuit of an object which perpetually eluded his grasp, by permitting the Holy See to drain his coffers, he involved himself in inextricable bankruptcy and in continued disputes with his subjects. But these negotiations were interrupted for a while by the death of both the legitimate sons of Frederic. Henry, the younger, died first, and the Papal agents endeavoured to fix upon his brother a crime not less useless than odious, by imputing to him the administration of poison.* † He

was followed to the grave in a few months afterwards by Conrad himself, whom the same busy malice pronounced, most probably with equal falsehood,* to have perished by similar treachery on the part of Manfred.

Overjoyed at this mortality amongst his enemies, Innocent appears to have renewed his hopes of obtaining the Sicilies for himself, and he accordingly suspended his recent Treaty with England. One son, Conrad, a child of three years old, was Conrad's sole issue; and the rightful claim of this unhappy infant appeared to have little chance of establishment, while his Crown was almost virtually possessed on the one hand by Manfred, on the other was coveted by the ambition of Innocent. Conrad remained in Germany under the tutelage of his mother, a Princess of Bavaria; and to the overtures of submission made in his name, Innocent returned an answer almost openly avowing his designs of usurpation. The Two Sicilies, he said, must in the first instance be ceded to him in full possession; and when the young Prince should arrive at man's estate, his claims might be examined, and it should be then seen what favour could be accorded him.†

Stimulated by the Papal emissaries, the native Sicilians, on the death of Conrad, broke into open revolt against the Germans and Saracens. In this emergency both parties had recourse to Manfred, and confirmed him in the full powers of Regent. His task was difficult; all Sicily was in arms against him; and the Pope, at the head of an army which he was incompetent to oppose, already approached the Neapolitan Provinces. Without hope from any immediate resistance, he determined to temporize, and accordingly took the bold resolution of at once treating with Innocent personally. With this object he advanced to meet him on the frontiers, bent on his knees in adoration;‡ held the bridle of his mule as he passed the boundary stream of Garigliano, and signified that, with a due reservation of his nephew's rights, he was most eager to testify his submission and reverence to the Holy See. How far this dissimulation might ultimately have effected its purpose it is not possible to determine. Innocent, it is said, treated him with consideration, and confirmed him in some portion of authority. But it was plain that nothing short of the annexation of Sicily to the Pontificate was contemplated by his ambition; and the Guelf Nobles who accompanied him, were little careful to

Italy.
From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
and of Conrad IV.
May 12.
Innocent suspends his Treaty with England.
His answer to Conrad's offers of submission.

Revolt in Sicily.
Manfred, Regent.
Assembly with Innocent.

simam partem nostri pectoris perdidisse dolamus. In spite of the barbarous mediæval Latin in which Letter is couched, it is impossible to doubt that it was dictated by very poignant affliction. *Fœdera*, l. 302.

* There is not any satisfactory evidence for this most atrocious charge, which ought never to have been advanced unless it could be substantiated. But unconscious as is the fierce virulence of party spirit at all times, at no season has it been more so than in the Guelf and Ghibelin contest, during which accusations of the blackest nature were affirmed and retorted without a shadow of proof on either side. It surely cannot be deemed enough to say, that Henry being dead, the removal of Conrad and the feebleness of his infant son's minority, rendered usurpation easy to Manfred. That there is strong motive for a crime, of itself singly, is by no means sufficient testimony to establish its commission. On the usurpation itself we shall say more by and by.

† Nicolas de Jamsilla, *Hist. de Robt Geis Fred. II. Imp. ap. Murat.*, viii. 507.

‡ *Fido supponezione aderiva*, Giannone, xviii. 2; a chapter in which he frequently expresses unbounded admiration of the *ambasciatore*, the *ingegni*, and the *grandissimo talento* of Manfred. Nicolas de Jamsilla (*Murat*, viii. 512.) does not say that Manfred did more than hold the Pope's bridle, acting as his equerry, (*struttor*.)

* *Quod non est credibile*, says Matthew Paris strongly, since the brothers loved each other with the sincerest mutual affection. *Sed hæc fœdus Papa, ut dicitur, ut sic Regem Anglia contra ipsum Conradum exortaret provocatum*, 889, 890. There is little doubt, however, that Henry was poisoned, although certainly not by Conrad. One of the most remarkable perversions which History affords has been made by Giannone, of some further words of Matthew Paris connected with this subject. After stating that Conrad *Henricum offerens fratrem dilectissimæ, et, non arguente dilectionis fraternæ profunditatis*; and that on his death he observed, *quod in ipse dilectum sui corporis reputat amissum, possumus*; Matthew Paris concludes by intimating the profound melancholy which the loss occasioned. *Rex autem Conradus post mortem dilecti fratris sui nunquam ut antea cultum utendū arrexit.* This passage has been covertly by the Neapolitan Historian to his own purpose by the following very twisting misrepresentation. *Narrat Matteo Paris esse Conradum diu non legisset, suspectum d'esse regi, stato autore della morte di quell' innocente fanciullo, perchè da allora in poi non mostrò mai Conrad il suo volto così sereno e giocondo come prima.* xviii. 2. One of Matthew Paris's expressions appears borrowed from Conrad's Letter announcing his Brother's death to Henry III., *preio-*

History. imitate his courtesy, or to abstain from tokens of open disrespect to Manfred. It would far exceed our limits if we were to detail the circumstances of a private feud, in which Borello d'Angione, an hereditary enemy of the House of Suabia, was killed by one of Manfred's retainers; and the romantic incidents of the flight to which the Prince was afterwards compelled in order to preserve his liberty, perhaps his life. In his passage from the neighbourhood of Capua, in which the fatal quarrel occurred, to Lucera, the strong-hold of the Saracens, where alone he could promise himself safety, a large tract of hostile country was to be traversed; and sometimes treading almost impassable by-paths amid the mountains, sometimes desperately braving the crowded streets of a town occupied by enemies, after countless perils and hair-breadth escapes, he at length descried the ramparts of his asylum. He was received with exultation by the Saracens; the German troops of the deceased Emperor flocked to his standard; stores and treasure were at his command in this city which had long been the chief military depot of the Imperialists in Italy; and he soon found himself at the head of a force with which he need not fear to encounter the Papal army.*

where he collects a powerful army.

Death of Innocent IV. Dec. 7.

Tyranny of Eccellino Romano.

Alexander V. proclaims a crusade against him. A. D. 1255.

No sooner was Manfred confident of his strength than he took the field, and repulsed a superior force which had been despatched against him. Meantime, death had terminated at Naples the ambitious schemes of Innocent; and Alexander IV., the successor whom the Conclave elected, inherited all his predecessor's lust for power, without either his energy or his ability. During two years, the War with Manfred lingered on in the Neapolitan Provinces, undistinguished by any event of interest, but invariably to the disadvantage of the Pope. But the troops of the Holy See were employed in a far more righteous cause, and happily with far greater success, in the plains of Lombardy; where the Ghibelin partisan Eccellino, converting the general turbulence in his own profit, had at length established himself in a dominion over which he exercised a tyranny unparalleled in the blackest pages of the History of Mankind. From the moment of the death of Frederic II. Eccellino had declared himself an independent Sovereign; and Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Feltre, and Belluno groaned under a despotism in which the sole tribunal was the scaffold, and the headman was the only lawyer. Red as are the Annals of Italy with blood, defaced as they are with crime, no portion is more deeply incarnadined, none more foully polluted, than that which records the four and twenty years during which Eccellino swayed the unhappy Country between the Trentine Alps and the Oglio, as Vicar of the Empire, or some of its districts as their peculiar Lord. Almost the first act of the Pontificate of Alexander IV. was the proclamation of a Crusade against this sanguinary monster; and the chief Powers of Northern Italy who enrolled themselves in the name of God against the enemy of man,† were the Signory of Venice, the Citizens of Mantua, and Azzo, Marquis d'Este, between whose House and that of Romano a deadly feud had existed during three gene-

rations. When the confederates stormed Padua, eight prisons of frightful construction were thrown open. Each of the two larger contained three hundred captives; and a huge multitude of miserable wretches issued from the remainder, among whom there was not one of either sex or of any age who did not exhibit some token of savage mutilation. The Tyrant, irritated by the loss of his chief City, which he ascribed partly to the disaffection of its inhabitants, mustered his whole army at Verona. One-third of it, eleven thousand men, consisted of Paduans; and all of these, excepting a small remnant, about two hundred in number, were gradually disarmed by stratagem, and perished under the axe, at the stake, or by slow and secret torture in the dungeon.*

Not to dwell upon this tale of horror, it may suffice to state that, after a contest of three years' duration, prolonged by want of military skill on the part of the allies, by consummate ability on that of Eccellino, he was abandoned by his chief supporters on the discovery of faithlessness even to them. In a final engagement at the bridge of Cassano, (a spot which, together with all others of similar termination, he had ever superstitiously avoided in obedience to the warning of his Astrologers,) he was defeated and taken prisoner. Racked by fury and despair, he tore the bandages from his wounds, and expired—almost as he has been represented by Dante still to exist in his place of retributive punishment—wallowing in blood. His brother Alberic continued in arms; and with his whole family, a wife, six sons, and two daughters, fortified himself in a strong tower among the Euganean hills. After three days total want of food, they surrendered and besought mercy. But the Crusaders had sworn that they would extinguish the very name of Romano; the prisoners were ruthlessly put to death; and every town which had suffered under the cruelty of this detested race possessed itself of some limb of one of the slaughtered corpses, as a monument of recovered freedom.

The fall of Eccellino restored Peace to Lombardy; and in the South also, the Papal Legates, after repeated overthrows, consented to treat with Manfred; but Alexander disavowed his officers; and provoking new hostilities, without power to withstand them, paid for his rashness by total expulsion from the Neapolitan Provinces. Those dominions were still administered in the name of Conradin, till a report of his demise, scattered abroad, as his enemies affirmed, by Manfred, induced that Prince to assume the Kingly title. Scarcely had his hasty Coronation been solemnized, when Envoys arrived from Bavaria contradicting the false rumour, and summoning Manfred to lay aside his unauthorized dignity. He received them with distinguished courtesy, and returned an answer which, even if it be considered as invented but to excuse his usurpation, must still be

Italy. From A. D. 1197. to A. D. 1298.

Cruelty of Eccellino to the Paduans. A. D. 1256.

His final defeat, Sept. 16. A. D. 1259. and death, Sept. 27.

Extinction of the family of Romano. A. D. 1260.

Further success of Manfred.

Rumour of Conradin's death. Manfred, King of the Sicilies. A. D. 1258.

* Rolandinus, de factis in Marchid Trevisana, lx. 7, 8.

† *La riviera del sangue in la qual bolle Qual per violenza in altrui nocca.*

*P' elli gente sotto infuso al ciglio
E l' gran Continoro disse, o non si muore,
Che dice nel sangue, e nell' over di piglio,
Quivi in p'non gli spiorati danno.*

*E quella fronte ch' ha 'l pel così nero,
E Avoloio.*

Boj. xli.

* Manfred's escape to Lucera has furnished M. de Sismondi with a most brilliant and interesting episode, (*Rep. Ital.* iii. ch. xviii.) which it would be criminal to mutilate, and which is too long for entire translation into our pages.

† *C'est une noble chose qu'une guerre prêchée au nom de Dieu contre l'ennemi des hommes.* Sismondi, *Rep.* li. iii. 187.

History	admitted to be pregnant with Truth. The Kingdom, he said, as every one well knew, had been lost for Conradin, and recovered by his own sword, in spite of the utmost efforts of two successive Popes. The tender age of the young Prince, if he should resume the Crown, would again expose it to the grasp of the Papacy, and consequently would bring dishonour on the House of Subbia. He spoke also of the national antipathy of the Italians to a German Government, and of their being accustomed to his own rule. And, in conclusion, he entreated Conradin to believe that it was not from ambition that he coveted the sceptre, but rather for the benefit of his Family and his Country; that he would retain it for life, and bequeath it to him on his death-bed.*	Italy. From A. D. 1197. to A. D. 1298. Henry III. abandons the investiture of the Sicilies. A. D. 1263.
Great power of Manfred.	The dominion of Manfred was now confirmed.† The Tuscan Ghibelins sought his alliance; by his aid re-established themselves in Florence, long the Capital of their enemies; and appointed him Protector of the Government which they framed. In Lombardy, the overthrow of Eccellino had not been effected without the co-operation of the same party, which continued fully to balance the opposite interests of the Gueffs. Alexander IV., everywhere defeated, was unable to renew hostilities, and but for his death; the King of the Sicilies might perhaps have closed his days in peace. During three months, the choice of the Holy College remained undecided, and the Cardinals, reduced to the scanty number of eight, unable to satisfy themselves within their own Body, at length elected the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who happened at the moment to be engaged on a mission in Italy. Urban IV., as he styled himself, was a Frenchman, earnestly devoted to the interests of his Country, ardent in temperament, and cherishing a most lofty estimate of Ecclesiastical authority. Against Manfred, accordingly, he inherited more than the virulent hatred of his predecessors; and its activity was manifested immediately after his accession. An outrage committed upon the Papal territories, by the Saracens, during the late interregnum, was made a plea for the denouncement of a Crusade against their offending master; and great but ineffectual pains were taken to break a Treaty of Marriage which James of Aragon was negotiating for his son with Constanza, the daughter of Manfred. The King of Aragon, however, was little deterred from the completion of an advantageous compact by learning that his proposed ally was excommunicated as a Tyrant, a Heretic, and an enemy of the Church; and the nuptials were solemnized which trans-	
Death of Alexander IV. May 25. A. D. 1261.		It is offered to Charles of Anjou.
Urban IV.		
preaches a Crusade against Manfred.		and ac- cepted.
who negoti- ates an in- termarriage with Ara- gon. A. D. 1262.		
	* The Ambassadors were not dismissed empty-handed; but Conradin could scarcely estimate the toys with which they were laden as equivalent to the Crown which they were denied. There is much naïveté in Giovanni's account. Gli Ambasciatori ricevettero tal risposta, ch'era teneva a partito ricomente presentati; e mandati al Duca di Baviera dieci cartieri bellissimi, ed al piccolo Conradino molte gioie. xix. iust.	
	† It is to this zenith of the prosperity of Manfred that the City Manfredonia, which he founded, owes its birth. It still retains its name, notwithstanding the efforts of Charles of Anjou and his faction to call it, from the ancient town near which it is built, Nuovo Siponto. Id. ibid.	
	‡ Manfred, according to Giovanni, was a professed Pope-killer. He broke the hearts both of Innocent IV. and of his successor. The former avendo intesa la novella della vittoria ottenuta da Manfredi se ne morisse di cordoglio, xviii. l. and Alexander also, non potendo soffrire di vantaggio i continui dispiaceri che per le prosperità di Manfredi e de' Ghibellini riceveva nell'animo, vinse finalmente da grave cordoglio, gravemente infermarsi, ed indi a poco uscì di vita. xix. iust.	
		Death of Urban IV. A. D. 1265. Clement IV. March of the French army. Charles is crowned at Rome.
	It was to his own native Country that Urban naturally turned for a Prince who might dispossess Manfred, and indeed the state of Europe forbade him from looking elsewhere. England, as we have seen, was impotent; Germany was torn asunder by faction and involved in Civil War, the result of a double election to her Crown; and in Spain, some of her Princes were friendly to the present dynasty of Sicily, some were too weak, some too remote for exertion. For himself and for his son, Louis IX. of France declined the proffered Crown, no doubt in part from conscientious scruples; but he forbore from interposing any objection when the like honour was tendered to his brother, Charles of Anjou. Rich, brave, and enterprising; possessed of just so much power as to make him covetous of more; undeterred by that nice sensitiveness of right and wrong which has rendered his sainted brother proverbial in History; and stimulated by the ambition of his wife, who panted for a Crown which might raise her to an equality with her three sisters, Charles was in all respects well adapted to Urban's purpose; and so fully did he know his own importance, that he rejected the first extravagant overtures made by the Pope, who demanded for himself the richest portion of the territories which he affected to grant. In the end, the Count of Anjou received plenary investiture of the Two Sicilies, as they had been held by the Norman and Swabian Princes, at the price of the single town of Benevento and its dependencies, and an annual tribute of ten thousand ounces of gold.	
	The death of Urban IV. interrupted the preparations of Charles, almost at the moment at which he was about to enter Italy; and Manfred sanguinely hoped that the dissensions usually consequent upon a new election, perhaps the choice of an Italian instead of an ultramontane Pope, might free him from the great peril with which he had been menaced. But another Frenchman, at that time Legate in his own Country, and a Vassal of the Count of Anjou, was called to the tiara; and Clement IV. not only renewed the Treaty of his predecessor, but yet more, IV. commuted with all those who chose to accept the agreeable exchange, any vow which had been pledged of service in Palestine, for a much lighter engagement in the Crusade for the conquest of Sicily. The invading army, headed by the Countess Beatrice and her son-in-law Robert de Bethune, son of the Count of Flanders, traversed the Alps; and Charles himself, impatient of the slow progress by land, embarked at Marseilles for Rome. After escaping the dangers of a furious tempest and of interception by Manfred's greatly superior fleet, the Count triumphantly entered the Eternal City; and received, almost at the same moment, the dignity of perpetual Senator from the Gueffs among the popular party.* the	
	* The one Senator into whose person the Romans condemned the	

History. Crown of the Two Sicilies and the Gonsalon of the Church from the hands of a deputation appointed by the Pontiff; * little regarding the incompatibility of the two offices, and the directly opposite duties which each of them demanded.

No precaution which sagacity or military experience could prompt had been neglected by Manfred to raise obstacles against the advance of his enemy; but the fickleness and the cowardice of his Neapolitan subjects (two evil qualities which stain every page of their History down even to our own days) frustrated all the arrangements of his skill and foresight. The French had passed through Lombardy with slight and only occasional opposition; and although it was mid-winter before they arrived at Rome, Charles too well knew the advantage which he must derive from the disaffection then existing in his adversary's dominions to hesitate on an immediate invasion. Treachery opened to him the first passes in which he might have been resisted; and his fixed resolve not to rest satisfied without entire conquest, was evinced by the reply made to some Envoys who attempted negotiation. "Go and tell the Sultan of Lucera," as he contemptuously denominated Manfred, "that either I will presently send him to Hell or he shall send me to Paradise!"† A single battle, fought in the plain of Grandella near Benevento, decided the fortune of the competitors. After some appearance of success in the outset, Manfred at a critical moment was deserted by his faithless Puglians; and resolved not to survive defeat, he headed a few brave comrades still attached to his person and spurred into the *mêlée*. As he adjusted his helmet before the final charge, its crest, a silver eagle, fell on the pommel of his saddle. "This is a token from God," he exclaimed; "I fastened it with my own hands, so that it ought not to have been loosened."‡ He was slain by two mortal wounds§ given by a French soldier ignorant of his person, and it was not till the third day after the battle that his fate was known. A corpse to which suspicion attached|| was

then found among the dead and conveyed to Charles, who exhibited it to his chief prisoners; by one of whom, the Count Giordano Lancina, it was recognised with passionate exclamations of grief and of affection, which extorted admiration even from the French Captains.* Touched with compassion for their fallen enemy, they earnestly solicited that he might be allowed the rites of Christian sepulture. But the temper to which their petition was addressed shared little in those generous emotions by which it had been prompted; and both the Legate and the Count of Anjou replied, that such an indulgence could not be extended to one who had died under sentence of Excommunication. The body, therefore, was deposited without any funeral solemnity near the Bridge of Benevento, where each soldier dropping a stone above the grave contributed to erect a rude monument. Even this slight honour was envied by the posthumous malice of his unrelenting foes; and the Archbishop of Cosenza remarked, that although the carcass of the dead dog had been excluded from consecrated ground, it nevertheless reposed in soil which was the property of the Church; whereas it ought to have been carried without the Kingdom, and scattered to the winds. Clement approved this uncharitable suggestion; and the remains of Manfred, disinterred by torchlight, were transported to the banks of the river Verde, the present Marino, and there ignominiously exposed, till the Sun and the rains completed the hideous work of decomposition.†

The Neapolitans were soon taught to lament the change of masters which their own want of courage and of fidelity had tended to produce. During eight days in which Benevento was abandoned to pillage, it underwent every calamity which invaders flushed with triumph can inflict; yet ferocity and thirst for blood appeared to predominate over all other unlicensed passions of the soldiery. When these first horrors had passed away, the suffering population groaned under oppression sanctioned by a show of law; and a multi-

Italy.
From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1299.
Igno-
minious
treat-
ment
of his
remains.

**Battle of
Grandella.
Feb. 26.
A. D.
1266.**

Defeat

**and death of
Manfred.**

**Pillage of
Benevento.**

authority of the whole Assembly not long after its revival, about the middle of the XIIIth Century, was at the head of the municipal Government of the City, almost always opposed to the Pope, and as factious as the Tribunes of the Ancient Republic. At first he was some private citizen, afterwards an independent foreign Prince from whom more certain protection could be derived. Thus when the Guelphs named Charles of Anjou, the Ghibellines at the same time called Manfred to the Senatorial dignity, greatly to the violation of its boasted unity. Among the instructions which the Archbishop of Cosenza received for his negotiation with Charles when he first offered him the investiture of Sicily, was one to press strongly on that Prince's conscience that he could not possibly retain his Senatorship without hazard of eternal damnation; a hazard concerning which Charles does not appear to have entertained any very great apprehension. Velly, iii. 159. There are Medals still existing which bear the legend, *Carolus Rex, Senator Urbis*.

Before Clement bestowed the investiture of the Sicilies, he manifested his pique at the acceptance of the democratical office, by discharging Charles from the Vatican in which he had taken up his residence. "Our Palaces," remarked the Pope, "shall never be lodgings for the Senator! however exalted may be his rank." Raynaldus, ad ann. 1265, § 12.

• Clement refused to quit Viterbo for Rome.
† *Alles ist mir als Sultan de Nocer hoggi meterei lui con Enferm d'el merà un con Paradis.* G. Villani, vii. 3.
‡ *Dissi contra i Baroni che hanno dal lato in Latino.* "Hoc est signum Dei, per quod que cito cadere appicari con le mie mani per modo che non dover potere cadere." G. Villani, vii. 9.
§ *Pancia ch' è rbbi rotta la persona*
|| *Da due punte moridi; i mi rendei*
Piangendo a uci, che volentier perirono.

Dante, *Purg.* iii.
Manfred had a scar on his face by which he might easily be recognised.

*Biondo era, e bello, e di gentile aspetto,
Ma l'un d'è c'igi un colpo era' d'arco.*

Id. ibid.

G. Villani states that the corpse was discovered on the field by a *Ribaldo* of Manfred's own army, who threw it, like that of the Prince of Condé after the Battle of Jarnac, across an ass which he drove into the French camp, calling out, "Chi cercate Manfredi!" for which brutal levity he was most deservedly well beaten, *allora uno Barone del Re lo batte forte d'un bastone*.
* The words cited by Giannone from some Annals of Palermo are most uncharitably inflated. "Oimè, Signor mio, ch'è quel ch'è veggio! Signor buono, Signor saggio, chi ti hà così crudelmente tolto di vita! Fatto di Filocofia, ornamento della Mhizia, gloria de' Regi, perchè mi è negato un calicello, ch'io mi potessi accendere per accompagnarti alla morte, come ti fosse nella miserie!" xii. 3. G. Villani's report is far more touching; *Ma quando venne il Conte Giordano a dir delle mani nel volto piangendo e gridando, "Omè, omè, Signor mio che è questo?"*

† Dante, in continuation of some lines which we have already cited, represents the Spirit of Manfred as expiating its sins in Purgatory, and finally compares the inexhaustible treasures of divine mercy with the pettiness of human revenge.

*Se 'l Pastor di Cosenza, ch' alla caccia
Di me fu meno per Clemente allora,
Avesse un Dio ben tetta questa focaccia;
L'anima del corpo mio servire! ancora
In co del Ponte presso a Benevento
Sotto la guardia de la grave mora;
Or te lagna la pioggia, e move 'l vento
Di fur del Negro, quan lungo il Verde;
Dove te trasmutò a lume opento.*

Purg. iii.

History.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.

Tyranny of
the French.

Conradin,
invited by
the Ghibel-
lins,

enters
Italy.

A. D.
1267.

Battle of
Tagliaco-
zzo.

A. D.
Aug. 23.
1268.

tude of Civil offices, all occupied by the French, were instituted to regulate extortion. This tyranny gradually extended itself into the adjoining districts, and Florence once again submitted to the Ghibels. But from many of the Lombard Cities, and from Pisa, Charles encountered a resistance which exposed his newly won Crown to hazard. The young Conradin had been carefully educated by his able and high-minded mother, and already in his sixteenth year, he exhibited more than the seeds of those distinguished qualities which had rendered his ancestors illustrious. To him, the rightful heir of the Sicilian Crown, the suffering Ghibelins appealed for protection; and ambassadors from Pisa, and afterwards from the chief Lombard States, from Sicily, and from the Moslems of Nocera, laid before him their own wrongs, together with those of his Father and his Uncle; and proffered support which gave ample promise of revenge. When Conradin lent an eager ear to this invitation, and signified his resolution to undertake the enterprise, many of the leading Nobles of Germany voluntarily joined his armament. Among them was a youthful Prince whose fortunes in more than one point resembled his own; Frederic, Duke of Austria, who had been chased from his hereditary dominions by Ottocar II. of Bohemia. The force with which Conradin traversed Lombardy scarcely amounted to four thousand men, but it increased largely as he advanced; and in spite of three separate admonitions from the Pope, followed at last by a Bull of Excommunication which deprived him of his sole remaining title as King of Jerusalem, he continued his march till his banners were displayed under the walls of Viterbo, in which City the Pontiff held his Court. Viterbo was strongly fortified and garrisoned, and more important ulterior objects forbade Conradin from halting for its siege; but it is said that as his army deployed in military pomp beneath its ramparts, Clement, regarding the two commanders who were proudly marshalling their Knights, exclaimed in words which the event rendered almost prophetic, "Behold the victims who are permitting themselves to be led to sacrifice."^{*}

Conradin pressed his march to Rome, where Henry of Castille (an adventurer of Royal blood who had been introduced to the Citizens by his kinsman Charles of Anjou, and who had afterwards supplanted his patron in the rabble-honour of Senator) received him with distinction, and placed a considerable force at his disposal. Hitherto, his advance had been unopposed: and even when Charles, hastening from the siege of Lucera, confronted him on the plain of Tagliacozzo in the Abruzzi, so great was the disaffection of the subjects of the King of Sicily that he could array no more than three thousand men at arms against the five thousand led by Conradin. A cruel, treacherous, and selfish stratagem gave him more than equality. At the suggestion of a veteran officer, he arrayed Henry di Cosenza, who resembled

him in person, in his own armour; and placing two-thirds of his whole army under his command, marshalled them in order of battle on the plain; the remainder, the flower of his troops, being reserved with himself in ambuscade. The first charge of the Germans put the devoted band opposed to them wholly to the route; and when, after a miserable slaughter of his followers, Henry di Cosenza himself fell pierced with a thousand wounds, and the Royal armour was recognised on his corpse, a shout of exultation proclaimed the imagined death of Charles; and the conquerors, secure of victory, dispersed themselves in pillage and pursuit. At that moment, the reserve of French galloped from their ambush; and the compact body of fresh horsemen, however inferior in general number, easily overthrew the scattered and fatigued enemy thus taken by surprise. Conradin and his chief followers escaped from the field of battle, but not many days elapsed before they were taken prisoners. All those qualities in the captured Prince which appeared to give him claims upon the generosity of his successful enemy, tended but to strengthen resentment. The youth of Conradin, the indisputable legitimacy of his title, the popularity which he had acquired by his dignified yet gentle bearing, every gift of mind or body which endeared him to others, rendered him doubly hateful to Charles. To the honour of the Tribunal which the Tyrant convened for the institution of a mock legal process against the chief prisoners, one Judge alone was found base enough to pronounce capital sentence; but satisfied with that authority the King proceeded in his bloody design. A scaffold was erected in the Mercato di Naples, and Charles and his Court assembled to witness the execution. Robert di Bari, the Prothonotary of Naples, whose single voice had pronounced for death, stepped forward and read the accusation, which involved charges of rebellion against a lawful King, and of plundering and burning some Monastery.* When he had finished, and had added the penalty adjudged by Law, the generous spirit of Robert of Flanders, Charles's son-in-law, revolted against the crying enormity of the proceeding. "Wretch," he exclaimed to Di Bari, "it is not for you to condemn to death a Prince so noble and so high-born!" As he spoke he struck the unrighteous Judge to the heart with his poniard, and sheathed it again without molestation.

The Duke of Austria was the first who submitted to the executioner;† and Conradin, raising his bloody head as it fell, passionately bedewed it with tears, and blamed himself as the cause of his friend's untimely murder. Then, as he collected himself for his own sad part, one tender thought wrung him to the heart for a moment. "Oh, my mother," were his words, "what will be your grief when intelligence of this day shall reach you!" With a firm hand he unfastened his cloak,

* *Sive humanæ prudentiæ juvenum temeritatem et Caroli militarem scientiam artesque perpendere, nec id e celo præcisiæset.* Raynaldus, ad ann. 1268, § 20.

† Henry was brother of Alfonso of Castile, and maternal cousin of Charles of Anjou. Banished from Spain on account of rebellion, he took refuge with the King of Tunis, in whose service he was many years engaged. The conquest of Naples by Charles of Anjou tempted him into Italy, where he secured the favour of his Cousin by a considerable loan, the produce of his gains among the Infidels. Charles, jealous of the ascendancy which he had obtained at Rome, hesitated in repayment, and Henry in consequence became his avowed enemy.

* Charles pressed for a capital sentence, *quod contra cum justum Regem arma moverent, et quod Monasterium prædonalet et quoddam succederent.* Ricobaldus Ferraronius, *Hist. Imperatorum*, ap. Muratori, ix. 137. There is not any foundation, therefore, for the anecdote of Voltaire, *la sentence portait qu'ils méritaient la mort pour avoir pris les armes contre l'Église.* *Sur les Mœurs*, ch. lii.

† Pandolphus Colestinus, ix. p. 218, and Gerhard a Roa, l. p. 181, both cited by Struvius, l. 492. But Ricobaldus of Ferrara, who states that he received the particulars of his narrative from a Judge who was present, positively affirms that Conradin was beheaded first; and adds, *Dux Austria cum vidit Conradi propinqui cervice ferri, quantū potuit indignantis animæ voce rugienti cūst, et doloris desperatione, nec erga Deum culpam voluit profiteri.* 138.

July.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.

Captain of
Conradin.

He took
trial.

Execution
of the Duke
of Austria.

and of Con-
radin.
Oct. 28.

History.
From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
Extinction
of the
House of
Sualbia.

Cruelties of
Charles of
Anjou.

The King
of Tunis be-
comes his
tributary.
A. D.
1270.

Brilliant
Pontificate
of Gregory
X.
A. D.
1272

and casting one glance on the weeping multitude which surrounded the scaffold, he plucked his glove from his hand, and threw it among them, as a last token of defiance to his oppressors. The sacred pledge was conveyed to the King of Aragon, who accepted it as an investiture of the Sicilies in right of his wife, the daughter of Manfred. A single blow severed the head of Conradin, and extinguished the line of Sualbia; a line descended on both sides from the stocks of Clovis and of Charlemagne, and which had counted amongst its members none Crows and Principalities than any other in Europe.

Henry of Castile, the least worthy, perhaps, of Conradin's supporters, was the only one who obtained mercy; and the scaffold and the gibbet daily received a numerous tale of victims. Never did the cowardice of suspicion and ferocity exact severer punishment. In many instances, death was preceded by mutilation; and when it was feared that the loss of sight or of limbs might excite pity for the sufferers, we read with horror of their being shut up in wooden inclosures, and consumed to ashes.* When the town of Augusta in Sicily, between Catania and Syracuse, after a resolute defence, was occupied by treachery, every living soul within its walls was delivered to the executioner; and perished either singly beneath the axe, or, when that was blunted, by a shorter process of *noyade* in a scuttled galley.† In a few weeks, not one inhabited spot in the two Sicilies offered resistance to the French, nor was there one in which blood poured out like water did not cry aloud for vengeance.

The power of Charles gained material increase by a long interregnum in the administration of the Holy See, which continued during the unprecedented period of three and thirty months after the death of Clement IV. The influence of the King of Sicily was all powerful in the Ecclesiastical States while thus deprived of their supreme head; and in the Northern districts, opposition to him was wholly extinct. For a while he was called away by the necessity of attending his brother of France in his last Crusade; but even that expedition, so fatal to others, was profitable to Charles; and he returned to Naples enriched by the tribute of the King of Tunis. There can be little doubt that his ambition, which we shall by and by perceive grasping at the Eastern Empire, cherished a design of uniting the whole of Italy into a single Kingdom; and he might have been successful in this project; but in the first instance, for the foresight of the Pontiff whom the Conclave at length elected to the firm, and in the second, for the bloody resistance produced by his own insufferable tyranny. Gregory X., whose fondest wish was to deliver the Holy Land, in which many years of his former life had been employed, was more willing to reconcile the Gueft and Ghibelin factions, in order that they might contribute to his great purpose with united force, than on its own account to give predominance to either. His Pontificate, little exceeding three years in duration, bears a distinguished place among the few periods of Glory which belong to the History of modern Rome. By his moderation, the Civil Wars which had so long ravaged Italy were hushed; the anarchy of Germany terminated in the foundation of one of the most powerful and enduring

dynasties in Europe; the great schism which had rent the Eastern from the Western Church was healed for a season; and from one of the most numerous Councils which Christendom ever witnessed, issued a Code of Ecclesiastical Constitutions, alike honourable to the Assembly and salutary to the Church.* Too soon for the welfare of Europe was the brilliant reign of Gregory brought to an end. Ceaseless in his efforts to promote a new Crusade, he died at the moment in which he had almost attained his object; and while the Emperor, the Kings of France, of England, of Aragon, and of Sicily, were preparing to accompany him to Palestine.

The three short Pontificates of Innocent V., of Adrian V., and of John XXI. were included in the narrow limit of twelve months. From the last-named of those Popes Charles received investiture of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the title to which he had purchased from Mary of Antioch.† But in his successor, Nicholas III., the ambition of the King of Sicily found a vigilant and active opponent, whose care to prevent encroachments upon the power of the Holy See was increased by causes of personal offence. A near connection of the new Pope had been beheaded for adherence to Conradin; and a proposal for alliance between his family and that of Charles had been rejected by the latter with disdain. No purer blood than that of the Orsini, the House to which Nicholas belonged, flowed in any Roman veins; yet when he sought to enite one of his nephews with a granddaughter of the King of Sicily, he was rudely answered, that in spite of his red shoes he was not quite fitted for connection with the Royal Family of France.‡ The sarcasm was never forgotten; and almost immediately after his accession, Nicholas prevailed upon the Emperor Rodolph, now confirmed in his throne, to demand from Charles the surrender of two offices which were deemed incompatible with the paramount Imperial claims on Italy—those of Vicar of the Empire, and of Senator of Rome. It was not the interest of Charles to provoke a quarrel with so powerful a Monarch as Rodolph, and he obeyed promptly and with a well-affected semblance of cheerfulness. The Pope was deeply versed in human nature; and when he heard of the courteous reception which Charles had offered to the Legate who conveyed these offensive demands, he observed that there was little chance of surmounting him; that he might have inherited his good fortune from France, and his refined policy from Spain; but that nothing except close intercourse with the Court of Rome could have taught him the master-secret of self-control §

During the reign of Nicholas III. Charles found himself gradually reduced from the high station of arbiter of Italy to the comparative insignificance of Sovereign

* Siamondi, *Rep. Ital.* iii. 422. At the Council of Lyon, assembled in 1274, were present five hundred Bishops, seventy mixed Abbots, and more than one thousand other Divines. Velly, iii. 363. has given a clear abstract of its proceedings.

† We have already traced the descent of this title to the Emperor Frederic II, by his alliance with Isolina, granddaughter of Amaury, King of Jerusalem. On the extinction of the House of Sualbia, the claim was contested between the descendants of the two younger daughters of Amaury. Hugh II, King of Cyprus, was grandson of the elder, Mary of Antioch was daughter of the younger; and from her, as one step nearer Amaury in consanguinity, Charles purchased the faneul right for a pension of four thousand livres.

‡ *Ferant enim clauco Carolum Pontificis genus ob rubra calceos gubius sanguinibatur, dignum non videri ut cum Regio genere mueretur.* Raynaldus, ad ann. 1278, § 67.

§ Raynaldus, ad ann. 1278, § 69. Blanche, the Mother of Charles, was a Spanish Princess.

Baly.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
His death.
A. D.
1276.

Nicholas
III.
A. D.
1277.

Causes of
his opposi-
tion to
Charles.

* Sabas Malepisc, *Rever. Siculorum Hist.* iv. 13. ap. Muratori, viii. 849.

† *Id.* 855.

History.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
Martin IV.
A. D.
1281.

Views of
Charles
upon the
Greek Em-
pire.

Giovanni of
Procida.

Kind pro-
tection from
Pedro of
Aragon.

of his own Kingdoms. But on the next election in which the Conclave was engaged, he fixed its choice, partly by intrigue, partly by violence, on a Cardinal servilely devoted to his own interests.* No sooner had Martin IV. received consecration than he stripped the Ghibellins throughout the Ecclesiastical States of their offices, and conferred them on creatures of the King of Sicily. Then, condescending to solicit the votes of his own Citizens, and having obtained from them the dignity of Senator, he transferred its real authority to Charles by nominating him his Deputy. The ultimate object of Charles's ambition was to place his daughter's husband Philip on the throne of Constantinople, to which, as son of the Latin Emperor Baldwin, he had some just pretence. Venice promised to assist him with forty galleys, and his own force amounted to ten thousand men at arms, a numerous body of infantry, and more than three hundred ships and transports.† It might have been difficult for the reigning Greek to oppose this formidable armament with success; but the sagacity of Michael Palæologus had foreseen the approaching invasion, and he had employed surer weapons than the sword to avert his peril.

Among the few eminent partisans of the House of Suabia who had escaped the fury of its destroyer, was a Noble of Salerno, Giovanni Lord of Procida. A love of knowledge had induced him in early life to study Medicine in the celebrated School of his birth-place; and his talents may be fairly estimated from the high reputation which he enjoyed for attainments in a Science to which he must have been led in the first instance chiefly as an amusement.‡ Giovanni had enjoyed the confidential friendship of the Emperor Frederic II. and of his son Manfred; he had appeared in arms for Conradin; and after the success of Charles he had paid for his fidelity to the Suabian cause, by the confiscation of all his Fiefs. In poverty and exile, he had found the refuge which his loyalty deserved in the Court of Pedro of Aragon; to whom he is said to have been the bearer of the glove which Conradin threw from the scaffold, as a token of the investiture of the Queen Constanza with the rights of her Father Manfred.§ The liberality of Pedro bestowed upon this faithful adherent competence and honour; but the temper of Procida was not one likely to remain inactive, while a hope existed of revenging the wrongs of the Princes to whom he had been attached, and of liberating his Country

from her present oppression. In the King of Aragon and his Consort, he excited an ardent desire to establish their claim upon Sicily, checked only by a consciousness of want of power; and in order to procure them the necessary support, and to cement alliances in their favour, he undertook a difficult and most perilous series of negotiations. In Puglia, which he first visited, he discovered little hope of assistance; for the whole Country had changed its ancient possessors, and a powerful colony of French Barons swayed the domain once occupied by friends of the House of Suabia. Continuing his disguise, and crossing to Sicily, his prospects became far brighter; disaffection was there general, and the French were by no means firmly established: the chief difficulty indeed which he encountered was to restrain the spirit almost kindled to premature explosion, and to induce the suffering natives to delay their insurrection, till he had consolidated a League which should insure its success. His next visit was to Constantinople, where having alarmed Palæologus by a display of the vast preparations of Charles, and having recounted also the spirit by which the King of Aragon and the Sicilies were animated, he obtained from him a first subsidy, and a promise of yet further aid, provided the approbation of the Holy See, (whose recently obtained friendship the Greek Emperor would on no account sacrifice,) could previously be obtained. Nicholas III. unhesitatingly granted his consent that Constanza should attempt to establish her rights; and fortified by a written document to that effect which fully satisfied the scruples of Michael, Procida, after a most successful mission, again betook himself to Spain.

The death of Nicholas severely affected the prospects of the confederates, and the part which Martin IV. adopted in behalf of Charles deprived them of all hope of support from the Holy See. Suspicion, indeed, had been already excited by the great preparations which the King of Aragon had long been making, and which it was not possible that he should conceal. To a question put by Philippe le Bel as to their object, he replied, that they were to be directed against the Infidels, and that he hoped for the cooperation of his Brother of France. To the Pope he was far less communicative; and the only answer delivered to a similar inquiry made by the Legate was, that if his right hand knew the secret of his left, he would cut it off and cast it from him.* Procida meantime was actively employed in organizing the proposed insurrection in Sicily: where so consummate was his own dexterity, so loyal the fidelity of his partisans, that his plans, which had been ripening for more than two years, were still wrapped in impenetrable secrecy from the eyes of those against whom they were directed.

Accident, however, forestalled his designs and involved the French in a hideous calamity, unprepared even by the hands engaged in its infliction. On the Monday in Easter week, the 30th of March, 1282, the inhabitants of Palermo were accustomed to attend Vesper service in the Church of Monte Reale about three miles distant from their City; and a festal throng of both sexes crowded the intermediate fields. The French Governor had forbidden the Sicilians from carrying arms even on holidays; and a licentious ruffian named Drouet, asserting that this ordinance had been violated†

* Nicholas III. died of apoplexy Aug. 19, 1280. The wise Constitution by which Gregory X. secluded the Cardinals while in Conclave from all external communication, had been suspended by John XXI.; and Charles, having acquainted himself with the state of parties in the Sacred College, contrived that three of the Italian Cardinals most hostile to his views should be carried off; and after six months' discussion, he succeeded in persuading the remainder to agree to the choice which had been made by the French faction. Raynaldus, *ad ann.* 1281, § 1, 2. Giovanni Villani, vii. 57. where he describes Martin as free from the besetting sin of nepotism, as *di vile nazione, ma molto magnanimo e di grande cuore ne fatti delle Chiese, and as molto amico di Re Carlo.*

† Gibbon, xi. 341. Du Cange gives the Treaty with Venice among the documents at the end of his *Hist. Byzant.*

‡ Giannone, xx. c. 5, in which he gives a detailed account of Giovanni di Procida, refers to Tutini, *degl' Annunziati*, 66. for an application made by Guaspari Carraciolo to Charles II., for permission to visit Sicily in order that he might consult Giovanni di Procida, at that time an old man, *per farli curre d'una infermità.* § *Id. ibid.* Gibbon, xi. 342. mistakenly calls Constanza of Aragon sister of Manfred. It is true that the Emperor Frederic II. had a daughter named Constanza, but she was married to the Landgrave of Hesse. Struvius, i. 478.

• *Se l'una delle sue mani li manifestasse a l'altre la morderebbe.* G. Villani, vii. 59.

† The extent of Drouet's outrage was probably overrated by

Italy.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1298.
His return
to Puglia,
Sicily.

Constanti-
nople.

and Rome.

Prepara-
tions of the
King of
Aragon.

Procida's
gracious re-
surrection in
Sicily.

The Sicilian
Vespers.
March 30.
A. D.
1282.

History. by a native girl of great personal beauty, offered her a brutal insult under pretext of searching for a concealed weapon. A youth betrothed to her, who was present, struck Drouet to the heart with his own sword, and at the sight of this first blood, the fury of the Sicilians burst all bounds, and on every side fierce shouts reechoed of "Death to the French!" Not one, indeed, of that nation who was assisting in the procession escaped, and while the Bells of Monte Reale were chiming to Vespers, two hundred victims fell in its immediate precinct. Hurrying back to Palermo, the Citizens commenced an indiscriminate massacre of their oppressors, and during that single night four thousand French were slain. The example of carnage was followed but partially in the remainder of the Island; but every town and village throughout its circuit enrolled itself in a common League, which renounced allegiance to Charles, expelled such of his garrisons as it spared from the sword, and invited Pedro of Aragon to assume the government, and to undertake the protection of his willing subjects.

The Sicilians invite Pedro of Aragon.

Attempt to conciliate the Pope.

One attempt was made by the Ecclesiastics of Palermo to obtain grace with the Pope after this massacre; and their Deputies knelt at his footstool repeating that solemn apostrophe from the Litany, "O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the World, have mercy upon us!" The sole reply of the indignant Pontiff was couched in Scriptural language expressing a stern belief in their insincerity. "They began to salute him, 'Hail King of the Jews!' and they smote him on the head with a reed." Thus deprived of all hope of mediation, the Sicilians resolutely prepared to defend themselves against the vengeance of Charles; whose armament, equipped for Greece, received a destination nearer home. It is needless to follow the details of the ensuing War, which indeed are by no means distinctly preserved to us. It appears that Charles crossed into the Island and laid siege to Messina, but that after no more than three days' investment he made a precipitate retreat on the approach of the Aragonese fleet, commanded by Roger di Loria, a Calabrian by birth, and the most distinguished Admiral of his day. The land-forces retired in safety, but Di Loria captured or destroyed the greater part of the French fleet; and so deeply was Charles irritated by this early want of success, that he offered a chivalrous proposal, which in after-times has more than once been imitated by other Crowned heads, of referring the decision of the quarrel to the issue of a personal contest. Bourdeaux was named as the scene of battle, under the guarantee of the King of England, to whom it at that time belonged. Each Prince was to be accompanied to the field by one hundred Knights; the 1st of June† in the ensuing year was chosen as the day of combat; and if either party failed to appear he was not only to lose the prize of Sicily, but to be stripped of his hereditary

Roger di Loria destroys the French fleet.

Challenge given by Charles to Pedro.

dominions also, to be stigmatized as a recreant and a traitor, and to be deprived of all his Knightly honours.

The Pope could not be blind to the gross impolicy of this engagement on the part of Charles, who, rashly abandoning his superiority of resources, placed himself at once on a level with a much weaker enemy. Martin IV., therefore, refused his sanction to the proposed combat, on a plea that it was contrary to the spirit of Religion. A more important party was equally hostile, and Edward I. declined to afford his guarantee not only for Bourdeaux, but for every other place in his dominions; and declared that his consent should not be purchased, if even the Kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily were offered as its price.* Charles, nevertheless, on the appointed day, having entered the lists with his hundred Knights, remained in them till sunset; and the French Historians loudly denounce the cowardice of his antagonist, who failed to confront him. But they forget to add that Pedro was well aware that the King of France, with three thousand men at arms, prepared to support his Uncle's cause, was stationed within a day's march of Bourdeaux. Pedro, indeed, showed that he was far from deficient in courage. In spite of his great peril from the neighbourhood of this overwhelming force, he remained during the day at Bourdeaux, in disguise; and after Charles had withdrawn, he presented himself before the Seneschal of England, and left with him his armour, in token that he had been at hand to fulfil his engagement, if he could have done so without hazard of treachery. Then clapping spurs to his horse, he never drew bit till, by galloping all night, he had ridden ninety miles, and had extricated himself from the snares with which he was environed.†

Notwithstanding Martin IV. had refused to authorize this combat, he seized the non-appearance of Pedro as a pretext for his deposition; and he issued a Bull conferring upon Charles of Valois, second son of Philip le Hardi, the investiture of Aragon; at the same time granting the Indulgences usual in a Crusade to all those who should assist in its conquest. The efforts of the French, however, in the first instance, were directed more to the recovery of Sicily than to new acquisitions in Spain; but the rashness of the young Prince of Salerno, (Charles le Boiteux,) whom his Father, the King, had left in command at Naples, while himself assembled reinforcements in Provence, inflicted a death-blow on the hopes of the Angevins. Too confidently measuring himself with Roger di Loria, the Prince of Salerno

Italy.
From A. D. 1197.
to A. D. 1298.
Charles appears in the Lists, May 15.
A. D. 1283.

from which Pedro is deterred by the neighbourhood of the King of France.

The Pope invests Charles of Valois with Aragon.

Defeat and capture of the Prince of Salerno.

* In the *Foderus*, vol. i. part ii. may be found several documents of Martin IV. relative to this combat. Among them is a Bull of Martin IV. addressed to the King of England, and warning him, on pain of Excommunication, not to accept the office of Judge of the Lists, nor to permit the duel to take place within his territories. The terms of the compact are strongly denounced as *indecentissimas et temeritate non vocatus, reprobas quidem et merito reprobandas—obviam Crucifixa negotiis—Christianis procul dubio prodigne sanguinis, amaram inimici aduli, publicaque poenis annis et quibus—detestabilis et nociva, perniciosus et noxia.* (628.) Before the issue of this Bull, however, Edward had addressed a Letter to Charles, declining to sanction or to participate in the combat. He speaks of *le grant peril e la grant damage qe avendrait a la Cristientee se ceste chose se feist; adde that, toutes e cestes choses regardies e bien estreot examinares nous ne pourrions trouver en nule manere, en nostre queor, qe si grantee cruaulte se feist devant nous, ne en nostre poer, ne en autre liu, ou nus le pussions destourber; and concludes with the expressions which we have given in the text. *Sur ouchez en veritez, qe pour quier tous deux rousours, come celui de Craule e de Aragon nous n'en serriens gardiens du champ ou la susdite bataille se feist.* (627.)*

† G. Villani, vii. 76.

Voltaire, (*Ser les Mœurs*, ch. lxi.) and brought down upon him a most grave remonstrance from Velly, backed with cogent reasons to prove its exaggeration. The note in which Voltaire abandoned his extreme position is not likely to be forgotten by those who have once read it. Giovanni Villani, however, plainly imputes the worst possible intention to Drouet, *per suo orgoglio prese una Donna di Palermo per farle violenza.* vii. 60.

* "*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi misereere nobis!*"—*Ave Rex Judæorum et doliati ei oleum!*" G. Villani, vii. 62.

† M. de Sismondi throughout gives the 15th of May as the day agreed upon; but Giannone, xx. 7, names the 1st of June, and so it stands in the document mentioned in the following note.

History.

From
A. D.
1197.
to
A. D.
1398.

Death of
Charles of
Anjou.
Jan. 7.

A. D.
1285.

Death of
Martin IV.
March 25;
of Philippe
le Hardi,
Oct. 6;
of Pedro of
Aragon,
Nov. 8.

was completely routed, and, with his chief followers, remained a prisoner in the hands of his enemy. The Sicilians would have exacted a bloody reprisal for the death of Conradin; but the generous interference of Queen Costanza prevented their cruel design, and removed the illustrious captive from all hazard of his life to confinement in Aragon.⁶ Naples had evinced symptoms of revolt on learning the defeat of her Viceroy, and on the return of Charles of Anjou this disaffection was most severely chastised. He threatened to raze the City to the ground, and in a single day he gibbeted no fewer than one hundred and fifty of her inhabitants whom he most suspected. Increasing years, however, had diminished his energy, and a long tide of prosperity had unfitted him to endure reverse of fortune. During the short remainder of his life he exhibited but little vigour; and worn down by impatience and disappointment, he expired at Foggia, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his possession of the Crown of the Sicilies. Seldom has either Hypocrisy or Self-delusion (it is not for mere human judgment to decide between their respective claims) held longer dominion over any mind than that of Charles. History presents few instances of more unscrupulous ambition than that which marked his career: yet the last words of a Prince, upon whose parting spirit it might be supposed that the blood of Conradin alone would press heavily, were addressed to the Host, as he received the Viaticum, with a tone which implied far more of confidence in the future than of remorse for the past. "Lord God," he exclaimed, "I acknowledge Thee as my Saviour, and I entreat mercy on my soul. Even as I conquered the Kingdom of Sicily, more for the service of the Holy Church than for my own profit and advantage, so do Thou forgive me my sins!"⁷

The death of Charles was followed by those of several of the most eminent of his contemporaries; Martin IV. expired on the 25th of March, in the same year; the King of France, after an unsuccessful attempt upon Spain, died at Perpignan on the 6th of October; and Pedro of Aragon, languishing under wounds received in defence of his Country from that invasion, did not survive his enemy longer than a month. The Spanish dominions of that Prince devolved upon his eldest son, Alfonso III., (the Beneficent;) the Crown of Sicily upon the second, James; during the captivity of Charles of Salerno, now King of Naples, the government of that

State was administered by his eldest son, Charles Martel, assisted, in consequence of his extreme youth, (he was not more than thirteen years of age,) by a Council of French Barons, over which Robert d'Artois presided.

The Pontificates of Honorius IV. and of Nicholas IV. were marked by Favouritisms; the former devoted himself to the aggrandizement of his own House, the Savelli; the latter similarly advanced their rivals, the Colonna. An Interregnum of more than two years succeeded; and the final choice of the Conclave excited universal astonishment. Actuated probably by mutual jealousy, and by the hope which each separately cherished of establishing his own predominating influence over a Pontiff wholly incompetent to his station, they fixed upon Pietro di Marone, an aged Benedictine Hermit, distinguished only for his ascetic practices, and the reputation of miracles, bestowed in consequence of them by the superstition of the vulgar.⁸ A few months' rule exhibited manifest proofs of the incapacity of Celestin V.; and the bold intrigues of the most ambitious among the Cardinals profited by his weakness. Benedetto Gaetano foresaw the great influence which Charles II. of Naples (now released from his long imprisonment in Aragon) must exercise over the next election to the Papacy; for he had prevailed on Celestin to nominate at once twelve Members of the Sacred College, each wholly devoted to his own interests. Gaetano, therefore, having secretly made his compact with the King by stating that, in spite of the enmity which he had hitherto shown to the Ghibelins, he possessed not only willingness but ability also to serve him, an ability in which Celestin was deficient; next applied himself by juggling tricks to awaken spiritual fears in the conscience of the simple and credulous Pope, which might induce his abdication.⁹ Although such a step was unprecedented; the remonstrances of the Consistory were useless, when Celestin was once persuaded that any admixture of temporal concerns was incompatible with the due care of his soul. When the Holy See was declared vacant, the discussions in the Conclave were brief; and in ten days after the secession of Celestin, Gaetano, aided by the creatures of Charles II., was consecrated as Boniface VIII.

The deluded Hermit had entertained a hope that he might be permitted to return to his loved seclusion; §

Italy.

From
A. D.
1197.

A. D.
1298.

Pontificate
of Boniface
IV.

A. D.
1285.

Nicholas
IV.

A. D.
1288.

Celestin V.
A. D.
1294.

His abbas
Dec. 13.

Boniface
VIII.
Dec. 22.

Coadju-
tor

⁶ Giannone, xx. 8.

⁷ G. Villani, vii. 94. Giannone mentions a report, on the authority of a writer who lived within a century after the occurrence which he relates, that Charles of Anjou committed suicide, xx. 8. *Ad hoc morte oppressus et paulatinum tandem factus est ut dicitur quod mortuus sub constituto, necesse sub talento sapientum loquere strangulans.* Theodoret de Nem. *De Prin. et Jure Imperii*, p. 282.

The character of Charles as drawn by G. Villani is a very striking portrait. *Questo Carlo fu uomo di sano consiglio, però in arme, et aspro et molto temuto et ridottato da tutti li Re del Mondo; magnanimo et d'alti intendimenti in fare ogni grande impresa, sicuro in ogni avversità, fermo et veritiero d'ogni sua promessa, poco parlante et molto diligente. Quan non ridia et non poco; honesto come un religioso et Coltriveto; aspro in giustizia et di ferace riguardo; grande di persona, et bene neborato, di colore scuro, et con grande naso, et bene parva moesti reale più ch' altro Signore. Molto vegghava et poco dormiva, et usava di dire che dormendo tanto tempo si perdeva. Largo fu a' cavallieri d'arme, non cupidino d'acquistar Terre, e Signoria, e moneta, d'onde si veniva per fornire sue imprese e guerre.* vii. 1. In one or two points the likeness is probably flattering; nevertheless in the whole picture there is not a single amiable trait.

⁸ The account of the Pontificate of Celestin V., given by Raynaldus, is plentifully sprinkled with miracles.

⁹ *Primum etiam et hanc eorum delationem, quatenus ad hoc illum flagrantius incitaret, dum anno exultatus mox Leonem contramphilem, per foramen, quod ante fabricaverat, vocat, sapienter, et cum multum advenire illi, ut illi dicitur falsi mundi relicta. sub Dio arere disponeret. Ferrutus Vicentinus, Hist. ii. ap. Murd. lib. 966.*

It is to Celestin that Petrarch, *De Vit. Solit.* 2. § 3. c. 18, has referred a passage in Dante, concerning which some of the commentators have doubted. The Poet, in his descent, observes a set of glorious Limbs, in which, among the neutral Angels, are placed the Spirits of such men as have lived without either praise or blame, and are therefore rejected alike by Heaven and Hell. Among this band he sees

L'ombra di colui

Che free, per celtate, si orava vivuto. Inf. iii.

§ Petrarch describes the joy of Celestin on his abdication, from the report of eye-witnesses. *Audisti narrantes qui viderunt, tandem illum fugisse cum gaudio, reges signa letitiae spiritibus oculis ac fronte gestantem, dum a conspectu Conclii jam tandem illi reditus ac liber abbas foret, quasi non humerum blando oneri, sed collum diris acerbis subdideret, atque rursus in vultu mentis quid angelicum reluceret.* *De Vit. Solit. ad sup.*

History. but his freedom might have proved dangerous to Boniface; for the weakness which had consented to abdicate might hereafter be prevailed upon to resume; Celestin, therefore, was conveyed in the strictest custody to a fortress in Campania; and even if the dark reports current at the time, that his death was occasioned by absolute violence, be rejected, it is too much to be feared that it was intentionally accelerated by privation and cruelty.*

From A. D. 1197. to A. D. 1298, and death of Celestin. The release of Charles II. had been obtained by a promise that he would cede Sicily to James, son of the deceased King, Pedro III., and that he would insist upon the renunciation by his cousin Charles of Valois, of all claim upon Aragon which might be rested on the Investiture granted by Martin IV. From this oath he obtained absolution from Nicholas IV., the reigning Pope at the moment of his return to freedom; and in direct violation of the Treaty, to which his signature was as yet scarcely dry, he leagued with the King of Castille and Charles of Valois for the conquest of Aragon. The Crown of that Kingdom soon afterwards passed to James by the death of Alfonso, and Sicily was relinquished to a third brother, Frederic; but James, allured by a rich portion which Charles II. proffered with the hand of his daughter, entered into an unnatural compact, the object of which was no other than the de-thronement of his own family, and the transfer of Sicily from Frederic to Charles.

Leagued against Frederic, King of Sicily. A. D. 1295. The war which had so long desolated the Sicillies recommenced, therefore, in Calabria, with more than former violence; and Frederic, before he disgusted Loria so far as to induce him to change sides, was for the most part successful. Boniface at length resolved to secure, by ample bribes than had hitherto been offered, the active services of Charles of Valois. No Prince in Europe had achieved for himself a higher military reputation; and even his name and his unvaried good fortune, exclusive of his great talents, appeared to the Pope well deserving the high price at which he bartered for them. The Count of Valois, with a sufficient force maintained at his own expense, was to place himself at the disposal of the Holy See, and, in return, he was to receive in marriage the heiress of the Latin Empire; he was created Count of Romagna, Captain General of the Patrimony of St. Peter, Lord of the March of Ancona, and Pacifier of Tuscany; a further assurance was given that the authority of Vicar of the Empire should be committed to him; and he was dazzled by a yet more brilliant hope that the Pontiff might elevate him hereafter even to the lofty station of King of the Romans. Thus stimulated, Charles of Valois entered Italy, and his first services as Pacifier of Tuscany were employed in Florence. The incident, unless on account of the great celebrity of some of the names connected with it, is too unimportant to demand any place in our rapid summary of general History. It may suffice to say that the Tuscan Capital, at that

Charles of Valois engages in the Papal service. A. D. 1300.

He enters Florence. A. D. 1301.

moment altogether in possession of the Guelphs, was, nevertheless, distracted by two factions introduced from Pistoia, originating in a private feud, and bearing the party names of *Neri* and *Blancho*.* The latter had offended Boniface by refusing his mediation; and the Count of Valois, having gained admission into Florence, under a solemn promise that he would not attempt any change, or pretend to any authority in matters of State, immediately violated this engagement.† He strengthened himself by recalling the heads of the *Neri*, who had been exiled by their opponents, arrested the chief *Blancho*, abandoned their houses to pillage, sequestered their property, and condemned six hundred of them to banishment. Among the proscribed on this occasion were Dante and the Father of Petrarch.

The Pacifier of Tuscany departed from Florence, after six months' abode, laden with maledictions; and embarking at Naples, led fifteen hundred men at arms to complete the conquest of Sicily. Half of that Island had already been wrested from Frederic by his brother, the King of Aragon; who, at length, touched with remorse, quitted the scene of his odious triumph, before the arrival of the French. Undismayed by his first reverses, Frederic persisted in heroic defence, till he so distressed the invader by a war of skirmishes, which intercepted his supplies, and wasted away his forces ingloriously, that he compelled him to solicit Peace. By the Treaty which Frederic dictated, Sicily and its immediate dependencies, under the name of the Kingdom of Trinacria, remained under his own sway for life, and on his death were to revert to the Angevin dynasty.

The principal event in the turbulent Pontificate of Boniface VIII., his dispute with Philippe le Bel, has been sufficiently detailed in our former pages; and there is little else in his history which need detain us. One of the chief agents in the outrage which the King of France ultimately directed against his person was, as we have already seen, a member of the Family of Colonna; a Family which, having greatly increased in power under Honorius IV., claimed to rank in some of its branches among the Princes of Italy. The enmity of Boniface to this House was first excited by the strenuous opposition which two Cardinals who bore its name offered against his election; and he seized the pretext of a correspondence which they maintained with the King of Sicily to depose them from the Sacred College, to confiscate all their property, and to subject them to an Excommunication. The Bull which promulgated this anathema was couched in language singularly ferocious;‡ and it was answered with unexpected firmness by a manifesto, which denied the validity of Boniface's election, on the ground that the abdication of Celestin was neither legal nor even voluntary. The fury of the Pope was boundless at this reply; he denounced its authors as Heretics, proclaimed a Crusade against them, razed their Palaces in Rome, and marched an army to besiege their fortresses in the Campagna. Palestrina alone main-

Italy.
From A. D. 1197. to A. D. 1298.

Banishment of Dante.
Invasion of Sicily.
A. D. 1302.

Frederic concludes an advantageous Peace.
A. D. 1303.

Boniface excommunicates the Colonna.
A. D. 1297.

Crusade against them.

* His cell was so small that the steps of the altar on which he celebrated Mass in the day-time furnished his nightly pillow. *Petit autem ut duo abba dormirent fratres cum quibus diuinan ageret officium. Quia ei concessit illius carceris angustiam duo ferre non valentes, inde contrahuntur suffragi. Erant cum tanta spolia turris orculo, ut vir sanatus ubi habebat pedes dum Massam celebraret, ibi caput recinqueret dum dormiendo quiesceret. Sed, prohi pudor! sic Bonifacius ille, aut Herodes, Petrum arrebat in carcere! Vita Hicini Petri Cælestini Authore Petro Aliaco Cardinale Cameracensi, li. 17. op. Surium de probatis Sanctorum Historiis, iii. 363.*

† The Feud originated between two members of different branches of the Pistoian Family Cancellieri, whose common ancestor had been twice married; the children of the first wife, *Blancho*, were called after their mother, *Blancho*, and those of the second bed received in opposition the title *Neri*, names which continued among their descendants.

‡ Dante pointedly represents Charles as combating

solo con la lingua

Con la qual giostra Guido.

Futur. xx

Raynaldus, 1297, § 35. &c.

History.

From

A. D.

1197.

to

A. D.

1298.

Advice of
Guido di
Montefeltro

tained an effectual resistance; nor did Boniface succeed in capturing it till he asked and acted upon the advice of Guido de Montefeltro, a Ghibelin Captain, who after winning reputation as much for subtilty as for valour,* had taken the habit of St. Francis and devoted himself to a life of penitence and seclusion. How far his Religious observances had extinguished in him the spirit of worldly craftiness may be determined by the suggestion which he offered to Boniface, after surveying the great strength of Palestrina, and declaring it to be impregnable. "If you would win it," said the Devotee, first demanding absolution for that which he was about to utter, "you must promise much and perform little;"† and having delivered this single-hearted admonition, he returned to his Convent, to fix his thoughts once more on Heaven. Advice flowing from a source so celebrated was not likely to be rejected by the Pope: he promised favour to the Colonna, if they would appear before him within three days after the surrender of their town; and at the same time he secretly resolved to put them to death, so soon as they were in his power. Palestrina opened her gates on advantageous terms; but her Lords, seasonably warned of the intended treachery, and having no further refuge in Italy, dispersed themselves in foreign parts, and found protection, among other places, in the Court of Philippe le Bel.

Flight of
the Colonna.Translation
of the Santa
Casa to
Loretto.

A. D.

1294.

To the reign of Boniface belongs one of the most daring legends of the Romish Church, the Translation of the Lady-Chapel of Loretto. On the capture of St. Jean d'Acre by Melec Séraph in 1291, the *Santa Casa*, or House in which the Virgin had dwelt in Nazareth, was saved from its menaced profanation, by a band of Angels, who carried it on their wings to Tersactio in Illyria. After an abode of three years and seven months in that spot, it once more traversed the sea, by a like conveyance, without any assignable reason for its departure. Celestial music was heard as it passed; the trees inclined themselves to it in reverence; and it was deposited at the distance of a few leagues from Ancona in a wood belonging to Lauretta, a Lady of Recanati, from whom the once flourishing town which soon gathered round the inestimable relic derives its name.‡ The first arrival in Italy occurred three days before Celestin's abdication; but as the Angels twice changed the site of their holy burden to different hills, the final settlement did not take place till after the accession of Boniface.

* Guido, speaking of himself when Dante encounters him in the *Inferno*, rests his fame more upon the former than the latter.

*L'opere mie
Non furon lionarie, ma di volpe;
Gli accorgimenti, e le coperte vie
L'oppe tutte: e si unmai lor 'arte
Ch' al fine della terra il suoco uoce.*

†

*Pader, da che tu mi lavi
Di quei peccati, oie no veder deggio,
L'ango promessi, con l'attendere corto
Ti farà tramfar nell' alto seggio.*

Ist. xxvii.

Id. ibid.

‡ "Loretto," says Eustace, "has now shared the fate of Delphi." (l. ch vii.) We may refer to the account of the *Santa Casa* there given, not only as being very copious, but as it affords a remarkable specimen of the great candour of that always amiable, not unfrequently eloquent, and somewhat hardly-used writer. The Reader who wishes to exhaust the history of the *Santa Casa* may turn to the V Books of Turrellinus; to *Le Glorie Morales del Santuario di Loretto*, by Bertoli, Chaplain to the Elector of Bavaria; to the *Archea Domus Lauretane perstricta relato* by Nollius; or to *La S. Casa Abbezzita* by Serragli.

The institution of the Centenary Jubilee affords Boniface another claim to distinction. It was pretended that at the expiration of each Century especial Indulgences were to be attained by the Faithful who should visit the Tombs of the Apostles; and accordingly on the dawn of the 1st of January in the year 1300, an innumerable multitude of Pilgrims thronged to the Basilica of St. Peter. The policy of Boniface perhaps created, certainly confirmed, a belief so advantageous to the coffers of the Holy See; and a Bull was promulgated announcing plenary remission of sins to all persons who in the course of that year, or of any hundredth year afterwards, should accomplish the like Pilgrimage. It is affirmed by an eye-witness that during the celebration of these first Secular Games of the Church, no day passed in which Rome did not contain two hundred thousand strangers; each of whom vied with the others, proportionally to his means, in the richness of his pious offerings.* The harvest was too plentiful not to excite a desire for the more frequent recurrence; and Clement VI. commiserating the brevity of human life, when the next Centenary had been trodden but half through, fixed the cycle at half its original term. Urban VI., equally desirous with his predecessors to witness in his own time so devout a celebration, reduced the intervening years to the same number as those which our Saviour had passed on Earth. And finally, Sixtus IV., benevolently wishing that a remedy so salutary should be more often thrown open to mankind, consented that a Jubilee should be proclaimed after the lapse of every twenty-five years; an interval which has been observed ever since his Pontificate.†

The death of Boniface VIII. affords a fit resting place in our narrative of the general fortunes of Italy; but we must briefly advert to a few incidents belonging to the History of the Maritime Republics, which it has not been in our power to interweave with the common Annals, but which still should not be passed in entire silence.

The commencement of the XIIIth Century was an epoch of unexampled glory to Venice; but if we were to relate in this place the share which that great Republic bore in the IVth Crusade, we should tear a splendid page from another Chapter of our Work. The Commercial rivalry with Genoa, which the rapidly increasing wealth of either State was certain to generate, had been

* *Al continuo in tutto l'anno havea in Roma oltre al popolo Romano 200 mila di pellegrini, senza quelli ch' erano per li casamenti andando e tornando, e tutti erano forniti e contenti di vitteuaglie giustamente, con i cavalli come le persone. Et so il poco testimoniar, che vi fu presente e vidi.* Giov. Villani, viii. 36.

† An inscription over the gates of the Cathedral at Sienna runs as below.

*Anno centum Romæ semper est Jubilæus;
Crimina laxantur, cui ponitur ista donatur;
Hæc decrevit Bonifacius, et roboravit.*

The author of a Life of Clement VI., edited by Bosquet, states that Pope to have been actuated by the following reasons when he shortened the interval of years by one half, *quia visio hominum labitur et decrevit, et malitia superabundat in mundo, proinde deducit* &c. of Urban VI. the *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum* states that he ordered *ut omnis Jubilæus in futurum de tricesimo tertio anno in tricesimum tertium annum semper institueretur, — quo cum commovisset tempus vitei Domini nostri Jesu Christi in humanitate, quod totum postquam natus est de Virgine (per cujus mortem thesaurus Ecclesie, unde redemptio peccatorum annis emanat cumulatus) triginta annorum curricula completum fuit.* Da Change, (ad v. *Jubilæus*), from whom we borrow the above notice, adds that the motive of Sixtus IV. in still further curtailing the interval to twenty-five years, was that *quoque alius participi istius beneficii fieret.* See also *JUBILÆUS* in our *Miscellaneous Dictionary*.

Italy.

From

A. D.

1197.

to

A. D.

1298.

First Jubilee.

A. D.

1300.

Second.

A. D.

1350.

Third.

A. D.

1382.

The interval fixed at twenty-five years.

The Maritime Republics.

Rivalry between Venice and Genoa.

History.	Italy.
From A. D. 1197. to A. D. 1298. 1st War. A. D. 1269.	From A. D. 1197. to A. D. 1298. The Tus- cans form a League against Pisa. Count Ugo- lino ap- pointed Captain- General of Pisa. A. D. 1285. Succeeds in dissolving the Con- federacy. Noble con- duct of the prisoners.
1st War. A. D. 1293.	
Disadvan- tageous to Venice.	
Power and wealth of Pisa.	
War with Genoa. A. D. 1282. Great de- feat of the Pisans off Meloria. Aug. 6. A. D. 1284. Their pri- soners re- tained in captivity.	Ugolino usurps the sovereignty of Pisa. His tyr- any.

greatly enhanced by the new connection thus formed by Venice with the East; and the long-suppressed jealousy kindled into open flame about the year 1298. In their first War with the Genoese the Venetians were almost invariably successful in many sanguinary naval battles; and yet neither the resources nor the spirit of their antagonists appeared to have suffered under defeat. The expedition of St. Louis to Africa for a while demanded accordance between the leading maritime European Powers, upon whom he relied for means of transport; and the rival States, adjured by the common voice of all Christendom to suspend their private feuds for the sake of the general interest, reluctantly consented, not to a Peace, but to a five years' Truce. On the expiration of that term, war was renewed with more than former implacability, and Fortune then became favourable to the Genoese. The Venetians were twice vanquished, losing altogether more than one hundred ships; and they were compelled to seek the close of a useless and destructive contest, by abandoning for the next thirteen years all right of navigation with armed vessels in the Black Sea or on the coast of Syria.

A similar spirit of bitterness, arising from like causes, armed the Genoese against the Pisans also.* Of the great victory obtained by the latter when their enemies endeavoured to convey the French Prelates from Nice to the Council summoned by Gregory IX. in the Lateran, we have already spoken; and during the forty years succeeding that triumph, Pisa constantly augmented her power. The habits of her population were frugal, the produce of her territory was abundant; she counted the neighbouring Islands of Elba, Corsica, and Sardinia, among her dependencies; and her factories were extensive both in Acre and in Constantinople. Although Venice did not escape from her share of that jealousy which is the natural result of common enterprise in the same path, yet she was more remote than Genoa, and she bordered not on the Mediterranean but on the Adriatic. With that Republic, therefore, Pisa for the most part cultivated a good understanding, occasionally cemented into offensive and defensive alliance; but with the Genoese it was far otherwise, and a series of petty outrages, inflicted and endured, led to open hostilities in the year 1282. One battle fought two years afterwards, off the little Island Meloria, between nearly equal numbers, proved most disastrous to the Pisans; five thousand of their mariners fell in the contest, eleven thousand were carried in chains to the dungeons of their enemy; who well aware of the great advantage to be derived from retaining them in captivity, refused all proposals for exchange or ransom. Their wives, it was said, cannot re-marry, and the population of Pisa therefore will decay. Without vouching for the soundness of this reasoning, it must be admitted that the resolution was most destructive to the prisoners themselves. Sixteen years afterwards, when the conclusion of Peace restored them to freedom, scarcely one thousand survivors returned to their native walls.

It was that period of danger and dismay, when all Pisa seemed as one house of mourning for her past calamity, and when yet greater dangers were impending, which raised to the Dictatorship of his Country one whose name has received from Poetry an immortality which it never otherwise would have obtained. Pisa was the

only Ghibelin City bordering on Tuscany; and the Guelphs of that State, earnestly desiring to profit to the utmost by her recent calamity, offered their alliance to the Genoese, undertook to conduct a land attack while their confederates should maintain a blockade by sea, and pledged themselves never to consent to Peace, but utterly to destroy the devoted City, and to scatter abroad its population.* Apprized of these savage intentions, the Pisans consented to bestow unlimited authority for ten years on the most powerful of their Nobles; and Count Ugolino delle Gherardeschi, notwithstanding he had contracted certain family alliances with the Guelphs, and still maintained private intercourse with Florence, was nominated Captain-General. Ugolino conducted separate negotiations with the allies with considerable dexterity, till, by tempting each with the bribe which it most coveted, he dissolved the Confederacy. It was during this diplomacy that the prisoners taken at the Battle of Meloria displayed a more than Roman self-devotion. They learned that Ugolino had proposed, on condition of their release, to surrender to the Genoese the important town of Castro in Sardinia; and shrinking from freedom purchased on terms so injurious to their native land, they obtained leave to send a deputation to the Pisan Council. By their representatives, they not only declined the proffered boon, but avowed an intention, if they should be restored to liberty against their will, to pursue even to death the Magistrate who should be base enough to bring so foul a stain upon the honour of their Country.†

Ugolino, doubtless, was well pleased that the ulterior designs which he then cherished were not embarrassed by the return of spirits thus ardent with Patriotism. By sacrificing much of her territory, he obtained Peace for his Country, and he secured support also for the treason which he meditated against her liberties. It was not without a struggle, however, that he won his way to despotic power; but when, after more than one alteration of Fortune, he established himself in the Municipal Palace, and chased the Podestà from the City, he felt confident of the permanency of his rule. He had selected his birthday for the Festival of his inauguration; and when wearied but not satiated with the pomp of magistracy, he entered his chamber after the ceremonial, he asked an attendant, "What more can be reserved for me?" the fearless and almost prophetic reply which he received was, "Nothing more but the wrath of Heaven."

False to both parties while he seemingly encouraged each, without breaking with his Guelph connections in Florence, Ugolino concerted with Ruggieri, Archbishop of Pisa, a plot for the expulsion of the Ghibelins. The measure was successful, and Ruggieri, not less ambitious than his brother conspirator, so far advanced himself in the affections of the populace, that they loudly insisted upon his being admitted to a moiety of the Government. But Ugolino refused to divide his power, and, inebriated by prosperity, he despised the murmurs of the people whom he oppressed, and surrendered himself to unbridled bursts of passion. On one occasion, when irritated by the remonstrances of a kinsman, he unsheathed his poniard and would have despatched him on the spot. A nephew of Ruggieri who was present arrested the blow, and diverted the tyrant's fury upon himself. Ugolino, seizing an axe which was un-

* The rivalry between Genoa and Pisa is detailed fully in the Vth Book of Ubertus Folietti, *Hist. Genuesium*, op. Ciceronii, l.

* G. Villani, vii. 97.

† Marangoni, *Chron. di Pisa*, p. 571. cited by Simsoni, *Rep. It.* iv. 28, to whom we are greatly indebted in our abstract.

History. happily at hand, cleft the skull of the mediating youth, and laid him dead at his feet. Ruggieri still dissembled, till an alarm of the return of the Guelphs roused the Citizens of the opposite faction in their own defence. Their first attack was directed against the Palace, which Ugolino bravely defended from mid-day till nightfall, when it was fired over his head. Ruggieri then conducted him, but not alone, to a prison at that time known as the Tower of the Gualandi, now bearing, from the savage deed of which it was to be the scene, the name *Della Fame*. The Gaddo and the Uguccione, the Brigata and the Anselmuccio of Dante, are not fictitious personages; the two former were the sons, the two latter the grandsons of Ugolino. After a few months' delay, the Archbishop, disappointed in his avaricious hope of extorting treasure from the imprisoned Count, threw the key of their dungeon into the Arno, and the five captives perished by a lingering death of horror, which, but for our remembrance of the *Inferno*, we should pronounce to be unspeakable.*

GERMANY. We turn now to GERMANY singly. When Conrad IV. succeeded to his Father's throne, he inherited also from him the opposing pretensions of William Count of Holland, who in Frederic's lifetime had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.† That Prince survived his competitor about two years; and many of the German writers do not begin to reckon the commencement of the great Interregnum (as it is termed) till his death.‡ He was killed in a winter campaign against the Frieslanders, while crossing a frozen dike on a heavy war-horse. The ice, unable to support his burden, gave way under him, and the Prince, deprived of all power of disengaging himself, was put to death slowly and miserably, after receiving innumerable wounds.§ The vacant throne was filled by a double election; and the wealth of the English Richard, Earl of Cornwall,|| the virtues of Alfonso of Castile, won for each a choice which bestowed no more than nominal power. Three successive

* It is quite needless to cite the most pathetic episode in modern—perhaps in any Poetry—which Dante has presented in the XXXIIIrd Canto of the *Inferno*,
† On November 1, 1248. Struvius, i. 467.

‡ The Interregnum, if reckoned from the deposition of Frederic by the Council of Lyon to the election of Rodolph of Hapsburg, lasted twenty-eight years; if from the death of Frederic, twenty-three. Perhaps the death of Conrad IV. would be the most legitimate point of commencement.

§ Matt. Paris, 793, ad ann. 1256. William's chief claim to remembrance arises from his sister Margaret, Countess of Henneberg, according to legendary history the most prolific of her sex. It seems that a beggar-woman who with twice at her breast once suckled alms from the Countess, was not only rejected, but was taunted also with incontinence; being told that no woman could bear twins who was faithful to one man. The beggar appealed to Heaven in proof of her chastity; and implored as a sign, that if her adoration were well founded, the Countess might have at a single birth as many children as there were days in the year. Accordingly, on Whit Sunday, 1246, when Margaret was in her fortieth year, (so precise are the biographers in their details,) she brought forth at the Hague three hundred and sixty-five children of both sexes, each about the size of a chicken; who were baptized altogether in one basin by the Bishop of Utrecht, the boys being named John, the girls Elisabeth; and who afterwards with their mother died on the same day. Mattheus, from whose *Theatrum Historiarum* (961.) we derive the above particulars, cites Ludovico Guicciardini, Krastius, Ludovicus Vires, and Camerarius as his authorities.

|| Richard's accumulated wealth is estimated by Matthew Paris to have been sufficient to allow of the daily expenditures of one hundred marks, without drawing in any way upon his German and English revenues. 809. The best account of this Prince may be found in *Göbauer's Leben und Thaten Richard Erbkönig Römischer Kaysers*.

Popes refused to decide the controversy; Alfonso, harassed by the Moors in his hereditary dominions, was unable to prosecute war in Germany; and Richard, although crowned, never established a substantial authority even by the most lavish expenditure. During this period of anarchy, in which the Empire was convulsed with Civil dissension, and each petty Baron, fortified in his strong-hold, lived for the most part with impunity upon rapine, numerous Associations and Confederacies were instituted among the chief German Cities for mutual protection; and the Commercial union of the Hanse Towns, although strictly perhaps a few years earlier in its origin, was at the same time materially consolidated by a feeling of common peril. We willingly hasten over these inglorious and most deplorable scenes of misery, discord, and confusion; and we pass from the "winter night full of darkness and dangers," as it is described by a contemporary pen, to that which it names, with equal justice, the "return of a genial Spring."*

On the death of Richard, Alfonso urged Gregory X. to sanction his claims: but that wise and benevolent Pontiff, anxious to restore peace to Germany, and foreseeing that a powerful faction existed which could never become reconciled to the King of Castile, peremptorily refused assent. The Pope then called upon the Electors at once to proceed to an entirely new choice; threatening that he would nominate by his own authority, unless their discussion terminated in agreement. That there were private motives which regulated the decision at which they arrived is little to be doubted; but there were enough general reasons arising out of the personal character and pretensions of Rodolph, Count of Hapsburg, to justify the union of all suffrages in his favour. The House which he represented was of very ancient stock; it might be traced with probability, by those not too fastidious in the examination of genealogies, so far back as the VIIIth Century, and with certainty even by the most scrupulous to the Xth. His possessions were far from large, for his chief inheritance, the County of Hapsburg, contained only a part of the district now called Argau. In the course of an active life, having now arrived at his fifty-fifth year, he had manifested brilliant talents both for War and for Civil Government; and he appeared in all points well adapted to restore order to a distracted State, without rendering himself too powerful a master of those by whom he had been elevated.

When his election as King of the Romans was announced to the Count of Hapsburg, he was encamped under the walls of Basle, in order to punish the Bishop for an act of very treacherous cruelty. The Citizens opened their gates on receiving intelligence of the choice of the German Diet, and hailed Rodolph with acclamations; while the Bishop is reported to have vented his chagrin in an irreverent sarcasm; "Sit fast, great God! or Rodolph will occupy thy throne."† The new King's first care after his Coronation was to obtain the sanction of Gregory; and it was cordially granted, both by a reply to the Imperial ambassadors, and afterwards, in a personal interview at Lausanne; and the assurance then confirmed to Rodolph that on visiting Rome he should receive the Crown of his predecessors, although in truth he never performed

* Letter of the Archbishop of Cologne cited by Cane, *Hist. of House of Austria*, i. 22.

† *Sede fortiter, Domine Deus, vel locum Rodolphus occupabit tamen*. Albert Aytzinger, 100.

Germany.
From
A. D.
1250.
to
A. D.
1295.
Interregnum.

Rhenish
Cities.

Election of
Rodolph of
Hapsburg
A. D.
1273.

Sanctioned
by Gregory
X.

History.
From
A. D.
1250,
to
A. D.
1298.

that journey,* will justify us for the future in styling him Emperor. The first great peril which his new authority encountered arose from Ottocar, King of Bohemia, the most powerful European Prince of his time. To his patrimony of Bohemia and Moravia, the courage and enterprise of Ottocar had made large additions, by conquests from the Prussians and from the King of Hungary; and yet more by a seizure of the dominions of the House of Austria when Innocent IV. excommunicated its Duke. The tragical death of Ferdinand in the Italian expedition of Conradin, confirmed Ottocar in this last great acquisition; and it is little a matter of surprise that a Monarch, whose territories extended from the frontiers of Bavaria to Raab in Hungary, and from the Baltic to the Adriatic, should view with jealousy an election which had advanced so inconsiderable a Prince as Rodolph so far above him in titular dignity.

Rodolph, in early youth, had borne arms in Ottocar's service; and when the Diet of Princes, irritated at the contumacy with which the King of Bohemia refused the performance of homage, menaced him with the ban of the Empire if he persisted, he haughtily replied that he owed nothing to one who in former days had been his servant, and who was not worthy that Kings should obey him.† When the ultimate resolutions of the Diet were communicated to him, his fury spurned all bounds; and in defiance of their sacred character and immunities, he put to death the heralds by whom they were announced. The prudent dispositions of Rodolph, and the wisdom with which he conciliated alliances, soon placed a powerful force at his command; and while the King of Bohemia remained inactive from contempt of an enemy whom he considered little deserving of regard; the Emperor penetrated Austria by rapid marches, sat down under the walls of Vienna, and had prepared, what in those days was esteemed an unheard of miracle of military skill, a bridge of boats, on which he intended to cross the Danube, and to transfer the war into Bohemia itself. Thus surprised and embarrassed, Ottocar was compelled to negotiate a Peace, which deprived him of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia; a double intermarriage between his family and that of the Emperor was projected in order to cement their future friendship; and the King of Bohemia, with little intention of adhering to the Treaty whenever he should recover sufficient power to defend its infraction, did homage to his Rival.‡

* Rodolph is said to have excused himself for not visiting Italy by referring the Apologue of the sick Lion—*estigma nulla retrorsum*—to the expeditions of his predecessors to that Country. Gerard de Roo, p. 34.

† Cox, *Hist. of the House of Austria*, l. 37.

‡ *Nihil se debere famulo suo neque digno cui Reges obsequantur*, are the words of Gerard de Roo, which we think Archbishop Cox has translated rightly in the sense which we have given above. Others, with some degree of violence, render *nihil se debere*, that he owed nothing, i. e. that he had paid him all his wages; and infer from them the truth of a report that Rodolph had once held office in Ottocar's household. That assertion is by no means improbable; although much deference is undoubtedly due to its rejection by so diligent an investigator as Archbishop Cox; and if it had no other support than the above forced translation it would be altogether futile.

§ *Navigis nihilominus apparatu bellico mirifice ordinatis, quibus latum flumen Danubii transire disposuit*. Letter from the Archbishop of Salzburg to the Pope *ap. Gerbert Collex Epist.* p. 126. See also other praises of the *naves mirantes* cited by Struvius, l. 516. || Archbishop Cox indignantly rejects a tale which, if it were true, would do little credit to either the discretion or the delicacy of Rodolph. Ottocar is said to have stipulated that his homage should be offered in private; but Rodolph contrived that while the King

Scarcely a year elapsed before it became plain that Ottocar meditated a renewal of hostilities; and the resources which the Emperor brought to this second contest appeared far from adequate to its support. The backwardness of the leading German Princes in his cause, and the consequent inferiority of his own army to that which he knew had been assembled by his enemy, for a while occasioned most gloomy anticipations; and when the two Princes at length confronted each other on the plain of Marchfeld, it was for his Crown and his life, not less than for victory, that Rodolph was about to fight. In the very heat of the engagement, while fortune was still doubtful, Rodolph was unhorsed and wounded; and till his Knights hastened to his rescue, he lay on the ground, unable to rise on account of the weight of his armour, and covering his head, from which the helmet had been loosened in his fall, with the uncertain protection of his shield. His reappearance decided the combat; and among the fourteen thousand Bohemians who perished in their total rout, Ottocar himself was numbered. Disarmed and a prisoner, he is believed to have fallen under the vengeance of some Styrian Nobles whose families had suffered bitterly from his tyranny.

The possession of the Austrian Provinces being thus confirmed to Rodolph, he sheathed his sword without reluctance, and both wisely and justly forebore from any attempt to deprive Wenceslaus, the infant son of the fallen Ottocar, of his paternal Crown. Four years, however, elapsed before the great territory which he had won could be settled as the perpetual inheritance of his own family. At length, after the extinction of some claims and the adjustment of others, the Fief which he had acquired at the sword's point was declared vacant, and conferred on his son Albert, with the consent of the Diet of the Empire.

The restoration of internal tranquillity to his harassed dominions formed the paramount occupation of this able Prince when disengaged from foreign War; and he proceeded with a firm hand to restrain those violations of the peace which hitherto had set Law at defiance. In one year, he razed to the ground seventy castles, the habitations of banditti or of powerful Barons worse than banditti; and he condemned to death in all nine and twenty Nobles belonging to the most illustrious families in Thuringia, who had been guilty of atrocious outrages.* The preservation of the integrity of the Empire, and the recovery of such Fiefs as had been wrested from it during the recent Interregnum, were his other leading objects; in pursuit of which he was more than once compelled to have recourse to arms. It was in an engagement near Morat, with the troops of the Count of Savoy, who had dismembered many Helvetic districts

Germany.
From
A. D.
1250.
to
A. D.
1298.
Renewal of
War.
A. D.
1277.
Battle of
Marchfeld,
Aug. 36.
A. D.
1278.

Defeat and
death of
Ottocar.

Rodolph
invests his
son Albert
with the
Fief of
Austria.
A. D.
1282.

His inter-
admi-
nistation.

was upon his knees, the hangings of the tent should be raised, so that he was exhibited to the view of the whole army. The reasons adduced against the story seem quite sufficient to prove that it is apocryphal; 1st, the petty fraud is wholly alien from Rodolph's general character; and 2dly, it is not mentioned by any writer within two hundred years of his time. It might be added, that it is most unlikely that Ottocar should make, or that Rodolph should grant the request for a private performance of homage; the actual payment of it must be generally published abroad, and it would be known therefore by all men that the ceremony (which in the estimation of the times did not contain any thing degrading) had been really performed. Frölich has written an especial Dissertation on the falsehood of the anecdote: *Dialogus qui discipulatus ante Rodolphum Hapsburgicum Regi Bohemico Ottocaro ab obsequio fuerit, tandemque Tentorio lapsus delatus*.

* Cox, l. p. 57.

Jealousy of
Ottocar,
King of
Bohemia,
who refuses
homage.

War with
Ottocar.
A. D.
1276.

He loses
Austria,
and per-
forms ho-
mage.
Nov. 25.

History.

From
A. D.
1250.
to
A. D.
1298.

His great
danger at
the Battle
of Morat.

A. D.
1253.
Invasion of
Burgundy.

Transac-
tions with
Bohemia.

The Diet
refuses to
elect Albert
King of the
Romans.

Disappoint-
ment

and death
of Rodolph.
July 15.

A. D.
1291.

from the Empire, that the active and beneficial career of Rodolph was nearly terminated. Ever in the van of battle, he was unhorsed and surrounded, and must have perished had he not sprung boldly into the lake, where, supporting himself by grasping the bough of a tree with one hand, he defended himself with the other, till the arrival of fresh troops released him from his great peril. In a similar expedition, undertaken to punish the defection of the Count of Burgundy, Rodolph successfully pursued his design, in spite of the menaced hostility of France; to which Crown the Vassal of the Empire had transferred his allegiance. Not less watchfully protecting the interests of his allies than his own, he rescued the young King of Bohemia from the thralldom which had been imposed upon him during his minority; overthrew the usurpation of the Regent; and substantially increasing the power as well as the dignity of Wenceslaus, by the grant of new Fiefs and of high offices, insured his fidelity, and found in him a useful ally instead of a turbulent Vassal.

It might be thought that nineteen years of active service, in so many ways directed to the welfare of the Empire, would have secured to Rodolph the gratitude of its Princes; and that the wish of the veteran Monarch to entail the Crown on his only surviving son would have met approval from the German Diet. Urgent, however, as was his request, and strong as were his representations of the hazard of another Interregnum if they should refuse, the proposal was evaded; and the jealousy of hereditary succession was more powerful than the apprehension of renewed Civil discord. The fortitude of Rodolph gave way under this disappointment of his most cherished hope; and probably with an anticipation of the result, he avowed his intention of visiting Spire, the great cemetery of the Emperors, that he might see the Kings his predecessors. Before that object was attained, his strength failed on his passage down the Rhine; he expired at Gemeschein in the seventy-third of his age; and his remains were conveyed onward to the City which he was forbidden to enter except for interment. Of the sound discretion which marked Rodolph's Government, the salutary change produced among his subjects during his reign affords sufficient testimony; of his individual qualities an equally favourable report is to be obtained from the very numerous personal anecdotes which have been preserved.* Few

Princes have been so freely exposed to general view, and fewer still could have profited so greatly by undisguised exhibition.

It is most probable that the disposition of Albert, who little resembled his Father, was not without its weight in contributing to his rejection by the Diet when Rodolph proposed him as King of the Romans. His Austrian Vassals more than once had struggled to throw off his very grievous yoke; and at the time of Rodolph's death, they were in open rebellion. The claim, therefore, which he then advanced upon the choice of the Electors was little likely to be received with favour; yet nine months elapsed before they decided against him, and tendered the Crown to a Chief of great military repute, but of scanty possessions, Adolphus of Nassau. The seven years of that Prince's reign afford little matter of interest; his Vassals were turbulent, and himself was unpopular. In an alliance which he concluded with England against France, he received large subsidies which he appropriated to the relief of his own pressing wants; and, perhaps, the neglect of a seasonable distribution of some portion of those moneys among his disaffected Princes, accelerated their final resolution to remove him from the throne. His deposition was solemnly pronounced, and the election of Albert proclaimed in a Diet at Mentz; and when the latter took the field to enforce his claim, he was powerfully supported. The competitors encountered at Gelheim, between Spire and Worms; and a hard-fought battle was terminated by the death of Adolphus, who received his first wound from the hand of his Rival and successor in the Crown of the Empire.

the goodnatured, although perhaps somewhat broad humour, which is frequently elsewhere attributed to him. It should be noticed beforehand that Rodolph's person does not appear to have been by any means well-favoured; Struvius describes him as "a lengthy man, seven feet high, thin, small-headed, pale-faced, long-nosed, and very scantily provided with hair." i. 514. It is of his nose that Cuspinian is about to speak below. *Cum Rex corpus habere procerum et faciem regiam, naso equino, qui iusto major, in decem semit obviu quendam habuit disculcum, qui Regis faciem novu, ejusque elementum. Cum itaque pratercundo ex angustis semit Regi cedere a utellibus crebro jussu nollet, rogatus cur non cederet? "Regius," inquit, "naso viam implet, praterire non possum." Subridens Rex flexu in alius latu naso meum ead, "Fide," inquit, "mi fili, nasum torquere meum ne te impediat." 354. cited by Struvius, *ibid*.*

A memorable instance of his piety while he was still only Lord of Hapsburg, in giving up his horse to a Priest carrying the Viaticum to a dying man, and thus saving him from wading through a river, forms the theme of a very spirited ballad by Schuler, *Der Graf von Habsburg*; which may be found well translated in the Appendix to a *History of Switzerland*, lately published among the Volumes of the Cabinet Library.

* Many of these anecdotes may be found in Archdeacon Cox's History, a Work to which access is so easy, that we forbear from transcribing them. One which we shall give is taken from a less obvious source, and is eminently characteristic of the familiarity with which the Emperor permitted himself to be approached, and of

Germany.

From
A. D.
1250.
to
A. D.
1298.

Election of
Adolphus
of Nassau.

His depen-
dence.
A. D.
1298.

and death
in Battle,
July 2.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE XIIIth CENTURY.

History.
General
remarks.

THE History of the Christian Church during the XIIIth Century presents a picture little differing in its general features from that which we have had occasion to contemplate in the course of our last two Chapters of Ecclesiastical Annals. The Roman Pontiffs continued, with unabated boldness and equal success, to vindicate those pretensions to spiritual and temporal supremacy, (for the one in a great degree involved the other,) which had been put forward and enforced with audacity so remarkable by their more immediate predecessors in the Chair of St. Peter; and, in the Colleges, by the industry of the Scholastic Theologians, the doctrines and methods of Aristotle were acquiring something of analogous predominance. Of events connected with the external affairs of the Church, the successive failures of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Crusades form the most interesting and important. The prospects of a revival of Christianity in the East, were thus completely and finally extinguished; a calamity which seems to have been felt with peculiar acuteness by the Bishops of Rome, and for which the triumph obtained under their auspices by the armies of the Church, over the Heretics of Languedoc and Provence, afforded probably but an inadequate consolation. A more important accession of strength and influence was derived from the foundation of the Mendicant Orders; the Members of which, by their unqualified devotion and indefatigable industry, constituted, during this and the following Centuries, the firmest supporters and most active instruments of the power of Rome.

Adhering to our former arrangement, we shall resume our view of Ecclesiastical affairs, by a summary account of the succession of the Popes during the present Century, as forming the ground and the connecting link of the whole.

Celestin III., as we have seen, died on the 8th of January, 1198. By the immediate and almost unanimous suffrage of the College, the succession devolved on the Cardinal Lotharius, who assumed the name of Innocent III. He was the son of Count Thrasimund of Segui, and was not more than thirty-seven years of age at the time of his election; a circumstance which seems to have constituted the only ground of objection to it, and which would have been fatal to his success, but for the preeminent character which he had acquired for talents, courage, and disinterestedness.*

* He was at this time only Deacon, and his consecration was deferred till the Ember week in Lent, in order to give time for his previous ordination. See the LXXXIIIrd Epistle of the 1st Book VOL. XI.

One of the first acts of the new Pontiff was to take measures for asserting his sovereign authority over the City of Rome. The very day after his Coronation, he exacted of the Magistrates that they should take to him that oath of allegiance which they had hitherto sworn to the Emperor only; thereby compelling them to acknowledge his sole and independent jurisdiction. At the same time he despatched his Legates into various Provinces of Italy, for the purpose of recovering possession of such of the domains of the Church as had been usurped by laymen or foreigners during the recent troubles. These missions, which in some instances the Pontiff supported by his own presence, were almost everywhere successful.

A similar vigour and success distinguished his dealings with foreign Powers. The Empress Constance, widow of Henry V., had, immediately after the election of the new Pontiff, applied to him for the investiture of the Kingdom of Sicily and its continental dependences, for herself and her son Ferdinand. After a long negotiation, Innocent granted her request, but on condition that the Empress should swear before the Legate to do homage to the Pope for her Kingdom; a ceremony to be observed equally by her son on his coming of age; and it was further exacted that the right of the Roman See to receive appeals in all Ecclesiastical matters; to interfere by its Legates and Deputies in the administration of the same; and to confirm the elections of Bishops, should be admitted without limitation throughout her dominions.* Before the Bulls containing the ratification of this Convention had reached Sicily, the Empress herself died, leaving, by Will, the Regency of the Kingdom, during the minority of her son, to the Pope.

One of the earliest cares of Innocent was to endeavour to revive the interest of Christendom in the suffering condition of the Syrian Churches; with this view he published a Circular Letter, addressed to the Kingdoms of France, England, Hungary, and Sicily, in which he called upon both Princes and people to take instant measures for succouring their brethren in the East. At the same time he addressed an Epistle to the Greek Emperor, Alexius Angelus, in which he reproached him

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Sicily.

of the Epistles of this Pope; a very large and complete collection, divided into nineteen Books, corresponding to the successive years of his Pontificate, and which contains very ample and interesting materials for the illustration as well of the character and genius of the man as of the Ecclesiastical and Political History of the times in which he lived.

* Epist. Innoc. 410. lib. i.

Innocent
III.
A. D.
1198.

History.

as well with the indifference which both he and his predecessors had manifested for the recovery of the Holy Land, as with the continued ichism of the Greeks from what he called the Universal Church. A few years after, a violent end seemed likely to be put to this division, when (April 1204) the French and Venetian Crusaders made themselves masters of Constantinople; and a Latin Patriarch, Tomaso Morosini, was installed in the See of that Metropolis under the immediate sanction of the Pope.

Quarrels of Innocent with John, King of England.

Nothing can bear stronger witness to the ascendancy of the Papal power at this period than the transactions which we have related under the *Annals* of the Empire. A similar evidence to the same point is to be found in the process and result of the contest which broke out about the same time between the Pope and John, King of England. The dispute in its origin respected the election of a successor to Archbishop Hubert in the See of Canterbury.* The Monks of Canterbury had, in the first instance, secretly chosen their Sub-prior, Reginald, for that dignity; but the King insisted upon the election of Gray, then Bishop of Norwich, and sent certain of the Chapter to Rome in order to obtain the Pope's confirmation. Innocent, however, thought proper to set aside both these candidates; and, ordering the Monks to proceed to a fresh election, imposed upon their suffrages Cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman by birth, and a man of distinguished character and talents, but who was otherwise disagreeable to the King, as having passed the greater part of his life at Paris. John accordingly declared his resolution never to suffer Langton to set foot within his dominions; at the same time, he took vengeance upon the Monks of Canterbury, by sending his officers to expel them from their house, and by confiscating all their goods and possessions.† Meanwhile, he wrote to the Pope, remonstrating with him on his conduct in this affair, as totally subversive of the known rights of the English Crown, which he declared it to be his determination to maintain to the last drop of his blood; and reminding the Pontiff that the Romish See derived greater emoluments from his Kingdom than from all the other Transalpine States together. Innocent coolly and firmly answered, that the alliance of the Apostolic See was not less needful to the King than the King's friendship was to the Apostolic See; and warned him, that if he persisted in his present violence, he would live to repent of it.‡

The Kingdom of England laid under an Interdict.

A. D. 1208.

Matters soon came to extremities. The King continued to refuse either to restore the ejected Monks or to receive the Archbishop; and Innocent, after giving due warning of his purpose, commissioned the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to lay the whole Kingdom under an Interdict, which was published on the 23d of March, 1208. The immediate effect was to put a stop throughout the Kingdom to the exercise of any Religious rite or function, with the exception of the Baptizing of children, and the administration of the *Vaticum* to such as were at the point of death.‡ Almost all the

Clergy implicitly obeyed the Papal injunction, and the King retaliated by driving them from their houses and monasteries, and by seizing their possessions of every kind. This state of things continued for above five years, when the Pope, moved by the representations of the Clergy, sent the Sub-decan Pandulfo to endeavour to bring the King to terms. John, who began to feel the inconvenience of his situation, received the mission with more benignity than was expected. In the conference* which ensued, he consented to admit the Archbishop, and to reinstate the banished and dispossessed Clergy in their Churches and property; but the Legate further insisted upon an indemnity to them for their losses; which the King peremptorily refused to allow. Pandulfo, therefore, returned to France, whence he transmitted to the Pope an account of the failure of his negotiation. Innocent now determined to resort to the last extremity of Papal warfare. The King had been before excommunicated; he was now, by formal sentence, deposed from his throne; and his subjects were not merely absolved from their allegiance, but positively forbidden to obey or to hold any communication with him. Philippe Auguste, King of France, was charged with the execution of the sentence, and the Crown of England was promised to him and his successors, as the reward of his success in performing it. At the same time a Crusade was published by the Papal Nuncios throughout Europe, by which all persons were encouraged to assist the French King in his expedition against the King of England, by a promise of Indulgences and privileges similar to those which were offered to soldiers who had taken the Cross for the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre. The result of the transaction is well known to every reader of English History. John, finding himself on the brink of ruin, was fain at length to make terms with the Pope, by the total abandonment, not merely of all the existing matters of controversy, but even of the independence of his Crown itself, which he thenceforth consented to hold in avowed Vassalage to the Roman See. This concession was formally made on the 15th of May, 1213; on that day the King publicly took the Crown off his head, and delivered it to the Pope's representative, who did not return it until five days had elapsed.

The most extravagant visions of Papal ambition seem to have been realized in this transaction, in which a Prince, who, by the extent of his territories, might be considered as among the mightiest in Europe, was brought into avowed subjection to the See of Rome. But though powerful in dominion, John at the same time was weak in that which alone could have made his territorial sovereignty available, the affection of his subjects. To them he was almost universally an object both of contempt and hatred; a circumstance of which Innocent was perfectly aware; and to which, aided as he was by the ambitious views of the King of France, he was chiefly indebted for the success of his policy. At the same time, it was apparent that the cooperation and obedience of a Body so numerous and wealthy as the Clergy, possessing, as they did, all the Learning of the times, and exercising, through their functions, so positive an influence over the minds of the people, must afford

Eccelesiastical History of the Thirteenth Century.

King John is formally deposed. A. D. 1212.

Total submission of the King of England, who becomes a Vassal of the See of Rome. A. D. 1213.

General remarks on these transactions.

* See Collier's *Eccelesiastical History*, book v. cent. xiii. for a very minute account of these transactions.

† Matthew Paris, *ad ann.* 1207, p. 222.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 223.

§ *Ibid.* p. 224.

|| *Ibid.* p. 226. See also Collier, *Eccelesiastical History*, book v. p. 415. It does not appear that the Interdict was universally observed by the Clergy. The Bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Norwich were among those who supported the King, and continued to officiate in their Dioceses.

* See Collier, *Eccelesiastical History*, book v. for a curious and detailed account of this conference, as extracted from the *Annals*, *Monast. Burton*. Matt. Paris's statement of the matter (p. 230.) is rather different.

History. a most formidable power to the Pope, in any instance in which they could be brought to concur strenuously and unanimously in his purposes.

**IVth
Lateran
Council.
A. D.
1215.
Death of
Innocent.
His charac-
ter.**

No Pontiff ever availed himself of these means of domination with more skill or boldness than he of whom we are now writing; and, accordingly, under none was the power of the Apostolical See ever carried to a greater height. The last transactions, which more particularly distinguished his Pontificate, were the deposition of the Count of Toulouse for his protection of the Albigensian Heretics, (1214), and the holding of the IVth Lateran Council. Innocent himself did not long survive the breaking up of the Council. He died on the 16th of January, 1216, in the nineteenth year of a reign distinguished, perhaps, beyond any other in the Papal Annals, for the success, as well as the audacity, of its undertakings. Whatever may be thought of the justice of these enterprises, in his private character Innocent appears irreproachable. Matthew Paris,* indeed, inveighs against his avarice, and instances the sums which he extorted from the Bishops who came to the Lateran Council, before he would give them permission to return to their Sees. But however questionable were these methods of levying money, in the use that he made of his revenues the Pontiff seems to have been perfectly disinterested. His contemporaries speak highly of his generosity; of the splendour of his charitable foundations, and of the liberality with which he yearly contributed a large portion of his income to the support and succour of the Churches of Palestine. They dwell, too, warmly on the integrity as well as the ability of his domestic administration; and they remark that he was not merely the most skillful politician and most able statesman of his time; but equally surpassed his contemporaries by his consummate accomplishment in all the studies appropriate to his own profession.

On the day following that of the death of Innocent, the Cardinals unanimously elected, as his successor, Centius, a native of Rome, of the family of Savelli, who took the name of Honorius III. The recent death of Otho had left the young King of Sicily, Frederic, in undisputed possession of the Empire; accordingly, he was crowned at Rome by the hands of the Pope, in November, 1220, at which time he entered into a solemn engagement to undertake, in person, an expedition for the relief of the Holy Land. The delays which he constantly interposed for the fulfilment of that promise, and some disputes which took place respecting the nomination to Sicilian Bishoprics, considerably disturbed the good understanding which was thus auspiciously begun between the Prince and Pontiff; but they did not come to an open rupture. Honorius died on the 18th of March, 1227; and was succeeded by Ugolino de' Segni, a near relation of Innocent III., who assumed the tiara under the name of Gregory IX. The whole reign of this Pontiff was embittered by his continual quarrels with the Emperor, and we find him at length sinking under the disasters, both public and private, which his violence had brought upon himself. He died in August, 1241. His successor, Celestin IV., did not survive his election more than eighteen days. An interval of nearly two years followed before the circumstances of the times allowed of a sufficient number of Cardinals to meet; when their choice fell upon Annibale

de' Fieschi, a noble Genoese, of distinguished talent and learning, and who was reputed the best Canon Lawyer of the Age.* He took the name of Innocent IV. We need not repeat our narrative of his continued struggle with the Empire, of his retirement to France, and of his assembling of the 1st General Council of Lyon.

Innocent died at Naples in 1254; of grief, it is said, for the loss of the Battle of Nocera. He was succeeded by Alexander IV.: like his predecessor a man of virtue and of distinguished learning; but whose reign was IV. similarly cut short by the vexations and anxieties incident to the course of quarrel in which he was engaged with the House of Suabia. He died in May, 1261. One peculiarity in the administration of this Pope was his refusal to create a single Cardinal during the course of it; a system which he had adopted with the view, it is said, of lessening the chances of dissension among that Body. At the time of his death, therefore, the College consisted of only eight individuals. These, however, unable to agree in the election of one of their own Body as a successor, after more than a month of discussion, chose John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, a Frenchman of very humble parentage, but remarkable for his piety and virtue, who happened at that time to be at Viterbo. He reigned for little more than three years under the name of Urban IV.†

His successor, Clement IV., was also a Frenchman by birth, and equally with himself distinguished for his piety and disinterestedness.‡ Nevertheless, he followed up with unabated vigour the project so long and anxiously entertained by his predecessors for the final expulsion of the House of Suabia from Naples and Sicily; and it was during his Pontificate that Charles of Anjou made himself master of those Kingdoms. After the death of Clement, which happened in November, 1268, the Cardinals not being able to agree among themselves for the election of a successor, the See continued vacant for nearly three years. At length the Magistrates were compelled to shut up the electors, and starve them into a decision by the gradual diminution of their food. It was in this way that, on the 1st of September, 1271, they were brought to consent to choose Theobald of Placentia, Archdeacon of Liege, who was at that time in Palestine, in the train of the English Prince, Edward Longshanks.

He took the name of Gregory X. As he felt the strongest interest in the recovery of the Holy Land, and considered that the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches was, more than any thing else, likely to facilitate the accomplishment of that object, one of his first measures was to summon a General Council, to which the Greek Emperor was invited to send Ambassadors.

* He is the author of the *Aggestus* in the Five Books of the Decretals; a Work which long continued to be classical in the Schools of Canon Law. He was also a marked patron of learned men; and it was at his request that our Countryman, Alexander Hale, surnamed the *Irrefragable*, wrote his celebrated Commentary upon Peter Lombard. See his Life by Nicolo de' Curcio, *sub fine*.

† It was during this Pontificate that the Festival of Corpus Christi was first established; but Historians differ as to the circumstances which more immediately suggested its celebration. See Bower, vol. vi. p. 269, and Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 109.

‡ His name was Le Gros. A letter which he wrote to his nephew upon his accession to the tiara, and in which he discourages in the strongest manner any expectations on the part of his relatives of advancement or favour from him, has been deservedly celebrated. Raynaldus, *Annals*, ad ann. 1265.

**Eccle-
siastical
History of
the XIIIth
Century.
Innocent
IV.**

**A. D.
1243.
Alexander
IV.
A. D.
1254.**

**Urban IV.
A. D.
1261.**

**Clement IV.
A. D.
1265.**

**Gregory X.
A. D.
1271.**

**General
Council of
Lyon.
A. D.
1274.**

History. This Council met at Lyon in May, 1274, comprehending a greater number of deputies from all parts of Europe than had ever before been assembled on a similar occasion.* Its proceedings will be given afterwards, but we must here mention one of the most remarkable; we mean the celebrated Constitution, by which, with a view to prevent a recurrence of the evils consequent on the delay which had taken place in the last election, it was enacted that on the death of the Sovereign Pontiff, the Cardinals should be shut up in Conclave, and cut off from all external communication, until two-thirds of their suffrages were combined in favour of some one of the candidates† This Constitution, which was extremely unpopular with the Cardinals, was suspended by the two immediate successors of Gregory; but it was revived by Celestin V., and with some slight modifications has continued in force ever since.

Innocent V.
Adrian V.
John XXI.
A. D.
1275.

Nicholas III.
A. D.
1277.
Martin IV.
A. D.
1281.

Honorius IV.
A. D.
1284.

Gregory died in January, 1275. Pietro di Taranto, his successor, reigned only five months, under the name of Innocent V. Ottoboni de' Fieschi, who took the name of Adrian V., was unanimously elected to succeed him; but the state of his health at the time hardly allowed him to hope for a longer reign than his predecessor had enjoyed; and when his relatives came to offer their congratulations on his exaltation, "I wish," said he, "you had found me a Cardinal in good health, instead of a dying Pope." Accordingly he filled the chair little more than five weeks. The Pontificate of his successor John XXI. (a Portuguese by birth) did not extend beyond eight months, when he was killed by the fall of a new building in his Palace at Vierbo. This Pope had formally abrogated the Constitution of Gregory respecting the Conclave; and in consequence, more than six months elapsed after his death before the College agreed to elect in his room the Cardinal Caietano Ursini, who took the name of Nicholas III.‡ He died in August, 1280; and another vacancy of half a year occurred before his place was filled by Simon de Brie, a Frenchman, who had for many years been attached to the Church of St. Martin at Tours, and thence took the name of Martin IV. It was during his Pontificate that the celebrated massacre took place which has retained the name of the Sicilian Vespers; and which Martin, as a Countryman and friend of Charles of Anjou, took every method of avenging. The King of Aragon, who had obtained possession of the Island of Sicily, was not merely excommunicated, but declared to have forfeited his hereditary Kingdoms in Spain. Little, however, had been done towards the execution of this sentence at the time of the death of its author, which took place in March, 1284. On the day following that of his decease, the College unanimously elected Cardinal Jacopo Sabelli, who ascended the Papal Throne under the name of Honorius IV.

The new Pontiff zealously espoused the cause of Charles of Anjou, and had formed a plan for a general league of all Christian Princes against the House of Aragon, when his purposes were cut short by death in

April, 1287. He died in the new Palace which he had built on Mount Aventine, a part of the City which is commonly unhealthy in Summer; as was fatally experienced by the Cardinals, when, agreeably to the Constitution of Gregory, they assembled in the same place for the election of a successor; nearly all were taken seriously ill, and six or seven of them died. Upon this occurrence the College separated, and did not again meet till February in the ensuing year, 1288; when their choice fell upon the Cardinal Jeronimo of Ascoli, of the Franciscan Order, who, after thrice refusing the tiara, was at length brought to accept it, under the name of Nicholas IV. His Pontificate did not extend beyond four years; for his death took place in April, 1292, hastened, it was believed, by the recent loss of the City of Ptolemais, and the final expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land, in consequence of that event. Short as was his reign, however, it enabled him to leave behind a distinguished reputation, as well for humility and disinterestedness, as for the zeal and munificence with which he promoted the improvement and decoration of Rome, and encouraged and rewarded the cultivation of every branch of Civil and Theological Literature. One of his successors, Sixtus V., while yet a Cardinal, erected a splendid monument to his memory in the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, on which, among other praises, it is said of him, "That men of Virtue and Learning were his only relations."

After the death of Nicholas, an interval of two years and three months occurred before the College could agree in their choice of a successor. At length (July, 1294) they determined to give their suffrages to Pietro di Morona, a poor Hermit of Calabria, of extraordinary sanctity and austerity of life; who after evincing the greatest reluctance, was in a manner compelled to accept the tiara, under the name of Celestin V. Of his short Pontificate and final abdication* we have already sufficiently spoken, and the only act in which he appears to deserve notice is the Institution of a Religious Order under the name of the Congregation of St. Damian: it was afterwards called the Order of Celestines, under which denomination, we believe, it still exists. Benedetto Gaetano, the turbulent Boniface VIII., succeeded him. His quarrel with France, which forms the leading event of his Pontificate, has been already so fully detailed, that nothing more need be added here. He died at Rome on the 11th of October, 1303.

Such is the series of the Bishops of Rome for the XIIIth Century; beginning with Innocent and closing with Boniface, it was not likely that either the power or the pretensions of the Papal See would abate any thing of its arrogance or violence in the hands of such a succession; and, in fact, in no other period of its History was the supremacy of the Popedom in temporal, almost as much as in spiritual, matters less questioned or resisted. The Pontiffs, indeed, would naturally find more or less difficulty in the practical assertion of that paramount authority, according to the circumstances of the particular case, or the temper or situation of

Enri-
stated
History of
the XIIIth
Century.

Nicholas IV.
A. D.
1288.

Celestin V.
A. D.
1294.

Boniface VIII.
A. D.
1294.

Remarks
on the Pope's
power in this
Century.

* Raynaldus, *Annales*, ad ann. 1274.

† *Cocchia*, tom. xi. p. 355.

‡ It was this Pope who, in the first year of his Pontificate, obtained from the Emperor Rodolph of Hapsburg a grant, or, as it was called, a *restitution* of all the concessions of territory said to have been made by former Emperors to the Holy See, the demesne of which was thus augmented by the whole Exarchate of Ravenna and the Province of Romagna. Raynaldus, *Annales*, ad ann. 1278.

* In order to prevent all difficulty as to the legality of the step he was about to take, he previously issued a Constitution, which formally authorized a Pope to resign, and the College of Cardinals to accept his resignation,—a measure of which, it has been observed, he might have spared himself the trouble of, as no one of his successors has as yet thought fit to take advantage of it. See Fleury, (*Hist. Eccles.* tom. xviii. p. 589.) the whole of whose account of the rise, abdication, and subsequent death of Celestin is particularly interesting.

History. the Princes with whom they had to deal. But the principle itself of the inherent supremacy of the Holy See, seems to have been almost universally admitted. Some might consider that the authority of a General Council was superior in the last resort; yet, as we have seen, those Assemblies, called together at the pleasure of the Pope, and adopting without objection or discussion whatever enactments he chose to propose to them, were in fact become little other than instruments for the promotion and sanction of his usurpations. It is observable, that the assertors and possessors of this unparalleled sway were commonly decrepit old men, sprung frequently from the lowest ranks of the people, and unfurnished with fleets or armies, or any temporal or fleshly means whatever for the vindication of their extravagant pretensions. The History of Mankind, we apprehend, affords no second example of so complete a triumph of *mind* in the subjugation of the human will to its purposes; and we should sympathize more strongly with its triumph in this instance, were it not for the disgust with which we necessarily regard the perversion of Religious truth and principle to the purposes of temporal ambition.

the ruin of the Christian Cause in the East, must be considered as the chief external event by which the Church was affected during this Century. That the interest which those enterprises excited had been so long sustained, and that the enterprises themselves were so repeatedly renewed, is exclusively ascribable to the strong and predominant anxiety which, up to the very last, prevailed in the Papal Court for their success. This feeling on the part of the Pontiffs has been commonly attributed to interested motives, but, as it seems to us, without sufficient proof. In truth, the temporal advantage to be obtained by the Romish See by the accomplishment of the object in view, was altogether and utterly disproportionate to that intensity of solicitude which the Popes manifested for its accomplishment; and the continual disappointment of which is known to have so worked on the minds of some of them as to have accelerated their decease. It is certain, too, that to the charges and sacrifices which the undertaking demanded, the Pontiffs, so far as their means allowed, supplied their full proportion and share. We think it more probable that the declared motives of their interest on this subject were the true ones; that they really believed the honour of Religion and the glory of God to be concerned in the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of Infidels; and, perhaps, considered that its conquest would be the first step for the re-establishment of Christianity in the East. If such were the hopes originally entertained by the Pontiffs, as to the probable result of these expeditions, the actual event should have early and completely undeceived them. The Kingdom of Jerusalem, as it was left by the first and only successful one of the Crusades, consisted merely of that city, and of a few neighbouring villages. Even of this little territory the population was made up either of Saracens, or of Christians who were hardly better disposed towards their Frankish brethren than the Muslims themselves; and the whole force which remained with Godfrey to secure his conquest did not exceed three hundred cavalry and two thousand foot soldiers. With such means it was hardly possible for the Christian cause to retain the footing it had regained in the East; and any purpose of extending its limits by arms was obviously hopeless.*

The conquest of Constantinople by the French and Venetians in the IVth Crusade, and the consequent establishment of a Latin Emperor and Patriarch in the Imperial city seemed at one time to promise a consummation not less flattering to Papal ambition than would have been afforded by the most complete success of the Christian armies in Palestine. It seems clear, however, that Innocent III. gave no encouragement whatever to this enterprise on the part of the Crusading army; and that, on the contrary, he did all that lay in his power to divert them from it; as manifestly inconsistent with the proper object and spirit of their undertaking. True it is, that Innocent could not have anticipated that the attempt would have been so easy of achievement as it afterwards proved: and it is also true that when in fact it had so unexpectedly succeeded, both Innocent and his successors readily availed themselves to the utmost of the means which it presented for extending the jurisdiction of the Romish Church. We mean only to impress the probable conclusion, that no such view entered into

Ecclesiastical History of the XIIIth Century.
General remarks upon the Crusades.

Their inadequate results.

Conquest of Constantinople by the Latins.

Abuses to which it tended. The power which the Papal See had thus singularly acquired was inevitably exposed to abuse. The instances which have most excited the indignation, and called forth the rebuke of Ecclesiastical Writers, have been the attempts, so often renewed by the Pontiffs, of interference with the sovereign rights of their contemporary Monarchs. We are far from approving of such encroachments; but considering what those Princes commonly were in respect to education and character, as well as the purposes for which they usually exercised their various prerogatives, we confess we are inclined to doubt whether it was in *this* respect that the usurpations of the Roman See were chiefly to be deprecated. A worse evil, we think, consisted in the system of corruption and simony, by which the power so generally assumed by the Pope of disposing, under various pretexts and pleas, of almost all the offices of the Church, was perverted to the gain of the Romish treasury.* Practices of a similar nature were too commonly resorted to by the Legates for their own individual profit; and, indeed, the corruptions and disturbances to which the presence of these representatives of the Pontiffs almost invariably gave rise in the various States to which they were despatched, constitute one of the most bitter subjects of complaint on the part of the Writers of that Age.†

Independently, however, of these less admitted resources of revenue and power, the Romish See, during the XIIIth Century, acquired a considerable and permanent accession of both. This was chiefly owing to the firmness and perseverance of Popes Innocent III. and Nicholas IV. who, as we have seen, succeeded in exacting from the Emperors an acknowledgment of their entire sovereignty, and in extending that jurisdiction over nearly the whole of the territory which at present constitutes the dominion of the Ecclesiastical State.

The unfavourable termination of the Crusades, and

* See, for instances of this and similar abuses, Anthony Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148, 201, 202.

† See, in particular, Matthew Paris, *Historia Magna*, *passin*, but particularly p. 659. See also Fleury, *Discours II. sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, for some very able and impartial remarks on the inconsequences arising to the Metropolis and Diocesan administrations from the abuse of the Legatine power.

* See the Abbé Fleury's Vth Discourse, at the beginning of the XVIIIth volume of the *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, for a very satisfactory review of the origin and results of these expeditions.

History. the original scheme of the Crusaders themselves, though we know it was always suspected by the Byzantine Government.

Negotiations for the re-union of the two Churches.

The Greeks regained possession of Constantinople in the year 1261; and the temporary occupation of it by the Latins, in fact only sharpened the existing animosities of the two parties, and rendered the differences between them more irreconcilable than ever. The Emperor Michael Palæologus, indeed, dreading lest the Pope should instantly proclaim a new Crusade for the restoration of his jurisdiction in the East, was most anxious to prevent any such attack, by originating measures for reconciling the two Churches. Accordingly he early opened a communication with Rome, and with the view of facilitating the accomplishment of his object, persuaded the Patriarch Joseph to abdicate his office, and elevated the celebrated John Veccus, the Treasurer of the Church, in his place. Veccus was a man of distinguished ability and learning, who had been originally most averse to the proposed reconciliation, but who had been induced, by some unexplained motive, to change his opinion. Pope Clement IV. met the proposals of the Emperor with no disposition to relax in the least upon any one of the topics constituting the difference between the two Churches. He sent to Michael (1267) a profession of Faith* in which every disputed point, particularly those of the procession from the Son, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and the primacy of the Pope, were re-affirmed in the most distinct manner; and he added, (with reference to a suggestion which had been made by the Emperor,) that it was needless to call a Council for the purpose of examining those Articles, but that if the Greeks would admit them, he would convene such an Assembly, for the ratification, on that ground, of the union of the two Churches.

Council of Lyons.
A. D.
1274.

This accordingly was a principal reason for the assembling by Pope Gregory X. of the General Council of Lyons in 1274. At the fourth session of that Council, July 6th, the Deputies both of the Emperor Michael and of thirty-five of the chief Greek Metropolitans and Prelates, declared in their names, a full and entire acceptance of a Confession of Faith, substantially the same with that which Pope Clement had drawn up; stipulating merely that the Church might be allowed to repeat the Creed in public in the way that it had hitherto been accustomed to do; and that the usages previously existing, and which were contrary neither to Scripture nor to approved tradition, should be allowed to continue. Upon this basis the union was agreed and sworn to;† but practically a great part of the Greek Clergy paid little regard to it, notwithstanding the efforts of the new Patriarch, John Veccus, who laboured most earnestly for its completion. Some further negotiations for that purpose took place under Popes John XXI. and Nicholas III., but the effect of them was rather to complicate than to smooth away the existing difficulties, inasmuch that Martin IV. went so far as publicly to excommunicate Michael as a schismatic. (1280.) This sentence so enraged the Emperor that he was upon the point of coming to an open rupture in consequence; but he forbore, and contented himself with allowing an entire freedom to the Greek Clergy to attack the Pope, as well as their own Patriarch Veccus for his subserviency to the interests of Rome.

The union is ratified.

This state of things continued till the death of Michael Palæologus, which occurred in December, 1283. Almost the first act of his son and successor Andronicus was publicly to repeal the union between the two Churches; and indeed, so great was his hostility to the authors of that compact, that he withheld from his father's funeral the honours ordinarily belonging to the performance of the Imperial obsequies. Veccus was immediately deposed, and Joseph replaced in the Patriarchal chair. In the following year a Council was held at Constantinople in which Veccus was condemned, and the greater part of the Prelates who had adopted his party were deprived of their Sees. Veccus himself was relegated as a prisoner to the Castle of St. George in Bithynia, where he died soon after, maintaining to the last the opinions and principles to which he had become so late a convert.

This was the last attempt for the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches which was attended with the slightest success. Even that success, partial and temporary as it proved to be, was, as we have seen, ascribable solely to the political position in which the Greek Emperor found himself upon the recovery of his European dominions. Accordingly, when the terror of the Crusading expeditions had ceased, the measures which had been adopted merely under the apprehension of their hostility, fell of themselves; and the schism between the two Churches became wider and more hopeless than ever.

The number of Provincial Councils held in the Western Churches in the course of this Century, was unusually great. They seem for the most part to have had in view, by their regulations, to effect three great objects: 1st, the reformation of the Church generally, by the suppression of abuses and the restoration and enforcement of discipline; 2dly, the improvement and explication of the Canon Law and the vindication of the rights and immunities of the Clergy; and 3dly, the condemnation of Heretical doctrines, and the punishment of those who promulgated or favoured them.

Of Councils called *General*, there were three. The first of these was the IVth Lateran Council, which met at Rome in November, 1215, under the summons of Pope Innocent III. No less than four hundred and twelve Bishops, and nearly eight hundred Abbots and Priors appeared in person at this Council, together with a great many proxies or deputies of absent Bishops and of Chapters; a Body of dignitaries which certainly might be considered as affording no inadequate representation of the sense of the Church at that period. Yet nothing can be more uncertain than any such construction of their proceedings. At the first full meeting of the Members, a series of seventy Canons or Capitularies was submitted to them by the Pope; all prepared and drawn up by himself.* These were read to the Assembly; no semblance of debate or deliberation followed; the Members of the Council preserved a respectful silence, which was taken for an intimation of assent, and in this way the Canons in question became laws of the Catholic Church. The Decrees of this Council, indeed, are considered as having, beyond any preceding one, effected and promoted the completion and perfection of the Canon Law, particularly as regards the regulation

Ecclesiastical History of the XIIIth Century.
Its origin by the Emperor Andronicus.

Provincial Councils in this Century; their objects.

General Councils.
I. The IVth Lateran.
A. D. 1215.

* Raynaldus, *Annales*, ad ann. 1267, n. 72.
† Council, tom. xi. p. 959, 967.

* See Matthew Paris, ad ann. 1215. His words are, *Facto prius ab ipso Papa exhortationis sermone, recitata sunt in pleno Concilio capitula septuaginta, quæ alius placuissent, alius videbantur esse iusta.*

History. of Ecclesiastical proceedings; and as such it became so much in esteem among Caonists, as to be commonly quoted in their writings under the name of *the Great Council*.

Doctrines of Transubstantiation and Auricular Confession.

The following are among some of the more important of these Canons.* The 1st chapter contains an ample confession of the Faith as held by the Catholic Church, including a specific statement of the doctrine of the *Transubstantiation* of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. and the 11th† appoints the methods to be taken for the suppression and punishment of all who should pervert or renounce the Catholic Faith as thus declared. These are as extreme and ample as the Inquisition itself could desire; and indeed they seem to have constituted the ground and justification of the forms of procedure which were shortly after adopted by that execrable tribunal. By this Canon it was ordained not merely that all Heretics should be delivered up to the Secular power after condemnation, but that all persons suspected of Heresy should at once be anathematized, unless they gave proof of their innocence; and after the lapse of a twelve-month should be condemned. All lords or superiors were to be obliged, under the penalty of Excommunication, and ultimately of Deposition, to extirpate all Heretics or excommunicated persons, within their territories. Moreover it was declared that all who entertained, protected, or supported Heretics, should be excommunicated; and if they did not within the year make satisfaction, that they should be declared infamous; should be deprived of every Civil right and of the use of the Sacraments; and after their death be refused Christian burial. The ferocity, so to speak, of these enactments sufficiently indicates the alarm with which the Heads of the Church already contemplated the progress of the new opinions in various parts of France and the Low Countries. The next eighteen Canons refer chiefly to the manners of the Clergy, and contain a number of very wholesome regulations for the correction of abuses and enforcement of discipline. The XX1st is the celebrated Chapter§ which enjoins that all the faithful of both sexes who have arrived at years of discretion, shall confess their sins at least once a year to their own Curate; that they shall fulfil the penance imposed on them, and receive the Sacrament at least every Easter; and this under pain of exclusion from the Church while

they live, and the being deprived of Christian burial at their death.

This Council, numerous as it was, did not sit long. The Bishops, in fact, finding that they were convened merely to give sanction to whatever Canons it might please the Pope to suggest, asked leave one after another to depart; * so that within little more than a month it was almost entirely broken up.

A General Council was held at Lyon in 1245, by Pope Innocent IV., the immediate object of which was the Excommunication of the Emperor Frederic. The other matters transacted in this Assembly were likewise for the most part political: these were principally the succours to be afforded to the Latin Emperor of Constantinople against the Greeks; the defence of Germany against the Tartars; and the relief of the Holy Land. Several Canons also were decreed for the improvement of the rules and procedures of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Another General Council took place, as we have seen, at Lyon in the year 1274† It was summoned by Pope Gregory X., who, in his Bull of Indiction, assigns three purposes as grounds for its convocation. 1. the reconciliation of the Greek to the Roman Church; 2. the assistance to be given to the Holy Land; 3. the reformation of the discipline of the Church and of the manners of the Clergy. The Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, about five hundred Bishops, and more than a thousand Abbots and other inferior dignitaries, attended this Council, which was held under the presidency of the Pope himself. We have already described the transactions of this Assembly so far as they refer to the first of the above-mentioned objects of its assembling: with respect to the second, the Pope prevailed upon the Clergy to give up the tenth of their revenues for six years for the relief of the Holy Land; and for the furtherance of the third, viz. the reformation of Ecclesiastical discipline, thirty new Canons were decreed, none of which, however, appear to contain any thing particularly deserving of remark.

The Sects or Heresies which prevailed in this Century for the most part took their rise in the one preceding; under our account of which period the origin and nature of them have been described. Of these the Waldensian and Albigensian Churches form by far the most considerable. We have already given a general statement of the opinions and tenets of these singular and oppressed people, who seem indisputably to have anticipated the promulgation of the greater part of those truths, the assertion of which constitutes the chief glory of the Reformation of Luther.§ The accounts which we have of them, are derived almost wholly from their adversaries; as such, of course, we can place but a very qualified confidence in their statements; but it is clear, even from these alone, that it was the opposition they offered to the corruptions of doctrine and practice prevailing in the Church and Clergy of that Age, which formed the distinguishing character of the Sects in question. Among the specific objects of their reprobation are to be found almost all the superstitions and mummeries which,

Ecclesiastical History of the XIIIth Century.

II. General Council of Lyon.
A. D. 1245.

III. Second General Council of Lyon.
A. D. 1274.

Sects and Heresies of this Age.
Waldensian and Albigensian.

* Concil. tom. xi. p. 142.

† The first that had been thus distinctly and authoritatively declared. Previously a certain degree of latitude had been allowed to opinions on this mysterious subject; and the doctrine of Berenger was still held and avowed by many without any necessary impeachment of their orthodoxy.

‡ The second Canon of this Council especially condemns the doctrine of Joachim, the famous Abbot of Fiore, in Calabria, on the subject of the Trinity; viz. that the three Persons, though of one nature and substance, are not the same thing; which he had so explained as to seem to reduce the consubstantiality of the three Persons to a mere specific unity. This Abbot Joachim died at an advanced age in the first or second year of the XIIIth Century, and was generally revered as an inspired person, on account of the kind of prophecies with which he strewed his publications, and many of which, referring to the political transactions of his times, proved afterwards to be true. His Works, which are numerous and consist chiefly of Commentaries on the Bible, were printed at Venice, in fol. 1516.

§ *Omnia utraque veritas, &c.* See Concil. ib. The duty of *Auricular Confession* thus imposed may likewise be considered as a new doctrine of the Church; though it had been before very generally considered as a wholesome rule and practice to be observed by the Faithful.

* A permission which, we are assured by Matt. Paris, they obtained only by the payment to the Pope of considerable sums, which they were obliged to take up, upon sufficiently hard terms, of the money-changers at Rome. Matt. Paris, *Hist. ad ann. 1216.*

† Concil. tom. xi. p. 955. Raynald. *ad ann. 1274*, n. 1.

‡ Concil. ibid.

§ See the writings of Allix and Milner upon this interesting subject.

History.

during the last six Centuries, had overgrown the fabric of the Romish Church. On the other hand, it may easily be believed that in their war against these abuses, they should in some instances have extended their hostility to parts of the existing system which were better warranted either by Scripture or sound tradition; such excess being nothing more than the ordinary result of human impetuosity under similar circumstances of excitement and zeal.

Doctrines of these Sects.

The principle of separation on the part of these Sectaries, as we have before had occasion to observe, was a strict and literal interpretation of the doctrine and precepts of the Gospel. Upon this ground they were early and readily led to reject the greater portion of the rites and practices of the Romish Church; together with the invocation of Saints, the worshipping of relics, and the doctrines of commutable penance, transubstantiation, and purgatory. Together with these, however, they are accused of annulling all the Sacraments, including even Baptism and the Eucharist; but this imputation is hardly supported on sufficient grounds. There seems, indeed, reason to believe that they objected to *infant* baptism; and in the Lord's Supper they held that the consecration might be effected by any one of clean heart and hands as well as by a Priest; but, however erroneous might be their tenets on these points, the inference from them is not a necessary one, that they deemed lightly or irreverently of the sacramental rites themselves. A more serious error is that of which they are accused, and apparently with foundation, of rejecting the necessity of any established succession of Priesthood at all; an error into which they were evidently misled by the spectacle of the irregularities and disorders into which the abuse of the true doctrine had impelled the Clergy of that Age. Some of them even denounced all worldly possessions in the hands of Ministers; and contended that since the time of Sylvester, when "the poison of temporalities" first entered the Hierarchy, the Church of Rome had ceased to be the Church of Christ, and therefore was wholly destitute of proper authority over his followers.

Crusade against the Albigenses.

It is easily conceivable that the Court of Rome would lose no time, and omit no means, in effecting the extirpation of opinions like these. Among the very first acts of Pope Innocent III. (1198) was the mission of two Legates to the South of France, armed with authority to use every means, whether spiritual or fleshly, for the speedy suppression of them.* This mission was shortly followed by the declaration of a formal Crusade against their partisans, and more particularly Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who had made himself remarkable, if not as the follower of the new teachers, at least as their protector and friend. Of the progress and events of this war a more particular account will be found under our head of French History. After a long and obstinate struggle, the Papal cause, backed as it was by the arms of the King of France, obtained a complete triumph; Raymond VII., Earl of Toulouse, was compelled to purchase Peace by giving his daughter and the reversion of his States to the French King's brother; and by authorizing the formal establishment of the Tribunal of Inquisition throughout his territories.

Origin of the Inquisition.

It is from that period that we are to date the regular establishment of this formidable Tribunal. Originally,

the term of Inquisitors was ascribed to certain Missionaries despatched by the Holy See to the districts reported to be infected with Heresy, for the purpose of preaching to the people and recalling them to the Faith by the ordinary methods of exhortation; upon the failure of which, however, they were not merely empowered to resort to the artillery of anathema and excommunication, but had further authority to call upon the Secular arm to assist in carrying such sentence into execution. This is obvious from several Letters which Innocent III., in the first year of his Pontificate, (1198,) addressed to the Bishops of Languedoc and of Gascony. In one of these he especially recommends to their care the two Cistercian Brothers Guy and Rayner, whom he begs them to assist in their labours for the conversion of the Heretics, and to observe inviolably whatsoever they should ordain for the punishment of the obstinate and refractory. His words are, "We command all the Princes, Counts, and Noblemen of your Province to assist them strenuously in the same cause; so that after Brother Rayner shall have pronounced sentence of excommunication against them, the Lords should confiscate their lands, banish them from their territories, and punish severely such as should dare to remain." And Rayner was authorized to call upon them to do this under penalty of Excommunication and Interdict to be levelled against themselves.†

It is upon the ground of his having instituted these missions of research, and of the power with which he armed them, by the IIIrd Canon of the Lateran Council, of calling upon the Secular force to execute any sentence they might pronounce, that Innocent III. is generally considered as the founder of the Inquisition. We must observe, however, that it was not until somewhat later that the *Tribunal*, properly so called, was regularly and permanently established. This part of the institution dates strictly from the time of Gregory IX., who in the year 1233‡ discharged the Bishops of France from the task of detecting and punishing Heresy, and intrusted that duty to the Dominican Friarsalone. In every City in which these Monks possessed a Convent, certain assessors were appointed, under the title of *Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity*, who proceeded to take judicial cognizance (if that term may be applied to a system so completely contradictory to every ordinary principle of criminal procedure) not only of all who were accused, but who were even suspected of Heresy. Not without pain must it be added, that Louis IX. of France, far from checking the tyranny of these proceedings against his unoffending subjects, supported and countenanced them to the utmost of his power, and his Ministers of Justice were expressly authorized to commit to torture and the stake whatever persons these Inquisitors should deliver up to them for that purpose.‡ Louis has been revered as a Saint, and by much of his character was less undeserving of that distinction than many with whom he has shared it. It is perhaps less remarkable that his contemporary, the Emperor Frederic II., who was commonly believed not merely to entertain, but to have published,‡ the most

Ecce-
nial
History of
the XIIIth
Century.

Letter of
Pope Inno-
cent III.

Institution
of the Tri-
bunal.

Supported
by St. Louis
and I re-
nc II.

* *Epist. Inn.* lib. i. ep. 94. 165.

† See Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 117. who has sufficiently cleared up this point.

‡ The Decree by which St. Louis gave sanction to this extremity of tyranny, is well known in French Jurisprudence under the name of "*Cepentes*," from the word with which it begins. It was issued in the year 1229. See Mosheim, *as before*.

§ We allude to his alleged concern in the composition of the

* See *Epist. Inn.* lib. i. *epist.* 81. 94.

History. impious opinions, and who spent his life in an incessant quarrel with the See of Rome, made no difficulty in authorizing the adoption of measures of similar, or, if possible, of greater atrocity, against such of his subjects as were brought under the suspicion of Heresy.

Other doctrines there were prevailing in this Century, and denounced as heretical by the Church, but which were not rendered of sufficient importance, either by the number or credit of the followers of them, to detain us long. One Sect among others began to spread itself in France, Italy, and Germany, under the name of *Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit*. They took their name from the words made use of by St. Paul in the first part of the VIIIth Chapter of his *Epistle to the Romans*: upon their misconstruction of which passage they in part founded that claim to entire freedom and immunity from all secular or ecclesiastical jurisdiction which formed the distinguishing doctrine of their party; and their abuse of which practically led many of them, if contemporary writers may be believed, into the most disgusting disorder of life and conduct. Moreover they held certain fanatical opinions, approaching, so far as they have any meaning at all, to a kind of mystical Pantheism. Rejecting the ordinary observances and sacraments of the Church, they resolved all moral virtue as well as religious worship, into the cultivation of that habit of perfect abstraction from every object of sense, through which it was contended to be possible for a man to reunite himself to that universal Deity which, as they held, pervaded all things, and of which all human souls were but so many dissipated portions.*

Tradings. We read, too, in the writers of those times, of the Sect of the *Stadings* as having spread itself among the lower class of people, in several parts of Germany. What were the peculiar opinions of these people is known only from the accounts of the adversaries who tortured and burned them;† and whose testimony upon such a matter is evidently to be suspected. The famous Inquisitor, Conrad of Marpurg, particularly distinguished himself in the detection and punishment of these Heretics; of whom he is said to have sent a great many, and of all ranks, in the most summary manner to the stake. The severity and precipitation of his proceedings seem to have shocked even his own party; for when a Body of these alleged heretics, driven to despair, set upon and put him to death, (July, 1233,) the authori-

ties, both ecclesiastical and secular, of the Country sufficiently evinced their sense of his ill-desert, by the lightness of the penance which they imposed on the authors of the deed.*

Somewhat later (about 1250) the party of *Flagellants*, or Whippers, made its appearance in Italy. These fanatics, however, cannot strictly be reckoned as a Sect, as their peculiarity consisted for the most part in the constant self-infliction of the punishment to which their name alludes, and which might so far be considered merely as an harmless excess of superstition; but the manner of their indulgence of it in public led to considerable disorders, and it was at last thought necessary to put a stop to it by Papal authority.†

The most remarkable circumstance in the internal History of the Church in the XIIIth Century is the foundation of the Mendicant Orders. Although at no period was the ascendancy of the Clergy more complete or more undisputed than at the present one, yet that very circumstance naturally tended to relax all the nerves of Ecclesiastical discipline. In proportion as the wealth, power, and immunities of the Clergy increased, in the same degree were all the motives and habits by which they were attached and restricted to the performance of their specific duties, in danger of corruption and disturbance. This was peculiarly the case with the regular Clergy; an institution vicious in its principle; and the several communities of which, by the acquisition of great riches and privileges, almost necessarily and immediately degenerated into the merest hotbeds of sloth and luxury. The Popes in general appear to have been fully awakened to the fact of this general dissolution of order and discipline on the part of the clerical body; and wherever their own interests or power were not immediately interested in the abuses, they commonly manifested a sufficient zeal for the correction of them. The enforcement of some reformation on these points formed, indeed, the principal object of most of the Canons decreed by the Councils, whether General or Provincial, which were assembled in the course of the present Century. But the evil was one which it was difficult either to remedy or to check by the effect of laws and regulations, however severe or searching. It resulted in a great degree from the very position itself of the Clergy; and the natural consequences of the disorder could be averted or palliated only by the introduction into the Body politic of the Church of a new principle of life and action, which might invigorate or revive its languid constitution.

That succour was seasonably found in the establishment of the Mendicant or Begging Orders. The Catholic writers themselves; appear to admit that the original hint of these institutions was derived from the practices and professions of the very Heretics whom they made it their first business to counteract and suppress. The Waldensian and Albigensian Sects, as we have seen, had adopted as their rule of life a strict and literal adherence to the precepts of the Gospel. With this view they professed to abandon all worldly possessions, and to lead a life of poverty, mortification, and incessant devotion. The impression which was in this way made upon the multitude, and the contrast which the heretical

Ecclesiastical History of the XIIIth Century.
Flagellants.

Origin of the Mendicant Orders.

famous book *De Tribus Impostoribus*: which Work, however, is now believed never to have existed at all.

* See Mosheim, *Ecc. Hist.* cent. xiii. ch. v. for a curious and detailed account of the opinions and conduct of the several subdivisions of this fanatical Sect; who were variously denominated *Beghards* by the populace in Flanders and Germany, and *Beghines* and *Turlupins* in France. It would seem that the doctrines taught by the famous Amalric of Bene, a student of Paris, who died at the beginning of this Century, were substantially the same with those we have just described. They were refuted by the University, and condemned by Pope Innocent; and Amalric was obliged to recant a short while before his death. Soon afterwards, several persons, calling themselves his disciples, published errors still more dangerous; as they persisted in spreading them, they were condemned in a Council held in 1209, and fourteen of them were sentenced to be burned. Amalric's bones were at the same time dug up, and thrown into the common sewer. See Dupin, tom. xi. ch. viii.

† See Raynaldus, *Annales*, ad ann. 1233, for a curious letter of Pope Gregory IX, addressed to Conrad of Marpurg and others, and containing the received opinion concerning the tenets and practices of these wretched people. The excess of horror and absurdity there imported to them is such, as, by its own internal improbability, to deprive the testimony of all belief.

* Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xvii. p. 55.

† Dupin, vol. xi. ch. ix.

1 See in particular Dupin, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. xi. ch. x. Also Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. iii. ch. iv.

History. leaders thus exhibited to the manners of that Hierarchy, whose corruption and luxury they impugned, was soon felt by the Catholics themselves; and whether from the contagion of example, from an ambition of similar distinction, or from the suggestion and contrivance of the higher powers, an order of men soon came forward in the Church, pretending to exemplify the perfection of the Christian life, on the strength of nearly the same austerities with those which were practised by the obnoxious sectaries themselves. It was, as might be expected, on the same scene, the borders of France and Spain, that these new performers first made their appearance.

Order of Poor Catholics.
Order of Preaching Friars, or Dominicans.

One of the earliest Orders of this kind which assumed the guidance of any common Rule, was that of the *Poor Catholics*, which was approved and confirmed as such by Innocent III.* In the year 1215 Dominic de Guzman, a Spaniard of noble birth, who had for some time past devoted himself with the utmost ardour to the suppression or conversion of Heretics, established, with the assistance of nine friends, an *Order of Preaching Friars*,† which was approved of in the following year by Pope Honorius III. In the first instance Dominic adopted for his Society the Rule of the Augustin Canons, aggravated with certain additional austerities; but in 1220, at a Chapter held at Bologna, he entirely altered the Constitution of his Order, and obliged the members of it to abandon all their possessions, and to take a vow of strict and unconditional poverty. Dominic died in the following year; but his Order soon spread itself throughout Europe; and as public preaching had been from the beginning a principal object of the institution, its members were long distinguished as well by their learning and eloquence, as by the zeal and austerity of their lives. Another and more formidable means of importance was afforded to them in the monopoly, so to speak, of the Inquisition. We have seen that the conduct and service of that odious tribunal was wholly committed to their charge. The founder was canonized by Pope Gregory IX. in the year 1235.

Order of Friars Minor, or Franciscans.

It was about the same time that the memorable *Order of Friars Minor*, or *Franciscans*, took its rise in Italy. John, otherwise called François, or *Frenchman*, from his early proficiency in the French language, was the son of Peter Bernardini, a merchant of the town of Assisi in Umbria, where he was born in the year 1182. His early inclination for a life of austerity and devotion was strongly opposed by his father, and it was not until his twenty-fifth year that he finally renounced all secular prospects and possessions, and determined to devote himself thenceforth to what he conceived to be the service of God. This purpose he fulfilled with unbroken constancy and consistency for the rest of his life, which was not prolonged beyond his forty-fifth

year, when his constitution sank under the rigour of his incessant austerities; and however little we may approve of the particular direction which the superstition of the Age necessarily gave to his devotional propensities, it is impossible to mistake in the man himself, the witness of a spirit of the most heroic fortitude and self-denial.*

Francis had acquired only eleven disciples when he drew up for them a short Rule, the simplicity of which consisted in the total abnegation of every thing beyond the barest necessary for existence; and with this Rule, in the year 1210, he made a journey to Rome, in order to obtain the approbation and confirmation of the Pope. Innocent gave it, but by word of mouth only; and Francis now charged his followers to go and preach repentance in every city, throwing themselves wholly on the charity of strangers for their support. Such was the origin of this celebrated Order, which soon came to surpass every other both in its numbers and its importance; and which, together with the Dominicans, constituted for a very long period the chief stay and support of the Church of Rome.

It is plain that the circumstance which gave its peculiar efficiency to this new militia was the vow which the members took of absolute and unqualified poverty. By this, they were secured from all those temptations and distractions which had proved so fatal to the energies and the regularity of the other Religious Orders; at the same time they maintained their hold on the attachment and reverence of the people by the show of disinterestedness and mortification which such self-denial supposed; while the necessity they were under of continually going about for alms, brought them in incessant contact and converse with all ranks and classes of men. The Popes easily perceived how admirably such institutions were available for the extension and confirmation of their authority and influence. Accordingly the Mendicant Orders, particularly the Franciscans, were from the beginning the peculiar objects of their favour and encouragement. Privileges and immunities of every kind, and often most inconsistent with the rights of the more legitimate Orders of the Church, were unsparingly heaped upon them; their vow of humility and poverty was not considered any obstacle to their frequent attainment to the highest offices and preferments in the Church; and in every mission of a confidential or delicate nature their services seem to have been accepted preferably to those of any other class of candidates. The multiplication of these Friars accordingly was as rapid as it was extensive; before the middle of the Century they had spread over all Europe, and had established themselves with more or less predominance in almost every Capital or University.†

* See Helyot, tom. vii. for a full account of St. Francis; and of the various Orders which sprang from his institute. But the great authority in all matters relating to the Franciscan Order is the *Annales Fratrum Minorum*, 17 vols. in folio, by Luke Wadding, an Irish brother of the same rule, who died at Rome in 1655. He also published a *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, being a Catalogue Raisonné of the Franciscan writers.

† So early as the year 1228 the litigation began between the Dominicans and the University of Paris, concerning the exam which was made by the former to one of the theological chairs in that school, and which was resisted for nearly thirty years by the University, till decided in favour of the Mendicants by the imperial edict of Pope Alexander IV. It was in this dispute that the famous William de St. Amour, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, distinguished himself as the foremost advocate for the rights of the University, and

* Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. iii. ch. iv.

† Id. tom. ii. ch. xxiv.

† It is admitted that Dominic borrowed this part of his institution from the Friars Minor of St. Francis; having assisted the founder at Assisi, where he is said to have beheld with admiration an assembly of above five thousand brethren, who, notwithstanding their vow and practice of absolute poverty, were yet in want of nothing. Id. tom. iii. p. 287.

§ Some writers (for example Mosheim) speak of him as having led a debauched and dissolute life in his youth; but this assertion is not confirmed by those who have more directly treated of his biography. See Wadding, and Helyot.

Historical History of the XIIIth Century.

Encouraged by the Popes.

History.
Controversies among the Mendicant Orders.

The services, however, which these two Orders afforded to the Church and the Pontiffs were not without their drawback. Much disturbance was occasioned by their quarrels with each other, and still more by the disgust which their interference naturally gave rise to on the part of all the other Orders of Ecclesiastical administration. But the circumstance which occasioned the most trouble and perplexity to the Popes was a division that broke out among the Franciscans themselves, concerning the precise interpretation of that part of the founder's Rule* which made a total abandonment of all worldly possessions absolutely obligatory upon all his followers. Some were in favour of a mitigation of this injunction; in which construction they were supported by Pope Gregory IX., who, in 1231, authorized by a formal Bull a considerable evasion of its rigour. Another Bull of Innocent IV., in 1245, allowed the Friars Minor to possess certain houses, furniture, utensils, books, &c.; and it was endeavoured to reconcile this permission with the Rule of the founder by declaring that the use only of these articles should belong to the Friars, but that the property of them should be vested solely in the sovereign Pontiff. A large number of the Order, who took to themselves the distinctive name of "Zealots" and "Spiritual," indignantly rejected this evasion of the founder's injunction, as well as the society of those of their brethren who consented to take advantage of it. The controversy was maintained with singular vehemence and bitterness throughout the rest of the Century. In 1279 Pope Nicholas III. attempted to put an end to it by a Bull† which was intended to be favourable to the spiritual party; but as it still allowed the use of certain necessary accommodations and chattels, it was far from giving satisfaction to those gloomy ascetics. On the accession of Pope Celestin V. they obtained from him a permission to form themselves into a separate community; but this act, like every other of the short Pontificate of Celestin, was annulled by his successor Boniface; when the singular obstinacy of these men in adhering to their own views of mortification and poverty, subjected them to a long course of the most unrelenting and sanguinary persecution. But the story of those sufferings belongs to the following Century.

Number of Mendicant Orders instituted.

Notwithstanding the services of the Mendicant Orders, the multiplication of them which took place in the present Century was so great, that the Court of Rome found it necessary to put a stop to their further increase. Accordingly in the General Council of Lyons held under Gregory X. in 1272, it was decreed by the XXIIId Canon that the number of such Orders or Societies should be restrained to the four following denominations: viz. the Dominicans; the Franciscans; the Carmelites, who had been transplanted from Syria, and were confirmed by Pope Honorius III. in 1226; and the Hermits of St. Augustin, an Order which had been formed in 1256,

published his celebrated book "Concerning the Perils of the Last Times," in which he applied the prophecy of St. Paul here alluded to (2 Timothy, ch. iii. ver. 1) to the establishment of the Mendicant Orders. See Dupin, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. xi. ch. vii. for an ample account of the whole of this controversy.

* The following are the words of the Rule of St. Francis himself as extracted by Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 63. Ch. vi. *Fraternitas vobis nihil appropriet, nec domum, nec locum nec aliquam rem; sed sicut peregrini et advenae in hoc seculo, in pauperitate et humilitate famulantes Domino, evadant pro eternam salutem.* Another article of the Rule forbade the accepting of money in alms.

† Called *Exalt qui seminat*. For an abstract of it, see Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xviii. p. 326.

by Alexander IV., by a combination of the several Societies of Hermits previously existing.

Besides these, several other Religious congregations took their rise in this Century. The more remarkable are the Order of the Holy Trinity, or of the Redemption of Captives, (such being the original purpose of the institution,) which was founded in 1211 by John de Matha and Felix de Valois; the Order of Sylvestrians, founded in Italy, in 1231, by Sylvester Guzzolini, and which adopted the rule of St. Benedict; and the Order of Celestines, which, as we have already seen, owed its origin to Peter of Morrhone, afterwards Pope Celestin V.*

Ecclesiastical History of the XIIIth Century.
Other Orders.

The general state of the doctrine or discipline of the General Church in this Century presents little that calls for particular remark, beyond what may be gathered from the facts already given in the former part of this Chapter. It can hardly be said that any new article of Faith was imposed on the public credulity during this period; though, as we have seen, by the first chapter of the IVth Lateran Council (1215) the doctrine as well as the name of Transubstantiation were more formally intruded into the substance of the public belief of the Church than hitherto they had been. By the XXId Canon of the same Council, *Auricular Confession* to a Priest, at least once in a year, was, for the first time, made universally obligatory upon the Faithful. After the establishment of the Mendicant Orders, a long and angry controversy took place as to how far it was allowable to make this confession to any other than the Parochial Curate of the Penitent; the Popes were evidently anxious to extend this privilege to the Monks, while the Bishops and Universities resisted such intrusion as altogether unwarrantable, and contended that it was unlawful to confess even to the Pope himself, without the consent of one's Parish Minister. Several Bulls or Decretals were issued by the Pontiffs on this subject, most of them leaning to the side of the Mendicants; the last was that of Pope Boniface VIII., which ordained, "that the Superiors of Religious Houses should apply to the Bishops for leave for such Friars as they should point out to administer the sacrament of Penance; and that in case of refusal, application should be made to the Pope, who, if he thought fit, might grant it by the plenitude of his power."

General remarks.
Doctrine and discipline.

It remains to add a few remarks respecting the state and progress of Theological Learning during the XIIIth Century. The Scholastic system of exposition and disputation which had its origin in the preceding Age, may be said to have attained its highest honours in the present one. The Writers who principally contributed to this result were Alexander Hales, Albert the Great, Bonaventure, and St. Thomas of Aquino; all of them men of undoubted genius and learning, and who are justly considered as the greatest lights of their school. More particular accounts of the writings of these Doctors will be given separately; and we shall here merely observe of them, that as great as was the expenditure of subtlety and acuteness which they wasted in their systems of didactic and exegetical Divinity, we believe that the Theological student would with difficulty find in the whole of them, a single sound, and at the same time new principle of Biblical Interpretation or exposition. The Book of Sentences of Peter Lombard continued to

State of Learning.
Progress of Scholastic Theology.

* See Helyot, under these several heads, for an ample account of these Orders.

History. be the standard and, in fact, the exclusive text-book of Divinity in the schools. The greater part of the Writers of that Age made it their business to comment upon and illustrate it; commonly, however, taking the liberty to deviate very widely as well from the meaning as the manner of their master; and seeking to establish or explain upon metaphysical or argumentative principles, the conclusions which he had grounded upon the authority of the Fathers alone. In time, however, this method of Theological exposition and disquisition became exhausted; and we find some of the most eminent of the schoolmen throwing aside the Master of Sentences, and framing *Sums* or systems of Theology of their own. In these, they profess to examine almost every assignable question upon principles of strict and impartial dialectic research; setting forth the reasonings to be alleged on both sides; and adding, so far as their ignorance of Greek would enable them, the opinions whether of Aristotle or of the Fathers.

New methods of exposition.

The adoption of the dry Scholastic method of division and distinction, was yet more misplaced, and has a still worse effect in their Sermons and devotional Treatises.

Discouraged by the Popes.

This new or logical method of treating Divinity did not make its way without considerable opposition on the part of the Divines of the older school, who, as still adhering to the plain text of the Scriptures and the Fathers, were distinguished under the name of *Biblicists*. We find the Popes themselves reprobating this system of "adulterating the word of God with the figments of Philosophers,"* and endeavouring to recall the Writers and Professors of the day to the sounder and plainer methods of exposition of former times; nevertheless the new system hourly became more prevalent, in consequence of the superior talent and subtlety of many of the Doctors who adopted it.

Universities.

A remarkable feature of the literary history of this Age, was the establishment of *Universities* on the footing on which they at present exist. It was then, indeed, that they first assumed their distinguishing denomination; although several seminaries of the kind already existed under the name of *Schools*. The University of Paris naturally took the lead in this change, and continued to preserve that preeminent credit as a place of Theological institution, which the talents and learning of her Professors had already acquired for her, in the course of the two preceding Centuries. A system of strict regularity and discipline was now introduced into these Bodies, to which both teachers and scholars were uniformly subjected. No one was allowed to lecture until he had taken certain degrees in the Faculty which he followed, and these were given, after a rigorous examination, to those only who had attained the prescribed age, and devoted a given number of years to their appropriate studies. It was now, too, that Colleges were first founded in connection with the Universities. These owe their origin to the Dominican and Franciscan Friars, who, upon their aggregation to the Universities, found it convenient to establish certain houses or hostels for the separate use of their brethren among the students. The example was soon followed by other Religious Societies; and was adopted afterwards by various munificent individuals, who were anxious to afford to the poorer order of

Foundation of Colleges.

scholars the means of accommodation and support during their attendance at the Universities. The celebrated House of Sorbonne was founded by Robert of Sorbonne, in the year 1251, for the Secular Clergy; and is believed to have been the first instance in Europe of any community in which seculars lived and taught in common. As such, its constitution has generally served as a model for the institutions of the same kind which have since been established in the different Academical Schools of Europe.

Ecclesiastical Writers of the XIIIth Century.

GREEK ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE XIIIth CENTURY.

NICETAS ACOMINATUS.
 GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA LOGOTHETES.
 GERMANUS NAUPLIUS.
 NICEPHORUS BLEMIMIDAS.
 THEODORUS LASCARIS.
 GEORGIUS PACHYMERES.
 JOHANNES VECCUS.
 GEORGIUS METOCHITA.
 CONSTANTINUS MELITENIOTA.
 GREGORIUS ARUPHARAGIUS.
 ARSENIUS AUTORIANUS.

These are the principal names afforded us by the records of Grecian literature and learning in this period of their decay; and the very obscurity into which the greater number of them have fallen sufficiently betrays the rank to which they belong. The first of these whom we have enumerated,

NICETAS ACOMINATUS,

surnamed Chonistes from the place of his birth, Chone, a village of Phrygia, is the author of a Treatise entitled *Thesaurus Orthodoxæ Fidei*, and as such may claim a place among the Divines of his time; otherwise he is best and chiefly known by his *Byzantine History* from the year 1118 to 1205. It is valuable for its facts, although written in a wretched style. Nicetas himself filled the highest offices of the State under the Emperor Alexius and his successors. On the capture of Constantinople by the Latins he retired with his family to Nice in Bithynia, and died there shortly after, in the year 1206. His Work has been printed several times, and forms a part of the *Corpus Hist. Byzant.* His brother Michael was Archbishop of Athens, and author of various tracts which are still extant in manuscript.

GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA LOGOTHETES

was also a layman, high in office under the Emperors John Ducas, Theodore Lascaris, and Michael Palæologus, and the author of a continuation of the *Byzantine History* till the recapture of Constantinople in 1261. He possessed the highest reputation among his Countrymen for talents and learning, and was deputed by the Emperor Michael Palæologus as his representative at the Council of Lyons, to treat respecting the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches. He died in 1282. He is also the author of sundry Theological Treatises; among others, of a *Commentary upon St. Gregory Nazianzen*.

* See the Epistle of Gregory IX. to the Professors of the University of Paris. Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. An extract from it is given in Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 98.

History.

GERMANUS NAUPLIUS

was titular Patriarch of Constantinople, from the year 1226 to 1243, when he died. He wrote a great many Sermons and Tracts, which are mentioned by Allatius; but none of them appear to merit specific notice.

NICEPHORUS BLEMMIDAS

was a Priest and Monk of the Monastery of Mount Atlas. He was favourable to the project so often agitated of a union of the Eastern and Western Churches, and made himself remarkable by the inclination which he betrays in his writings to the cause of the Latins. This leaning is very evident in his two Treatises concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost; in which, if he does not directly justify the expressions of the Latin Symbol upon that point, he endeavours at least to show that it is not inadmissible. One of these Treatises is dedicated to the Emperor Theodore Lascaris, in whose reign he flourished, but the time of his death does not appear.

THEODORUS LASCARIS,

the second Emperor of that name, who succeeded his Father John Ducas in the Empire, at Nice, in the year 1255, was a Theological Writer; and, indeed, so addicted to those studies, that after a reign of only four years he retired to a Monastery in order that he might indulge in them uninterrupted. But none of his writings have been printed.

ARSENIUS AUTORIANUS,

originally a Monk of Mount Athos, was in 1257 promoted to the Patriarchal Chair of Constantinople. But a quarrel* with the Emperor Michael Palaeologus led to his deposition in the year 1268; and he was driven to exile, in which he died some years after. His principal Work is an able *Nomocanon*, or Abridgement of the Canons, extracted from the Fathers and the Councils, and divided into CXLI heads. It is published in the *Bibliotheca* of Justel.

GEORGIUS PACHYMERES

was contemporary with Arsenius, and intimately connected with him in all the public affairs of his time. He was born at Nice in 1242, and entered into Orders; a circumstance that did not prevent his filling several important Civil employments under the Emperors Michael Palaeologus and his son. He survived to the following Century, although the year of his death is uncertain. The chief Work of Pachymeres is his *History of Affairs under the Emperors Michael and Andronicus*, from the year 1258 to 1308; a Work the more valuable from the author's own intimate concern in the matters related; but written in the corrupt, inflated style too common to the later Byzantine Historians. It has been published (Rome, 1666) in two volumes, folio. Pachymeres is also the author of a *Commentary on the Works of Dio-*

* A quarrel in the highest degree honourable to the firmness and integrity of Arsenius; he has given a full account of the grounds of it in his last Will and Testament, which has been published by Cotelierus in the 114 volume of his *Monumenta Ecclesiae Graecae*. An ample and interesting narrative of this transaction will be found in Gibbon vol. xi. ch. li.

nyrius, and of an *Abridgement of Aristotle's Logic*, both in print; and of a little Treatise on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, which is included in the *Græcia Orthodoxa* of Allatius. Of the next name in our list,

Ecclesiastical Writers of the XIIIth Century.

JOHANNES VECCUS,

sometime Patriarch of Constantinople, considerable mention has already been made in a former part of this Chapter. He had by far the highest reputation of any Greek of his time for genius and eloquence. His conversion to the Latin doctrine concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost, is ascribed to an attentive perusal of the Works of Nicephorus Blemmidas, which the Emperor had put into his hands; but as Michael at the same time shut him up in a dungeon in order to give him fuller leisure for the appreciation of the controversy, the motives and nature of his conversion must always remain somewhat equivocal. The consistency and firmness, however, with which he afterwards adhered to his new opinions, ought to gain him credit for the sincerity with which he had embraced them. He was deposed, as we have seen, in 1263, and died in exile in 1298. His various Treatises, which relate almost exclusively to the Latin controversy, were collected by Allatius, and published at Rome in 1652.

GEORGIUS METOCHITA,
CONSTANTINUS MELITENIOTA,

are two dignitaries of the Church of Constantinople, who attached themselves to the opinions and fortunes of the Patriarch Vecess, and who on his fall were similarly driven into banishment. Of their writings, all which relate to the same controversies with those in which their patron was engaged, several have been printed in the *Græcia Orthodoxa* of Allatius.

We ought not here to omit a notice of some of the many able Polemics who distinguished themselves on the other side in this debate. Among these we should first mention Georgius of Cyprus, surnamed Gregorius, who was raised to the Patriarchate of Constantinople upon the death of Josephus in 1284, and died about five years after; Georgius Moschamper, Register of the Patriarchal Church; and Constantinus Logothetes Acropolita; all of whom published various Treatises in refutation of the doctrines and principles supported by Vecess.*

Nothing can more strongly mark the point of decay and exhaustion to which Grecian Literature and Theology had at this time fallen, than the simple inspection of a catalogue such as we have here drawn up; a few Chroni- cles of contemporary History, and a crowd of disputants upon the prevailing controversy of the day, form the only contributors to Byzantine Letters. A similar review of the Writers of Western Europe in this Century, affords us a spectacle of greater animation, in respect at least of the number, talents, and industry of the Writers; and in framing our catalogue, our difficulty will be the reverse of that which we felt in making out

* We might add to this list of Christian Oriental Writers Gregorius Abulpharagius, an Arabian author of the Sect of the Jacobites and Melchites, whose *Universal History* from the Creation to his own time (viz. in the year of Hegira 683, a. m. 1284) is greatly esteemed, particularly that part which relates to Asiatic History. He died Bishop of Aleppo and Primate of the Jacobites in 1256.

History. an enumeration of the Grecian Writers; the only embarrassment is that of choice among so many. We shall, however, confine our notice to the leading names, taking for the most part as the best indication of their comparative merit, the degree of celebrity which they respectively acquired in their own Age.

Wickham
Writers of
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Century.

LATIN ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE XIIIth CENTURY.

ALEXANDER OF HALES.
ALBERT THE GREAT.
ST. THOMAS OF AQUINO.
ST. BONAVENTURA.
ROGER BACON.
ALAN OF LILLE.
RICHARD MIDDLETON.
STEPHEN LANGTON.
ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY.
JOHN PECKHAM.
ROBERT GROSTESTE.
PETER THE CHANTER.
PETER OF CORBELL.
WILLIAM OF AUVERGNE.
VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS.
HUGH OF ST. CHER.
THOMAS OF CANTIMPRE.
RAYMOND DE PENNAPORTE.
RAYMOND OF MARRAS.

ALEXANDER OF HALES

(the place of his birth in Gloucestershire) may be considered as the earliest of the distinguished Schoolmen of this Century. After completing the usual course of humanities at home, he studied Theology and Canon Law at Paris, and quickly gained so high a reputation in that University, that he was distinguished by the title of the *Irrefragable Doctor*. The book which put the seal to his reputation was his *Sum* of Theology, the largest Work of its kind that had yet been produced. It is in the form of a voluminous comment on the Master of Sentences, the plan and order of whose Treatise he follows throughout; though with a considerable latitude of difference as to the manner and principle of reasoning. Alexander embraced the Franciscan institute in 1222, and continued for many years to preside over the Theological school of that Order at Paris, where he died in August 1245. His *Sum* has been several times printed; of his other Works many remain in manuscript; and of some of those which are ascribed to him it is doubtful whether he was in fact the author.

A Schoolman of yet higher reputation was

ALBERT, SURNAMED THE GREAT,

who was born at Lawingen, in Suabia, about the beginning of the present Century. He joined, in 1221, the order of Preaching Friars, or Dominicans, of which he became Provincial in Germany, and fixed his residence at Cologne, where he taught Divinity with the highest reputation. In 1260, Pope Alexander IV. gave him the Bishopric of Ratisbon, but he soon resigned it, and returned to his former studies at Cologne. He was one of the distinguished Doctors invited to assist at the

General Council at Lyon in 1274. He died at Cologne in 1280. His Works are of enormous volume; they have been printed (Lyon, 1651) in no less than twenty-one volumes folio. The reader may be curious to know of what so immense a mass can consist. The six first are devoted to Logic, Physics, Metaphysics, Morals, and Politics, in all which subjects Aristotle is followed implicitly; the next five consist of Commentaries on the Scripture; the twelfth of a series of Sermons for all the year; the thirteenth of Commentaries upon the Books ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite. Then follow three volumes of Commentaries on the Master of Sentences; a Sum of Divinity occupies two more; and the nineteenth is entitled *Summa Creaturarum*, treating of the natural world and of man. Of the pieces contained in the two last volumes, it is doubtful whether the greater number really belong to him. The very high reputation acquired by Albert in his own Age, is the best proof of his merit; of which perhaps it would not be fair to judge by the estimate of what, at the present day, might seem really valuable in his Works.

A yet greater name in scholastic science is that of

ST. THOMAS OF AQUINO,

to whom, in order that we may fully explain the doctrine of the Schoolmen, we have devoted a separate Chapter.

After the *Angelical*, the next place in the constellation of scholastic worthies of this Century is due to the *Seraphic Doctor*,

ST. BONAVENTURA,

who was born at Bagnarea, in Tuscany, in the year 1221, and having entered into the Franciscan Order at the age of twenty-two, proceeded to study at Paris. There he attracted admiration not more by his eloquence and genius, than by the sweetness of his temper, and the piety and purity of his life; inasmuch that his master, Alexander of Hales, used to say of him, *In fratre Bonaventurâ Adam peccâsse non videtur*. In 1256, he was chosen General of his Order, ten years after, like his illustrious contemporary, Thomas of Aquino, he refused an Archbishopric, that of York, which was urged upon him by Pope Urban IV. Like him, too, he was summoned to attend at the Council of Lyon in 1274, and by a further coincidence, died in the same year, on the 15th of July, in the course of his attendance on that Synod. He had just before accepted a Cardinal's hat from Pope Gregory X., to whose election he was supposed to have principally contributed. He was canonized by Sixtus IV. in 1482. The turn of Bonaventura's genius was devotional and mystic rather than philosophical or dialectic. His Works, therefore, are distinguishable from those of most of the contemporary Schoolmen, as well by the matter, which for the most part refers little to Logic or Physics, as by the peculiar unction and spirit of devotion which uniformly pervades the style. They have been printed in six volumes folio, (Rome, 1588,) and consist (together with the usual *Commentaries* upon the Master of Sentences) almost wholly either of *Commentaries on Scripture*, or of Sermons and Tracts of a spiritual nature.

We have now enumerated the four great lights of the School in this Century. A man, probably of superior genius to any of them, was the famous

History.

ROGER BACON,

who by the universality of his acquirements obtained the name of the *Admirable Doctor*; but though a Franciscan Monk by profession, he applied himself so exclusively to subjects of Mathematical and Chemical Science, that he can scarcely be reckoned among the Theological Writers of the Age. His success in these pursuits is known to have brought him under the imputation of cultivating the magical arts; on which ground he was condemned by the General of his Order in 1278, and punished by imprisonment. He died at Oxford six years afterwards, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His *Opus Majus* has been several times printed.

ALAN OF LILLE,

flourished as a distinguished Professor throughout nearly the whole of this Century in the University of Paris, where, from the equal extent of his attainments in Philosophy and Poetry as well as in Divinity, he was styled the *Universal Doctor*. He died in a. d. 1204.

RICHARD MIDDLETON,

or *Ricardus de Media Villâ*, as he wrote himself, was a Franciscan Monk, and a Professor of Theology, and as such acquired the title of the *Solid and Copious Doctor*. He died in 1304. Like most of his brethren of the School, he wrote a *Commentary* upon Peter Lombard; a duty which seems to have been undertaken as a matter of course in that Age by all who sought to distinguish themselves in Divinity.

Few men of his time have better deserved of their Country and of posterity, than

STEPHEN LANGTON,

sometime Archbishop of Canterbury; but it was in his Political and Episcopal character, rather than in that of a Theological Writer; although his services in this last respect were far from contemptible. The story of his life, and of the consistent firmness with which he successively resisted the tyranny of the King and the encroachments of the Pope, belongs to English History. Previously to his elevation to the See of Canterbury (a. d. 1206) he professed Divinity at Paris, and with so much reputation, that, although a foreigner, he was elected Chancellor of the University. He died in 1228. Of his Works, consisting chiefly of *Commentaries* on the Scripture, none is in print. He is said to have been the first who divided the Bible into Chapters.

Another ornament of the Metropolitan See of England during this Century was

ST. EDMUND OF CANTERBURY.

He was the son of Edward Rich, a merchant of Abingdon, and from his earliest years manifested the seeds of the most humble and devout frame of mind; a disposition which he did not belie, when, much against his own will, (a. d. 1234,) at the special recommendation of Pope Gregory, he was elected to the Primacy. In this high office, however, he found nothing but cares; and the shameless conduct, on the part as well of the Court of Rome as of the Crown and the Clergy, of which he was compelled to be the witness, and sometimes the Instru-

ment, so disgusted him, that at length (a. d. 1249) he voluntarily retired to the Monastery of Pontigny in France; the same which had before afforded an asylum to his predecessor, St. Thomas à Becket. He died there within the same year, in the odour of sanctity. His merits were acknowledged by an act of canonization on the part of Pope Innocent IV. in 1249; and still better by the singular veneration in which his memory was held, up to a recent period, in the neighbourhood of the place of his decease. He was the author of a Work of piety, entitled *Speculum Ecclesie*, which has been printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Another Archbishop of Canterbury in this Century, and who finds a place here rather from his rank as such, than from the importance or worth of his writings, is

JOHN PECKHAM,

a native of Sussex, and a Franciscan, who, during a residence he made at Rome, so acquired the favour of the Pope, that by his interest he was elected to the Primacy on the resignation of Robert Killwarby in 1278. He died in 1291, after holding the See for thirteen years, during which time he had not only greatly enriched his patron kindred, but accumulated a fortune of five thousand pounds, (in those days considered an enormous sum,) besides, as it was believed, having largely recompensed the Pope for his promotion. He compiled a Work called *Collectorium Bibliorum*, which has been twice printed, (Paris, 1514, Cologne, 1541,) besides various Tracts of Divinity, which still remain in manuscript.

The Prelacy of England during this Century could boast of a very different character from the last mentioned in

ROBERT GROSTESTE,

or Groshead, (in Latin styled *Robertus Capito*), Bishop of Lincoln; a man distinguished not more by the depth of his learning and the vivacity of his genius, than by the purity, simplicity, and disinterestedness of his life: and who shone among all his contemporaries by the firmness with which he not merely opposed the encroachments and practices of the Court of Rome, but openly and indignantly stigmatized them as utterly subversive both of the doctrines of the Gospel and the discipline of the Church. Some striking instances of this conduct on his part are related in Matthew Paris.* He was born in Suffolk, and studied at Oxford and Paris, and was promoted to the See of Lincoln in 1235. He died in 1253, leaving behind a considerable number of writings both in Philosophy and Divinity. Some of these have been printed, and sufficiently confirm the testimony of his contemporaries, both as to his integrity of principle, and the extent of his learning.

PETER THE CHANTER

(so called from the office which he held in the Church of Paris) is the author of a Work entitled *Verbum Abbreviatum*, which is frequently cited with praise by the Divines of the following Centuries. It has been printed, (Mons, 1637, 4to.) He became a Monk in the Abbey of Longpont, where he died about the beginning of this Century. Contemporary with him as a Doctor and Professor in the University of Paris was

* Hist. ad ann. 1255, p. 754.

Ecclesiastical
Writers of
the XIIIth
Century.

History.

PETER OF CORBEIL;

he had been tutor to Pope Innocent III., who in one of his letters expresses the highest opinion of him, and successively procured him the preferments of Archdeacon of York, Bishop of Cambrai, and Archbishop of Sens. He was the author of a *Sum* of Theology and of various *Commentaries* upon Scripture, none of which have been printed, although they procured to him a very high reputation among his contemporaries. He died in 1222.

WILLIAM OF AUVERGNE

became Bishop of Paris in 1228, and held that See till his death, in 1249. His Works (which have been printed in two volumes folio) are especially remarkable for the force and severity with which he stigmatizes the abuses of discipline prevailing at that time in the Church.*

VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS

was a Dominican Friar, and Reader and Chaplain to the King St. Louis. It was at the order and expense of that Prince that he undertook to compose a great Work, entitled *Speculum Majus*, divided into four heads of Natural, Doctrinal, Historical, and Moral Science, and as such forming a kind of universal Dictionary of the knowledge of that Age. The Work is, for the most part, a professed compilation from other authors; but some difficulty has arisen from the fact of the last part, or the *Speculum Morale*, being nearly *verbatim* the same with the second division of the second part of the *Sum* of St. Thomas Aquinas. Vincent is said to have died in 1258, nearly twenty years before St. Thomas, of whom his *Sum* is known to have been the latest production. The most probable supposition is that this portion of St. Thomas's *Sum* was interpolated in or added to the *Speculum* of Vincent by some of the earlier transcribers of the latter Work.

HUGH OF ST. CHER.

near Vienne, in Dauphiné, was a Brother of the Order of Dominicans, of which he became Provincial, and was afterwards (1245) made Cardinal by Pope Innocent IV.; by whom, as by his predecessor, Gregory IX., he was employed in several important missions. He died at Orvieto, in March, 1263. Notwithstanding his success in the public and political situations which he filled, his prevailing taste was for a life of retirement and literature; and he is said to have expressed to the last his regret that he had suffered himself, by the acceptance of the Cardinalship, to be drawn into busier scenes. The Work by which he is most honourably remembered is his *Concordance of the Bible*: a contrivance of which he was the inventor, and which he completed by the assistance of some of his Monks, who wrote under his direction.

* See Dupin, *Hist. Ecclési.* vol. xi. ch. iii. for an abstract of a Treatise of this William concerning the Collation of Benefices.

THOMAS OF CANTINPRE,

a Flemish Divine, also of the Dominican Order, claims a place here, on account of the celebrity which attached to his Work entitled *Bonum Universale, seu de Apibus*, in which, under the form of a "Fable of the Bees," he illustrates and enforces the duties of the different ranks of Society in their carriage towards each other. He died in 1263.† His book, has been several times printed.‡

Among the most distinguished members of the Dominican Order at this time, we must not omit the mention of

RAYMOND DE PENNAFORTE,

of whom it has been said, that he was one of the first among the Latins who undertook to vanquish the Jews and Saracens by reason and argument, rather than by terror and force;§ was born at Barcelona about the year 1177, and studied and afterwards professed the Canon Law with great distinction at Bologna. On his return to his Country in 1222, he found the Dominican Order just established. He immediately took the habit himself, and in 1238 was elected General; but this dignity he soon resigned, and uniformly refused every other that was offered to him, passing the rest of his life, which was prolonged to nearly a century, in his Convent at Barcelona. He died in January, 1275, and three Centuries after was canonized by Pope Clement VIII. Besides a compilation of the Decretals, which he made at the desire of Pope Gregory IX., Raymond composed an excellent *Summa* of Cases of Conscience for the use of confessors, which was probably the earliest Work of its kind that has appeared.¶

Of the same city, and of the same Religious Order, was

RAYMOND OF MARTINS,

who similarly distinguished himself by his controversies with the Jews and Saracens; to qualify himself for which service, by the recommendation of Raymond of Pennafort, he acquired, what was very rare at that time, a knowledge of the Hebrew and Arabic Languages. Thus accomplished, he produced his celebrated book, the *Pugio Fidei*; a Work which is still considered one of the most conclusive of its kind, and which has been more than once reprinted with the annotations of the learned.||

* According to Lipsius, though other Writers place the date of his death nine years later. See Dupin, XIIIth Century, ch. iv.

† At Douay, in 1597, 1607, and 1627.

‡ Mosheim, cent. xiii. ch. iii. If this be true of the method which he employed towards Infidels, it can hardly apply to his mode of dealing with Heretics, as it is known that he was most immediately and actively concerned in the original establishment of the Inquisition both in Aragon and in Languedoc.

§ The best edition is that of P. Laget, Lyon, 1718, in folio: the date of which is a sufficient indication that, notwithstanding the many imitations of its plan, the Work up to a late period retained its value.

|| Particularly by Joseph Voisin, Paris, 1651, and by Benedict Carpovius, Leipsic, 1687.

Revised
Edition of
the XIIIth
Century.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

PROGRESS OF THE CRUSADES; AND ANNALS OF THE EAST;

FROM A. D. 1099 TO A. D. 1204.

History.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
Reign of
Godfrey de
Bouillon at
Jerusalem.
A. D.
1099.

Battle of
Ascalon.

Great vic-
tory of the
Crusaders.

WITHIN a short month after his election to fill the throne of Jerusalem, the pious and gallant Godfrey of Bouillon was summoned into the field to sustain that arduous office of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre, which his modesty had preferred to the Regal title. The Khalif of Egypt, roused to equal indignation and alarm by the intelligence of the fall of Jerusalem, had immediately despatched a great army into Palestine; and the influence of a common Religion and cause attracted numerous hordes of Turks and Saracens to the Fatimite standard. The usual exaggeration of the Latin Chroniclers has swollen the Infidel host into countless myriads: their more authentic record of the Christian force shows that the banals of the Crusaders had already dwindled, since the capture of the Holy City, to five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot soldiers. But the champions of the Cross, however inferior in numbers, were flushed with recent victory, and animated by the unconquerable energy of religious and martial enthusiasm. The armies met at Ascalon; and the organized and mail-clad chivalry of Europe once more triumphed over the disorderly multitudes of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia. The Fatimites fled at the first charge of Godfrey and Tancred; and the only resistance which the Crusaders encountered was from a band of five thousand black Africans; who, after the discharge of a galling flight of arrows from an ambush, astonished the Latins by a novel mode of close combat with balls of iron fastened to leathern thongs, which they swung with terrific effect. But after the first moment of surprise, the desperate courage and rude weapons of these Barbarians were vainly opposed to the sharp lances and physical weight of the Christian gens-d'armes; and their destruction or flight completed the easy and merciless victory of the Crusaders. Of the Infidel host, the incredible numbers of thirty thousand in the battle, and sixty thousand in the pursuit, are declared to have been slaughtered: while of the Latins scarcely a man had been killed. An immense booty, the spoils of the Egyptian camp, fell into the hands of the victors; and the standard and sword of the Khalif, being alone reserved from the division of the plunder, were piously suspended by Godfrey over the altar of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem.*

The victory of Ascalon was the last combined exploit

of the heroes of the First Crusade. Having accomplished their vow, and bidden a farewell to their unanimous leader, most of the surviving Princes and Chieftains of the Holy War departed for Europe. Boemond was established at Antioch, and Baldwin at Edessa: but of all his compeers, Godfrey could induce only the devoted Tancred to share his fortunes; and no more than three hundred Knights and as many thousand foot soldiers remained for the defence of Palestine. But the terror of the Christian arms proved, for a season at least, a sufficient protection to the new State; the Mussulmans were easily expelled from the shores of Lake Genesareth; and the Emirs of Ascalon, Cesarea, and Acre, hastened to deprecate the hostility of the Crusading King by submission and tribute. The remainder of Godfrey's brief reign was disturbed only by the intrigues of Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa, who had been appointed by Pope Paschal II.* to succeed Adhemar of Pay as Legate of the Holy See, and had now been invested with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. As Chief, in this double capacity, of the Latin Church in the East, Daimbert audaciously claimed the disposal of those acquisitions, which the heroes of the Crusade had carved out with their own good swords; and both Godfrey and Boemond condescended to receive from his hands, as vassals of the Church, the Feudal investiture of the States of Jerusalem and Antioch. But even this submission did not satisfy the pride and cupidity of Daimbert; he claimed the entire possession of Jerusalem and Jaffa; and Godfrey, who shrank with superstitious horror from the idea of a contest with the Church, was glad to compound with the demand of the rapacious Prelate by the surrender of the whole of the latter city, and a portion, including the Sepulchre itself, of the sacred Capital. The Patriarch further extorted the monstrous condition, that the unreserved dominion of all Jerusalem should escheat to his See, in case Godfrey died without issue. That event occurred too shortly for the

Progress
of the
Crusades.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

Death of
Godfrey.
A. D.
1100.

* According to the vulgar belief, Pope Urban II. died of joy on learning the conquest of Jerusalem; but, as Mr. Mills has observed, (*Hist. of the Crusades*, vol. i. p. 268.) the decease of that Pontiff occurred only fifteen days after the capture of the city, and therefore too soon to have been produced by the receipt of the glad intelligence in Italy.

† Even the Archbishop of Tyre, despite of the zeal for the supremacy of the Church which he may be supposed naturally to have felt, is disgusted by the audacious pretensions of the Patriarch, and relates the tale with indignant candour. *Wül. Tyr.* p. 771.

* Albertus Aqueensis, p. 290—294. Willermus Tyr. p. 763—773.

History.

From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

Reign of
Baldwin I.
King of
Jerusalem.

happiness of a people, whom the good Prince governed with paternal benevolence; and to the sorrow, not only of the Christian inhabitants of Palestine, but even of their Musulman tributaries, he breathed his last, at the early age of forty years, five days preceding the first anniversary of his reign.*

On the death of Godfrey, the Barons of the Latin Kingdom of Palestine indignantly refused to ratify the promised cession which the Patriarch demanded; and it was resolved that the unimpaired rights of the Crown over Jerusalem should be bestowed with its temporal sovereignty. Tancred desired that the election should fall on his relative Boemond, Prince of Antioch: but that Prince had, at this critical juncture, been made prisoner by an Armenian Chieftain, whose territories he had unjustly invaded; and a general feeling that some preference was due to the claims of the House of Bouillon decided the choice of the Barons in favour of Baldwin, Prince of Edessa. Resigning his Principality to his relative and namesake, Baldwin du Bourg, the brother of Godfrey hastened to the Holy City; and, after some fruitless opposition, the Patriarch solemnly crowned the new King of Jerusalem in the Church of Bethlehem. The memory of the wrongs which he had sustained from Baldwin, inspired Tancred with a more excusable and lasting repugnance to his pretensions; and refusing to swear allegiance to an enemy, the Italian Chieftain retired from Jerusalem to Antioch, of which he assumed the regency during the captivity of Boemond. But an accommodation was effected by the good offices of the Barons; and the King and the Regent of Antioch were left at leisure to provide for the security of their States against the common Musulman enemy.† The character of Baldwin rose with his elevation; and, on the throne of Jerusalem, he, who during the Crusade had disgusted his competers by a selfish and treacherous ambition, displayed a disinterested and magnanimous devotion to his Royal duties, which won the respect and love of his people, and proved him no unworthy successor of his brother. During a reign of eighteen years, he not only sustained with zeal and ability the arduous office of defending the Latin State from the assaults of the Infidels, but extended its limits and increased its security.

Supplement
to the First
Crusade.

In these efforts he was much assisted by the remains of several armaments from Europe, which may be regarded as a supplement to the First Crusade. The spirit which had animated that enterprise still burned with undiminished intensity; and, in the course of a few years, Hugh of Vermandois, and Stephen of Chartres,—the same leaders who had retired with little honour from their first expedition,—the Dukes of Aquitaine and of Bavaria, the Counts of Burgundy, of Vendôme, of Nevers, and of Parma, and of other Princes, severally conducted into Asia whole armies of French, Gascon, Flemish, German, and Italian Crusaders, whose aggregate has been computed by a modern Writer at the astonishing number of little less than half a million of men.‡ These successive hosts took the same route, and encountered the same sufferings and disasters, from the dubious faith of the Byzantine Court, the incessant attacks of the Turks, and the triple scourge of the sword, famine, and pestilence, which had swept off the myriads of their precur-

sors.⁴ But a very small proportion, of those who had reached the Bosphorus, survived the horrors of the passage through Asia Minor: yet the remnant which entered Syria still fed the Christian cause in Palestine with a constant supply of veteran warriors; and by their aid, and more especially by that of some maritime expeditions from the European shores, many Musulman invasions were repelled, and many conquests achieved. In the third year of his reign, Baldwin I.,† after reducing Azotus, was enabled to form the siege of Acre; and by the opportune arrival of an armament of seventy Genoese galleys, filled with Crusaders, in the following Spring, that valuable conquest was completed after a protracted resistance. Beritus and Sarepta were also reduced and converted into Christian lordships; and Sidon became the next object of assault. With an interval of four years, two fleets of Scandinavian Crusaders, who had performed the long voyage from the Baltic through the Straits of Gibraltar to the Syrian shores, cooperated with the Christian forces of Palestine in the siege of that City; and although the first attempt was repulsed, the second proved successful.‡

All these acquisitions were incorporated into the Kingdom of Jerusalem. But a more important extension of the Christian territories in Syria had meanwhile been effected, and added to the number of distinct Principalities. The veteran Count of Thoulouse prevailed upon some of the French Princes whom, in the supplemental Crusade, he had guided with the remains of their forces through Asia Minor, to subjugate Tortosa on the coast of Syria for his benefit. The nucleus of a new State was thus formed, which Raymond employed his Provençal troops in extending; but he died before he could accomplish the reduction of the city of Tripoli, the object of his ambition and the destined Capital of his

Princes
of the
Crusade.

From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

A. D.
1104.

A. D.
1113.

Affair of
the other
Latin States
of the East

* Both the Counts of Vermandois and of Chartres, who found themselves compelled by the public contempt of a Chivalrous Age to return to Palestine, perished in the attempt to redeem the same which they had lost by the former abandonment of their Crusading vows. The great Count of Vermandois died at Tarsus of wounds received in battle with the Turks of Cilicia; and the Count of Chartres only survived his second march into Palestine to be taken prisoner and murdered in the frontier warfare by the Egyptian Musulmans. He had been driven to engage in the supplementary Crusade by the high-spirited reproaches of his Countess Adela, daughter of our Norman Conqueror, who had sworn to allow him no peace until he should repair his dishonour. He was father to Stephen, our English Usurper. Orderic. Vital. p. 790—793. Will. Tyr. p. 781—787. Albert. p. 315—325. Anna Commena, lib. ix. p. 331.

† In the preceding year, the King of Jerusalem had narrowly escaped captivity or death, through a rash assault which he ventured upon the Egyptian invaders of Palestine with a vanguard of only a few hundred horse. His followers were overwhelmed by superior numbers and almost all cut to pieces; and it was on this occasion that the Count of Chartres was taken and murdered. The story of Baldwin's escape presents one of the few gleams of generous sentiment which relieve the dark picture of a fanatical and savage warfare. Upon some former occasion, Baldwin had captured a noble Saracen woman, whose flight was arrested by the pangs of childbirth, and, after humanely rendering her every attention, had released her and her infant in safety. The husband was serving in the Musulman ranks, when Baldwin, after the slaughter of his followers, with difficulty reached a castle whither the victors immediately pursued him. The place was surrounded, and the capture of the King would have been inevitable, if the grateful Kaim had not secretly approached the walls at midnight, announced his design of delivering the prisoner of his wife and child, and, at the hazard of his own life, conveyed him in safety from the castle, which Baldwin had secretly quitted when it was stormed, and the whole garrison put to the sword. Will. Tyr. p. 787, 788.

‡ Albert. p. 345—365. Will. Tyr. p. 791—806.

* Albert. p. 294—299. Guibert. p. 537—554. Will. Tyr. p. 773—775.

† Albert. p. 300—308. Will. Tyr. p. 775, 776.

‡ Mills, *Hist. of Crusades*, vol. i. p. 290, note.

History. Oriental dominions. Some years afterwards, that conquest was effected for his eldest son Bertrand, by the King of Jerusalem, seconded by all the Latin Princes of the East, and a Pisan and Genoese fleet. Tripoli, with its surrounding district and dependencies, was then erected by Baldwin into a County for the House of Thoulouse; and this new State, which, although feudally subject to the Crown of Jerusalem, partook in extent and dignity rather of the character of a sovereign Principality than of a mere Fief, contributed much by its position between the territories of Antioch and Palestine to secure and cement the communication and strength of the Christian power.* But the affairs of Antioch were perpetually embroiled by the restless ambition of its Prince. During his captivity in Armenia, the government of that State was ably administered by Tancred; but after obtaining his release, Boemond, by his refusal to acknowledge the feudal superiority of the Eastern Emperor Alexius, involved himself in a new war, in which he was assisted by the Pisans. The Byzantine arms prevailing by land, Boemond sailed to Europe to plot a diversion against the Grecian territories of his ancient enemy; and having succeeded by his martial reputation in assembling a large army of Crusaders in France and Italy, he landed at Durazzo. Alexius was then glad to conclude an accommodation with him; and the Crusading forces pursuing the usual route through the Byzantine territories to Palestine, the Prince of Antioch returned to Italy, where he died in the following year. After his decease, the noble-minded Tancred continued to rule the Syrian Principality, until his Chivalrous career was appropriately terminated by a mortal wound which he had received in battle; and after some uninteresting revolutions in the government of Antioch, the eldest son of Boemond, who bore his name, finally arrived in Asia, and successfully claimed the Principality as his inheritance.† Meanwhile the isolated State of Edessa, surrounded on all sides by Armenian and Turkish enemies, was only preserved from destruction by the heroic valour of its Count, Baldwin du Bourg, and his relative, Joscelyn de Courtenay, a member of a noble French House which was rendered more illustrious by his exploits in the East, than by the subsequent alliance of a collateral branch with the Royal blood of France, and a succession of three Emperors to the Latin throne of Constantinople.‡

By the death of his kinsman Baldwin I. the Count of Edessa was called to receive the Crown of Jerusalem. On the junction of new bands of Crusaders from Europe, Baldwin I. had been encouraged to revenge the incessant attacks of the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt, by an invasion of that Country; and his career of victory on this expedition was cut short only by the hand of death. Leaving no issue, he, with his last breath, recommended his cousin Baldwin du Bourg for his successor; and after the retreat of the Crusading host into Palestine, which was the immediate consequence of the defection produced by his death, the Latin Prelates and Barons were induced by respect for his memory and the claims of consanguinity, as well as by the advice of Joscelyn de Courtenay, to confirm his choice. Baldwin du Bourg was therefore elected without opposition to fill the vacant throne, and immediately recompensed the services of Courtenay by resigning to him the possession of the County of Edessa. The principal event in the reign of Baldwin II. was the reduction of Tyre. The Doge of Venice, Ordelaffo Falieri, who had led the navy of his Republic on a martial pilgrimage to the coast of Palestine, was induced, after bargaining for the possession and sovereignty of one-third of that city,* to cooperate in the undertaking; and by a siege of five months the difficult conquest was achieved. Tyre was erected into an Archbishopric under the Patriarchate of Jerusalem; and by the capture of a City, which, though fallen from its ancient grandeur, was still the most opulent port on the Syrian coast, and had formed the last strong-hold of the Mussulmans in Palestine, the Latin power may be said to have attained its greatest consolidation and security.†

When the Kingdom of Jerusalem had thus acquired its utmost extent, it embraced all the Country of Palestine between the sea-coast and the Deserts of Arabia, from the City of Beritus on the North to the frontiers of Egypt on the South: forming a territory about sixty leagues in length and thirty in breadth; and exclusive of the County of Tripoli, which stretched Northward from Beritus to the borders of the Antiochian Principality. The whole territory both of the Kingdom and County was occupied by the warriors of the Cross, as we have

Progress of the Crusades.
From A. D. 1099. to A. D. 1204. Baldwin II. King of Jerusalem. A. D. 1118.

A. D. 1124.

Extent and state of the Latin Kingdom.

* Will. Tyr. p. 791—796.

† Radulphus Cad. p. 327—330. Fulcher. p. 419, 420. Albert. p. 340—354. Will. Tyr. p. 792—807. Anna Comnena, lib. xiv. p. 329—419.

‡ The adventures and vicissitudes of fortune which Joscelyn de Courtenay underwent in the East, as well as his Chivalrous deeds, might form the groundwork of a tale of Romance. He had originally accompanied the Count of Chartres from Europe in the supplementary Crusade, and settled at Edessa with his relation Baldwin, together with whom he was taken prisoner in a defeat which the Crusaders sustained from the Emir of Aleppo. After five years' captivity, the friends were released by the stratagem of some Armenian partisans, who, entering the fortress in which they were confined, in the disguise of monks and traders, surprised and slew the Turkish garrison. Baldwin then bestowed a portion of the Edessine territories in sovereignty upon Courtenay. But upon some jealousy, Joscelyn was treacherously lured to Edessa by his benefactor, put to the torture, and compelled to resign his domains. Indignant at this treatment, Courtenay withdrew to Jerusalem, where his services against the Infidels were rewarded by Baldwin I. with the Tiberiad for a Fief. Notwithstanding the wrongs by which his patron had cancelled former benefits, Joscelyn generously promoted his elevation to the throne of Jerusalem, and received the County of Edessa from his gratitude.

Baldwin, a second time falling into the hands of the Infidels after he had become King, Joscelyn obtained his liberation among the consequences of the fall of Tyre. The death of the hero at an advanced age was a worthy termination of his exploits. Being unable to sit on horseback, he was carried in a litter to the field; the Mussulmans fled at the very report of his presence; and he died giving thanks to Heaven that the mere fame of his ancient prowess sufficed to scatter the enemies of God. Will. Tyr. p. 853.

* All the maritime Republics of Italy, with their characteristic mercantile cupidity, extorted great commercial advantages as the price of their services to the Crusaders. At Acre, the Genoese obtained a street and many privileges in return for the aid of their fleet in the siege; (Will. Tyr. p. 791.) the Pisans, by treaty with Tancred, were rewarded in like manner for their services to the State of Antioch, with the property of a street both in that Capital and in Lodioca; (Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, Diss. 30.) the Venetians, in addition to their settlement at Tyre, received by stipulation a church and street in Jerusalem; and throughout the Christian possessions in Palestine and Syria generally, the three Republics contended, often with bloodshed, for the right of establishing places of exchange, and enjoying the common or exclusive privileges of trade. Sabalicus, *Hist. Jenei*, dec. i. lib. vi. Marini, *Storia Civ. e Pol. del Commercio del Veneziano*, vol. iii. lib. i. cap. 4—6, &c.

† Albert. p. 365—377. Fulcher. p. 423—440. Will. Tyr. p. 805—846, passim.

History. shown in a former part of this Volume,* upon the strictest principles of a Feudal settlement, with all the subdivisions and conditions of tenure which belonged to that martial Policy. Its adoption was suggested not more by every feeling and custom of the Age which the conquerors had brought with them from Europe, than by the obvious necessity of such a state of perpetual preparation for the public defence against the incessant assaults of their Infidel enemies; and it is almost needless to repeat that under no other form of settlement, probably, could the Latin conquests have been preserved by the scanty array of their resident defenders in so unremitting a warfare with the myriads of Turkish and Egyptian Mussulmans. At its highest computation, indeed, the Feudal force of the Kingdom of Jerusalem would appear very inadequate to its protection. The four great Fiefs of Jaffa, Galilee, Cæsarea, and Tripoli, with the Royal Cities of Jerusalem, Tyre, Acre, and Naplousa, and the other Lordships in chief of inferior extent, which composed the whole Kingdom, owed and could furnish the services of no more than two thousand five hundred Knights or mounted men-at-arms; and their followers with the contingent of the Ecclesiastical and Commercial Communities, all of which were bound to render aid to the King on lower Feudal tenures than the Knights' fees, constituted a militia, for the greater part probably of archers on foot, not exceeding twelve thousand in number.† It may be inferred that the whole population of martial colonists from Europe could scarcely supply even this provision, scanty as it was, for the public defence; and the policy or the domestic wants of the conquerors encouraged the settlement in Palestine of the native Christians of Syria and Armenia, and even of Mussulman tributaries for the cul-

tivation of the soil and the supply of mechanical labour. From the commingling of blood between the Crusaders and all these people in the enfeebling climate of the East, was produced a spurious and effeminate race, contemptuously designated by the Writers of their Age as *Pullani*, or *Poulains*, who had so utterly degenerated from the valour of their European fathers, as to fill the land without contributing to the strength of the State.*

But the Feudal army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the casual reinforcement of new Crusaders from Europe, formed not the only defences of Palestine. The union of fanatical and martial ardour gave birth to two famous Orders of Religious Chivalry, which were specially enrolled under the banners of the Cross; and the Christian cause in the East was long sustained by the emulous valour, though not infrequently injured by the less worthy rivalry, of the Knights of the Hospital of St. John and of the Temple of Solomon. The origin of both these remarkable institutions, which rose to celebrity by martial achievement, may be traced to purposes simply of pious and practical benevolence. Long before the era of the Crusades, some Italian merchants pursued a license from the Mussulman rulers of Jerusalem to found in that City an Hospital, together with a Chapel, which they dedicated to St. John the Eleemosynary—a canonized Patriarch of Alexandria—for the relief and wayfaring entertainment of sick and poor pilgrims. By the alms of the wealthier Christian visitors of the Sepulchre, and by charitable contributions which the merchants of Amalfi zealously collected in Italy, and as religiously transmitted to Jerusalem, the establishment was supported; and its duties were performed by a few Benedictine Monks, with the aid of such lay brethren among the European pilgrims as were induced to extend their penitential vows to a protracted residence in the Holy Land.† Perhaps through the habitual respect of the Mohammedan mind for charitable foundations, the Hospital of St. John might escape, but certainly it was suffered to outlive, the storms of Egyptian and Turkish persecution; and when Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Crusaders, the House was joyfully opened for the reception and cure of the wounded warriors. The pious Godfrey and his companions were edified by the active and self-denying benevolence of the brethren of the Hospital, who not only devoted themselves to the care of the suffering, but were contented with the coarsest fare, while their patients were supplied with bread of the purest flour. By the grateful munificence of Godfrey himself, the Hospital was endowed with an estate in Brabant, its first foreign possession; many of the Crusaders from religious motives embraced its charitable service; and the Society speedily acquired so much respect and importance, that the lay members, separating from the Monks of the Chapel of St. John the Almoner, formed themselves into a distinct community, assumed a religious habit—a long black mantle with a white cross of eight points on the left breast—and placed their Hospital under the higher patronage of St. John the Baptist. By the Patriarch of Jerusalem, their triple monastic vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty were accepted; and a Bull of Pope Paschal II., fourteen years after the conquest of Jerusalem, confirmed the institution, received the fraternity under the special

* For some particulars of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Palestine, see the Essay on the Feudal System in this Volume, p. 457, 458.

† The institution of the Feudal Code of Jerusalem dates from the first year of the Latin Conquest, and its compilation was directed by Godfrey de Bouillon himself; who, with the advice of the Patriarch and Barons, appointed several Commissioners among the Crusaders most learned in the Feudal statutes and customs of Europe to frame a body of similar Laws for the new Kingdom. Their digest was solemnly accepted in a general assembly of Prelates and Barons; and under the title of the *Assises de Jérusalem* became thereforth the recognised Code of the Latin State. The original Instrument which was deposited in the Holy Sepulchre, and revised and considerably enlarged by the legislation of succeeding reigns, is said to have been lost at the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin; but during the last agony of the expiring State, the provisions of the Code, which had been preserved by traditionary and customary authority, were again collected in a written form, A. D. 1250, by Jean d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, one of the four great Barons of the Kingdom; and a second and final revision was prepared in Cyprus, A. D. 1369, by sixteen Commissioners for the use of the Latin Kingdom in that Island. From a MS. of this Cypriot version, in the Vatican Library, was published at Paris, A. D. 1690, by Thaumassière, the edition of the *Assises de Jérusalem*, to which we are indebted for our acquaintance with this "precious monument," as a great Writer has justly termed it, "of Feudal Jurisprudence." But for the history of the Code, see *Assises de Jérusalem* against Thaumassière, Preface.

† Gibbon (ch. lviii.) has fallen into an error in estimating the number of Knights' fees in the whole Kingdom of Jerusalem, exclusive of Tripoli, as six hundred and sixty-six, and appears to have confounded the contingent of the four Royal Cities, which alone, according to the *Assises*, furnished that number, with the total Knightly array of the Realm. He cites Samutius, indeed, (*Secreta Fidei*, lib. iii.) as stating the number of Knights' fees in each of the great Baronies of Jaffa, Galilee, and Cæsarea, at one hundred only, but the very superior authority of the *Assises* takes them expressly at five hundred each. *Assises*, c. 324–331.

* Vide Du Cange, *Gloss. v. Pullani*.
† Will. Tyr. p. 934, 935.

Progress of the Crusades.
From A. D. 1099, to A. D. 1204.
Rise of the Orders of Religious Chivalry.
The Hospital of St. John the Eleemosynary.
The Temple of Solomon.
The origin of the Hospital of St. John and of the Temple of Solomon.
The union of fanatical and martial ardour gave birth to two famous Orders of Religious Chivalry.
The Christian cause in the East was long sustained by the emulous valour, though not infrequently injured by the less worthy rivalry, of the Knights of the Hospital of St. John and of the Temple of Solomon.
The origin of both these remarkable institutions, which rose to celebrity by martial achievement, may be traced to purposes simply of pious and practical benevolence.
Long before the era of the Crusades, some Italian merchants pursued a license from the Mussulman rulers of Jerusalem to found in that City an Hospital, together with a Chapel, which they dedicated to St. John the Eleemosynary—a canonized Patriarch of Alexandria—for the relief and wayfaring entertainment of sick and poor pilgrims.
By the alms of the wealthier Christian visitors of the Sepulchre, and by charitable contributions which the merchants of Amalfi zealously collected in Italy, and as religiously transmitted to Jerusalem, the establishment was supported; and its duties were performed by a few Benedictine Monks, with the aid of such lay brethren among the European pilgrims as were induced to extend their penitential vows to a protracted residence in the Holy Land.
Perhaps through the habitual respect of the Mohammedan mind for charitable foundations, the Hospital of St. John might escape, but certainly it was suffered to outlive, the storms of Egyptian and Turkish persecution; and when Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Crusaders, the House was joyfully opened for the reception and cure of the wounded warriors.
The pious Godfrey and his companions were edified by the active and self-denying benevolence of the brethren of the Hospital, who not only devoted themselves to the care of the suffering, but were contented with the coarsest fare, while their patients were supplied with bread of the purest flour.
By the grateful munificence of Godfrey himself, the Hospital was endowed with an estate in Brabant, its first foreign possession; many of the Crusaders from religious motives embraced its charitable service; and the Society speedily acquired so much respect and importance, that the lay members, separating from the Monks of the Chapel of St. John the Almoner, formed themselves into a distinct community, assumed a religious habit—a long black mantle with a white cross of eight points on the left breast—and placed their Hospital under the higher patronage of St. John the Baptist.
By the Patriarch of Jerusalem, their triple monastic vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty were accepted; and a Bull of Pope Paschal II., fourteen years after the conquest of Jerusalem, confirmed the institution, received the fraternity under the special

History. protection of the Holy See, and invested it with many valuable privileges.*

From A. D. 1099. to A. D. 1204. Assump- tion of a martial char- acter by its brother- hood.

The next transition of the Order to a military character is less accurately recorded; but the change may be referred in general terms to the reign of Baldwin II.: since the services in arms of its brethren under that Prince are acknowledged in a Papal Bull.† In fact, the constant jeopardy in which the Latin State was placed by the assaults of the Infidels admitted, as we have seen, of no exemption to any community in the Kingdom, whether Lay or Ecclesiastical, from actively contributing to the public defence; and the martial habits and feelings of the Crusaders of Knightly rank who had enrolled themselves in the fraternity of the Hospital, would naturally suggest the honourable preference of a personal to a deputed service. The revenues of the Order, by the increase of its endowments, were already far more than sufficient to supply the charitable uses of the Hospital; and it was magnanimously resolved to devote the surplus to the defence of the State. The former soldiers of the Cross resumed their military, without discarding their religious garb and profession; the union of Chivalric and Religious sentiment, however discordant in modern ideas, was equally congenial to the spirit of the Age, and proper to the great cause of the Crusades; and thenceforth the banner and the battle-cry of the Knights of St. John were seen and heard foremost and loudest in every encounter with the Paynim enemy. The government of the Order was vested in the Grand Master and General Council of the Knights, all of whom were required to be of noble birth; a distinct Body of regular Clergy was provided for the offices of Religion; and a third and inferior class of Sergeants, or serving brethren, both swelled the martial array of the Knightly Fraternity and discharged the Civil duties of the Hospital.‡ The renown which the Order acquired in the fields of Palestine soon attracted the nobility from all parts of Europe to its standard; admiration of both its pious and Chivalric purposes multiplied, throughout the West, endowments of land and donations of money; and the rents of nineteen thousand farms, administered by Preceptories or Commanderies, as the principal Houses were termed which the Knights established in every Christian Country, supplied a perpetual revenue to their Hospital in Palestine, and served to maintain its regular military force.§

The institution of the Order of the Temple of Solomon was of later date than the adoption of a military character by the Friars of St. John; and the Templars in their pristine state of humility and poverty owed more obligations to the Hospitallers, by whom they were originally fed and clothed, than their successors, in the days of their pride and power, cared to acknowledge or strive to repay. The original design of their association differed from that of the Hospital in having united from the outset the martial with a charitable profession. Even after the conquest of the Holy Land by the Crusaders, the roads to Jerusalem from the ports and Northern frontiers of Palestine continued to be infested by bands of Turks who indulged at once their thirst of plunder and their hatred of the Christian name, by the robbery

and murder of the numerous defenceless pilgrims from Europe. The dangers which beset these poor votaries to the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre from the cruelty of the Infidels, roused the pious compassion and Chivalric indignation of Geoffroy de St. Aldemar, Hugh de Payens, and other French Knights in Palestine, who bound themselves mutually by oath to devote their lives to the relief and safe conduct of all pilgrims. As their association partook of a religious character, they followed the example of the fraternity of the Hospital by assuming the Monastic vows and garb; and when Baldwin I. marked his approval of their purpose by assigning them part of his own Palace for a residence at Jerusalem, the title which they adopted of the poor soldiery of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon, was suggested by the contiguity of their quarters to the site of that sacred edifice. The maintenance which they at first received from the charity of the Hospital of St. John was soon more independently provided by the respect which was won for their Order throughout Christendom through the grateful report of the pilgrims; with the increase of their means and numbers they aspired to extend their humbler service of guarding the roads of Palestine to the more glorious adventure of offensive warfare against the Infidels; and, thenceforth, in wealth, privileges, and power, and in heroic enterprise, the History of their rise differs little from that of the Hospitallers. The constitution of the two Orders was similar; and the number of Preceptories and estates possessed by the Templars in every Kingdom of Europe,* were immense sources of influence and opulence, second only in degree to those of the elder fraternity.† But in honourable estimation and martial renown, no superiority could with justice be claimed by either Order; and admission into the ranks of both was sought with equal avidity by the flower of the European Chivalry. In externals, the Knights of the Temple were distinguished from their rivals by their use of a long white cloak or mantle, with a straight red cross on the left breast. The banner and seal of the Order in the maturity of its splendour also bore a cross gules in a field argent: for its earlier and well-known device, presenting the singular emblem of two men on one horse, although intended by the pious humility of its founders to commemorate the original poverty of the brotherhood, was not long permitted to survive the condition which it had expressed;‡

During the reign of Baldwin II. the safety and extension of the Kingdom of Palestine were largely indebted to the prowess of the Knights of the Hospital and Temple; and before the decease of that Monarch the two Orders had become the most powerful champions of the Latin power. As Baldwin II. had no sons, he obtained the consent of his Nobles and Prelates to nominate as his successor, Foulques Count of Anjou, whom he had married to his eldest daughter

Progress of the Crusades.

From A. D. 1099. to A. D. 1204. A. D. 1127.

and rapid elevation of their fraternity.

Grandeur of the Order.

The Templars.

Original design, A. D. 1118.

Reign of Foulques of Anjou, King of Jerusalem.

A. D. 1181.

* See the Statutes of the Order in Vertot, *Hist. des Chevaliers de St. Jean de Jerusalem*. Appendix.

† Bud.

‡ Vertot, *ubi supra*.

§ Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*. p. 544.

* In England both Orders early acquired large possessions. The principal Preceptory of each was established in London: that of the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell, and of the Templars in Holborn, whence it was removed into Fleet-street. Stow, lib. iv. p. 62. Dugdale, *Origines Jurid.* c. 57.

† Both Hospitallers and Templars were prohibited from possessing any private property; but their renunciation of poverty, by a convenient interpretation, was only personal, and did not extend to their enjoying in common the enormous wealth of their Orders.

‡ For the rise of the Order of Templars see, *passim*, the XIIIth book of William of Tyre. Also Knighton, p. 2382, Brompton, p. 1008, and Matt. Paris, (*Hist. Minor*) p. 419, &c.

History.

From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.

Melissinda. In his youth, Foulques had visited Palestine as a Crusader, at the head of one hundred Knights and men-at-arms, and had left so favourable an opinion of his Chivalric qualities on the mind of Baldwin that, nine years afterwards, when he had become a widower, the King invited him from France to receive the hand of the Princess. Dazzled by the prospect of a Royal alliance and a matrimonial Crown, the Count abandoned his extensive French Fiefs to his son;^{*} and on his arrival in the Holy Land, his nuptials with Melissinda were solemnized, and he was immediately acknowledged as the heir to the Throne. The death of Baldwin, which shortly ensued, gave him the undisputed possession of the Crown; and during a reign of thirteen years Foulques, without performing any brilliant achievement, sufficiently emulated the courage and virtues of his predecessors in the defence and government of the Kingdom. His decease left the State in the hands of his widow Melissinda and their son Baldwin III., then only thirteen years old, who were crowned together; and it was soon after the martial sceptre of the House of Bouillon had thus devolved upon a woman and a minor, that the Christian power in the East received the first disastrous shock from the Musulman arms. Since the death of Joscelyn de Courtenay, the defence of the Principality of Edessa had been feebly sustained by his son, who inherited neither his valour nor ability. But its safety was more fatally compromised by the selfish indifference or still more criminal treachery of the Princes of Antioch; who coolly witnessed the danger of a State which, by its position beyond the Euphrates, formed the great advanced post of the Latin settlements in Syria; and which therefore every motive of honour and policy should have impelled them to succour. Profiting by the disunion of the Christians, Zenghi, the Turkish Emir of Mosul or Aleppo, whose martial activity and skill had already rendered his power formidable during the life of Joscelyn de Courtenay, suddenly entered the State of Edessa with an overwhelming force; laid siege to its Capital; and before the levies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem could march to its relief, took the City by storm.[†]

Accession
of Baldwin
III.

A. D.
1144.

Fall of
Edessa to
the Turks.

A. D.
1145.

Universal
indignation
of Christen-
dom at this
loss.

The intelligence of the fall of Edessa startled the Christian residents in Palestine from lethargic indifference to an alarming discovery of the renovation of the Turkish power on that frontier; and the first burst of shame and consternation excited among the guardians of the Holy Land by the disgraceful loss and impending danger, was naturally followed by earnest solicitations for succour from Europe. Throughout every Country of Western Christendom, the appeal was re-

ceived with a general enthusiasm little inferior to that which, half a century before, had stimulated the great design of the First Crusade. The martial and religious feelings of Europe were provoked to indignation by the report of the triumph of the Infidels; and this universal spirit was already prepared for a second mighty effort of fanaticism, when it was roused into action by the master mind of the Age. Of the station and character of St. Bernard, a Biographical sketch has already been given in a former Chapter;[‡] and our business in this place is only to record his principal share in promoting the Second Crusade. The report of the calamity which had befallen, and of the increasing perils which threatened, the Christian cause in Palestine affected his ardent temper with powerful emotions of religious zeal; and his resolution to preach a new Crusade was supported by the private friendship and the public wishes of Pope Eugenius III., as well as by the respect and influence which his virtues and talents had deservedly acquired throughout Europe. Not less than the distinguished part which he had already filled in Ecclesiastical affairs, do the nobility of his birth, the uniform sanctity of his life, and the really great attainments of his genius and learning, place him at an immeasurable height of personal dignity above the obscure and ignorant fanatic, who had first lighted up the flame which he now rekindled. But St. Bernard could only emulate the successful mission, though he might slight the memory,† of the Hermit Peter; the impassioned oratory of the profound Theologian could not produce more astonishing results than the rude eloquence of the Solitary of Amiens; and in the relation of its effects, the preaching of the Second Crusade forms but a copy of that of the First.

In our abstract of the reign of Louis VII. of France, will be found; an enumeration of the causes which rendered the aspect of affairs in that Country at the juncture before us peculiarly favourable to the design of St. Bernard. By his firmness in repressing the rebellious feuds of his turbulent Vassals, Louis had securely established the Royal authority; and the tranquil condition of his Kingdom left him at liberty to gratify, in a foreign and sacred enterprise, the thirst of glorious adventure natural to a young and successful Monarch. But even the strong desire of Chivalrous achievement was secondary in the mind of this religious Prince to motives of piety, however mistaken; and feelings of deeply cherished remorse for his involuntary share in the horrible catastrophe at Vitry, and of less reasonable compunction for a long disregard of the Papal anathemas, powerfully impelled Louis to offer that atonement, which a false superstition deemed most acceptable to Heaven, by embarking in the great warfare against the Infidel assailants of the Holy Land. When, therefore, St. Bernard announced his mission, it was eagerly promoted as we have seen by the French King; and in the great assembly of his Nobles and People which he convoked at Vezelay, the same spectacle was repeated, which had been witnessed at the Council of Clermont before the First Crusade. From the innumerable multitudes

Progress
of the
Crusades.
From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.

The Se-
cond Cru-
sade
preached by
St. Ber-
nard.

and ex-
tended by
Louis VII.
of France
and the
Emperor
Conrad
III.

A. D.
1146.

* That son was Geoffroy Plantagenet, the husband of the Empress Matilda, and father of our Henry II. It is strange that William of Tyre, the eulogist of Foulques, should represent him as sixty years of age when he arrived in Palestine for the second time to celebrate his nuptials with Melissinda; for the learned Benedictine Authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* (Article Comtes d'Anjou) prove that he was born only A. D. 1092; and his reign in Palestine commenced A. D. 1131. His family had long been famous for their passion of making pilgrimages to the Holy Land; and one of them, who travelled thither before the era of the Crusades, having bound his servants by oath to do whatsoever he should require, compelled them publicly to scourge his naked back before the Altar of the Sepulchre, while in penitential cries he implored the pardon of Heaven for his sins. Malmesbury, p. 307.

† Will. Tyr. p. 844—893. For the exploits of Zenghi, see also De Guignes, *Hist. Gén. des Huns*, vol. ii. lib. xiii., and the Arabic Writers therein abridged.

• See ch. lxxiv. of our *Historical Division*, p. 655, 656.

‡ In one of his extant epistles St. Bernard speaks contemptuously of his predecessor the Hermit, as *vir quidam, Petrus nomine, cuius et vos (si fallor) sepe mentionem audistis, &c.*; and attributes to his misconduct the destruction of the people in the First Crusade. *Opera Sancti Bernardi*, Ep. 363. Ed. Mabillon, Venet. A. D. 1758.

† See ch. lxxiii. p. 617.

History.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

Virtues of
St. Bernard.

which filled the plain and covered the neighbouring heights of Veselay to their summit, cries of "the Cross, the Cross! It is the Will of God!" rent the air and interrupted the vehement appeal of the preacher; and before the assembly broke up, Louis himself, with his Queen, the too famous Eleanor of Aquitaine, and a host of the Nobility and Knighthood of his Realm, had been signed with the sacred emblem of their vows. From France, St. Bernard with indefatigable zeal proceeded into Germany; and his course from the Rhine to the Danube, and from the recesses of the Swiss mountains to the plains of Northern Italy, was everywhere signalized by the same successful exertions of his fervid zeal and impetuous eloquence. At his soul-stirring exhortations, the great Feudatory Princes of Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, Piedmont, and Styria, with a crowd of inferior Chieftains, assumed the Cross; and the conversion of the Emperor Conrad III., after some struggle between the sense of political interest and of religious duty, completed the triumph of the pious orator.*

The personal motives of St. Bernard were disinterested, pure, and elevated: his zeal was equally free from all alloy of gross fanaticism, selfish ambition, or worldly vanity; and its mistaken direction was the only error which he shared with the most virtuous and devout of his contemporaries. But the intrinsic greatness of his mind is not the less perceptible through this fatal delusion; and in nothing is his superiority to the spirit of the Age in which he lived more conspicuous, than in the wisdom and humanity which tempered his enthusiasm. The first of these qualities was signally displayed in his refusal to accept the command of the intended expedition to the Holy Land, as a station which he felt and confessed his own infirmity to fill from want of martial experience and bodily health. His humane exertions to avert from the Jews in France a repetition of the horrid persecution which their fathers had suffered from the fanaticism of the first Crusaders, have already been recorded, and were extended to the protection of that unhappy people, with earnest and consistent benevolence, in Germany and other Countries. He sternly silenced, by the exertion of his delegated authority from the Pope, the preaching of a fanatical German Monk, who had endeavoured to provoke a general massacre of the Jews; and his injunctions in circular letters to the Crusaders to abstain equally from the murder and spoliation of an unoffending people, breathe the genuine Christian precepts of mercy and justice. The doctrines thus inculcated indeed were so new to his Age, that fully to appreciate the virtuous and truly pious efforts of St. Bernard in this labour of charity, they must be contrasted with the monstrous opinion then prevalent among all orders of society, that to shed the blood and despoil the wealth of Infidels was an allowable vengeance, and even a positive duty, against the enemies of God. The practical application of this inhuman and impious belief to the plunder and slaughter of a rich, usurious, and defenceless race, offered too tempting a prey to the cupidity of the

bigoted populace and the yet more malignant instigation of numerous debtors, to be wholly averted even by the eloquent and powerful denunciations of the preacher whose voice had awakened all Europe to arms. Notwithstanding the anathemas of St. Bernard, the Jews were in many places robbed and murdered; and in Germany especially they were saved from extermination only by the Imperial protection.†

The presence of Louis VII. and of the Emperor Conrad III.—the first great Monarchs of the West who had assumed the Cross—seemed to invest the great enterprise in which they had engaged with a dignity superior even to that of the former Crusade. The armies which the two Sovereigns prepared to lead to the relief of Palestine comprised the national Chivalry of France and Germany, with numerous auxiliaries from England‡ and Italy; and if the statements of contemporary Writers may be credited, these united forces equalled in number the prodigious hosts of the first Holy War. The Emperor and the King were each at the head of seventy thousand mailed cavalry; their heavily armed infantry exceeded two hundred and fifty thousand; and the Clergy, other defenceless pilgrims, camp followers, women, and children, might swell the aggregate of the Crusading multitudes to nearly a million of souls.‡ From Ratisbon and Mayence, their places of rendezvous, both the German and French armies successively pursued the same route through Hungary and Bulgaria to Constantinople, which had been traversed by their predecessors in the First Crusade. Manuel Comnenus, grandson of Alexius, was now on the Byzantine throne: but the timid and treacherous policy of that Court was unchangeable; and in the apparent friendship and secret hostility, with which the Greek Emperor alternately assisted and harassed the march of the Crusaders, he faithfully copied the example of his ancestor. He engaged by Treaty that they should be received hospitably and supplied with provisions upon equitable terms: yet, in the bread which his subjects sold to them, poisonous ingredients were frequently mingled; base coin was issued expressly from the Imperial Mint to defraud the strangers in the interchange of trade; the sick whom the Crusading hosts were obliged to leave behind on their march were often murdered; their stragglers were cut off; the bridges on their route were broken down; their columns were galled with flights of arrows from ambush in every forest; and all the impediments of a desultory though unavowed warfare were cowardly opposed to their progress. When therefore the German army thus harassed arrived before the walls of Constantinople, Conrad, though he abstained from hostile retaliation, indignantly refused an interview with the Greek Emperor, and crossing the Bosphorus pursued his march through Asia Minor. But the French King, on his arrival at the Byzantine Capital, accepted the apologies and entertainment of Manuel, and suffered himself to be beguiled by the blandishments of his perfidious host, until he was roused from inaction by the

Progress
of the
Crusades.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
Numbers
and march
of the Cru-
sading
hosts.
A. D.
1147.

* Odo de Diagolo, (*apud Bouquet, Recueil des Hist. Français*), vol. xii. p. 91.—83. Otto Frisingensis (*apud Muratori, Script. Her. Ital.*) vol. vi. c. 37. These two Writers, the first a Frenchman, and the latter a German, who himself accompanied the Emperor Conrad to Palestine, form—together with the anonymous Author of the *Gesta Ludovici Regis VII.* (in Duchesne, vol. iv.)—our chief contemporary authorities for the transactions of their respective countrymen in the Second Crusade.

† Pfeffel, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, vol. i. p. 309.

‡ The recent cessation of the Civil wars of Stephen's reign induced many of the English nobility to assume the Cross, and among them Roger de Mowbray and William de Warenne. Richard Hagenot, p. 275, 276. Huntingdon, p. 394, also says that *multitudo de gente Anglorum* accompanied the French host; and his account is curiously confirmed by the Byzantine Chronicler Cinnamus, p. 29.

§ Will. Tyr. p. 902. Cinnamus, p. 31 and the authorities cited in Du Cange, (*ad Cinnamum*).

History. appalling intelligence of the destruction of the German army.*

From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.
Disastrous
passage
through
Asia Minor.

In the march through Asia Minor, the Emperor Conrad was betrayed by his Greek guides into the hands of the Sultan of Iconium, who had assembled immense hordes of Turcomans to oppose his passage. While purposely misled into the most dangerous mountain passes of Lycaonia, the Germans were suddenly attacked on all sides; and the heavily armed Chivalry were unable either to reach their more lightly equipped assailants on the heights, or to protect the defenceless crowd of footmen from the Turkish arrows. By a desperate effort, Conrad succeeded, indeed, with a portion of his horse, in cutting a retreat through the Musliman hordes: but he was compelled to abandon the infantry and unarmed pilgrims to their fate; and nine-tenths of the whole German host are computed to have been destroyed by the shafts and scimitars of the Infidels, or to have perished of hunger and thirst in this calamitous expedition. When Conrad, with the remnant of his followers, had effected his retreat to Nice, where the French King after crossing the Bosphorus had established his camp, no doubt was left of the foul treachery of Manuel, who had not only delayed the advance of Louis by false reports of the success of his German confederates, but was also found to have maintained an intelligence with the Sultan of Iconium. As the Greek Emperor is charged with this guilt, not merely by the Latin Writers, but on the contemporary testimony of one of his own subjects,† some praise is due to the magnanimous or prudent forbearance, which induced the Crusading Monarchs to sacrifice every natural impulse of vengeance to the fulfilment of the sacred objects of their enterprise. Now advancing in concert through Asia Minor, but turning aside from the former route of the Crusaders to the sea-coast of Lydia, Conrad and Louis reached Ephesus with their forces: but there the destitution of equipments for a longer march, to which his Germans had been reduced by their defeat, obliged Conrad to transport them by sea to Palestine; and the French army alone resumed its route by land. On the banks of the Meander, Louis and his Chivalry encountered and overthrew the Turkish hosts with so tremendous a slaughter, that piles of Musliman bones in the next Age still whitened the scene of destruction. But the confidence inspired by this victory served only to lure on the negligent Crusaders to their ruin. In their continued march, the vanguard had already passed the mountains between Pisidia and Phrygia, when the rearward commanded by Louis in person, while entangled in the defiles, was suddenly assailed by innumerable swarms of Turks, who covering the surrounding precipices from thence with fragments of rock crushed and hurled whole squadrons of the French *gens-d'armes* into the yawning gulfs below. The surprise was so complete and dreadful, that the whole rearguard was routed and destroyed before order could be restored; and the King himself, after performing prodigies of valour, was saved only, under favour of the darkness, by climbing a tree, and with difficulty escaped almost unattended to the camp of the vanguard. After this disaster, the hope of penetrating into Syria by land was abandoned; the sea-coast was again sought; and the army reached the port of Attalia in Pamphylia. There, after incurring new

A. D.
1148.

horrors and losses from famine and disease, the King succeeded in procuring some Greek vessels to transport his hands of Nobles and Knights to Antioch: but he was reluctantly compelled, by the want of sufficient shipping, to abandon the inferior crowd of infantry and pilgrims on the shore. After his departure, the guard which he had left for their protection proved insufficient to resist the incessant attacks of the Turks; the people of Attalia not only shut the gates of the city against them, but massacred the defenceless sick and wounded; and the whole wretched multitude perished either by the swords of the Infidels or the more unnatural cruelty of the perfidious Greeks.*

When the German Emperor and the French King had at last reached the shores of Palestine by sea, even the shattered remnants of their hosts supplied so considerable a reinforcement to the Christian power in Palestine, that in a general Council at Acre, whither the two Monarchs repaired to meet the King of Jerusalem and his Barons, it was resolved to undertake some enterprise worthy of the Imperial and Royal dignity. But though the recovery of the Principality of Edessa had formed the original design of the Crusade, that object was now either abandoned from conviction of the difficulties attending so distant an expedition, or postponed to more pressing considerations of immediate danger or local interest. The vicinity of Damascus rendered the continued possession of that important place by the Infidels more perilous to the safety of the Latin Kingdom than the loss of the remote city of Edessa; and the three Sovereigns of Germany, France, and Jerusalem, led their national Chivalry and the Knights of St. John and the Temple to the siege of that great strong-hold of the Turkish power in Syria. But Damascus was strongly fortified and skilfully defended; the valour of the Christians was misdirected by ignorance or paralyzed by discord and treason; and after a miserable failure, variously attributed to all these causes, the Crusading army withdrew from the walls, and retreated in shame and dishonour to Jerusalem. Thence, in despair of the efficacy of further exertions, Conrad and Louis, with an interval of a year between their several departures, both returned to Europe with the broken army of the Chivalry; and the Christian cause in Palestine was again deserted, save by the scanty bands but enduring courage of its habitual defenders.†

Such was the abortive issue of the Second Crusade. The mightiest efforts of the congregated force of Europe had been exhausted in Asia Minor; and the presence of the greatest Monarchs of Christendom in Palestine had served only to expose the weakness of their vaunted power to the eyes of the triumphant Infidels. The sacrifice of the myriads of their followers had absolutely failed to achieve a single advantage for the cause in which two great armies had perished; and after the fruitless hopes of succour which had been excited by their approach and disappointed by their failure, the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre were abandoned to sustain the tempest of Musliman warfare with diminished confidence and increasing danger. Meanwhile, from the distant banks of the Euphrates, the gathering power which had already swept away the Christian

Progress
of the
Crusades
From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.

Arrival of
the remnant
of the Cru-
sading hosts
in Palestine.

Frontier
siege of
Damascus.

Abortive
outcome
of the Se-
cond Cru-
sade.

A. D.
1148.

Rise and
progress of
Musliman
power in
the Turks.

* Will. Tyr. p. 901—903. Cinnamus, p. 30—32.
† Nicetas, p. 33.

* Will. Tyr. p. 903—906. *Gesta Ludovici*, p. 395—400. Nicetas, p. 33—37.
† Will. Tyr. p. 906—914. *Gesta Ludovici*, p. 401—409. Otto Fris. c. 40—47. &c.

History.

From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.

Reign of
Baldwin
III. in
Palestine.

A. D.
1153

Succession
of Almeric
of the
throne.
A. D.
1162.

late of
Egypt.

bulwark of Edessa and was destined eventually to overwhelm the Latin Kingdom of Palestine, was continually enlarged with portentous vigour. Before the death of Zenghi, the victorious Emir or Atabec* of Aleppo, his dominions had already swelled into a considerable Empire; and, by its still further extension under his son, the great Nouredin, who added the sovereignty of Damascus to that of Aleppo, and consolidated the Musulman power in Syria under a single ruler, the frontiers of the Latin States became completely enveloped by the conquests of this formidable enemy.†

Notwithstanding, however, the failure of the Second Crusade and the increasing power of the Turks, Baldwin III., supported by the Feudal array of his Kingdom and the Knights of the Military Orders, continued throughout the remainder of his reign to uphold the Christian cause in Palestine with courage and energy. In order to protect the Northern frontiers of the Latin States from the designs of Nouredin, the King stationed himself at Antioch; and though unable to save the remnant of the Edessene territory, he succeeded in rescuing the Christian garrisons and inhabitants under a safe escort from the impending horrors of Turkish slavery. Being recalled from Antioch to repel a new invasion, in which the troops of Nouredin from Damascus had penetrated to the gates of Jerusalem, he came up with the Infidels, who had already been compelled to retreat by the bravery of the Military Orders; and inflicted on them near Jericho so total a defeat, that the whole Turkish host was either slaughtered or drowned in the waters of the Jordan. On the Southern frontiers of Palestine, the arms of the Christian Prince were subsequently still more successful against the Egyptian Musulmans; and his reduction of the important city of Ascalon, after an obstinate siege, added a new possession and bulwark to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. By these exploits and by the generous spirit with which he devoted his last years to the active defence of his people, Baldwin redeemed the reproach of some irregularities of personal conduct which had clouded his youth; without any high degree of ability, his character was graced by many noble and chivalric qualities; and he died respected even by his Infidel enemies and deeply lamented by his own subjects.‡ As he left no children, he was succeeded by his brother Almeric, whose equal mediocrity of talent was unrelieved by the same virtues, and whose temper presented an unpleasant contrast of avarice and overweening ambition. By these passions the new King, disregarding the pressure of nearer and more imminent danger from the power of Nouredin, was tempted to engage in repeated projects for the distant conquest of Egypt, which as fruitlessly exhausting the strength of the Christian Kingdom, may be numbered among the accelerating causes of its downfall.

Obeying the usual vicissitudes of the Saracen Dynasties, the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt had for many generations sunk into abject slavery to their own Vizirs; and at the period before us the supreme authority in the Seraglio of Cairo was disputed between two powerful rivals, Shawer and Dargham. The latter prevailing, Shawer fled to the Court of Nouredin; and

that Prince, glad of any occasion for extending his influence, openly protected the fugitive, and despatched a body of troops under Shiracouch, the most famous of his Turcoman Generals, into Egypt, to reinstate him in the Vizirship. The expedition was successful; Dargham was slain in battle; but Shawer, in nominally recovering his power over the helpless Khalif of Egypt, found that he was only himself a slave to the lieutenant of Nouredin. To rid himself of this new yoke, the Egyptian Vizir had recourse to the King of Jerusalem; and Almeric, who had already engaged in hostilities to exact a promised tribute from Egypt, eagerly received his overtures. The power of Nouredin was far superior to that of the Frankish Monarch: but the proximity of Palestine to Egypt enabled the Christian forces to reach Cairo by a direct march from their own frontiers; while from Damascus the interposition of the Latin States would oblige the Turkish cavalry to make a long circuit over the burning Deserts of Arabia. This advantage of situation made it easy for the King of Jerusalem, on the invitation of Shawer, to march an army into Egypt, and to besiege Shiracouch in Pelusium, before Nouredin was able to succour his lieutenant. After a long and gallant defence, the Turkish General was compelled to capitulate; but Nouredin meanwhile had made a formidable diversion by pouring his troops into the territory of Antioch; and Almeric, thus prevented from reaping the fruits of his victory, returned by rapid marches to the defence of the Latin State. At his approach, Nouredin made an artful demonstration of retreating; but his retreat was only the prelude to a sudden attack upon the exulting and negligent forces of Almeric; and the Christians, before they could recover from their surprise, were routed near Artesia with immense loss. After this ominous event, the severest defeat in the open field which the Christian forces in Palestine had sustained since their conquest of Jerusalem, Nouredin was at leisure to resume his designs upon Egypt; and the veteran Shiracouch was ordered to lead a second and more numerous army into that Country. But Almeric, stimulated by ambition and avarice, had made such vigorous efforts to repair the disaster of Artesia, that he again appeared on the Egyptian frontiers with a chosen body of the Christian Chivalry, before Shiracouch had reached the banks of the Nile. The Turkish army was exhausted by a calamitous march across the Desert; the Christian Knights were fresh and vigorous; and their valour and energy, though feebly supported by their Egyptian allies, triumphed over the superior military skill of Shiracouch. After a campaign in which the ability of the Turkish General was admirably displayed, he was a second time obliged to conclude a capitulation with Almeric and the Vizir Shawer, by which he engaged to evacuate Egypt; and both the Christian and Turkish armies returned to their own States.*

The cupidity of the King of Jerusalem was, however, after so successful an expedition, more than ever attracted by the wealth and defenceless condition of Egypt; and obtaining, through a family alliance which he had at this epoch concluded with the Greek Emperor, Manuel Comnenus, the promised aid of the Byzantine navy, he resolved to attempt the total subjugation of the Country which he had protected from the Turks. A pretence for this aggression was found or framed on the report of a secret negotiation between the Vizir Shawer

Progress
of the
Crusades.

From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.

War of the
Christians
and Turks
for its pos-
session.

A. D.
1163.

Conquest or
deliverance
of the Coun-
try by the
former.

A. D.
1167.

Project of
Almeric for
the perma-
nent sub-
jugation of
Egypt.

A. D.
1169.

* This title signifying father or protector of the Sovereign, seems to have been extorted by the Turkish Chieftains from their nominal lords, but real slaves, the Khalifs of Bagdad. D'Herbelot, Bib. Orientale. Art. Atabec.

† De Guignes, lib. xiii.

‡ Will. Tyr. p. 915—934. De Guignes, lib. xiii.

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* Will. Tyr. p. 956—974. De Guignes, lib. xiii.

History.

From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

and Nouredin; and Almeric, drawing together one of the most numerous and best appointed armies which had ever been assembled under the Christian banners in Palestine, suddenly crossed the Egyptian frontiers, attacked Petausim, sacked that city with horrible cruelty, and from thence advanced to the gates of Cairo. But his perfidy and the ferocious conduct of his followers roused the unwelcome Egyptians to desperation; and while the people of Cairo prepared for a vigorous defence, and implored the distant aid of their ancient Turkish enemies for their deliverance, the Vizir Shawer baid the avarice of the King of Jerusalem by the gift of an hundred thousand pieces of gold and the promise of nine times that amount as the price of peace. The greedy Almeric suffered himself to be amused by these negotiations, until Shiracouch with a large army appeared on the frontiers; and the crafty Vizir, then throwing off the mask, joined the Turks with his troops and recommenced hostilities. The Christian army was now unable to cope with the united forces of the Egyptian and Syrian Moslems; the Greek Emperor had failed in rendering the promised cooperation of his navy; and the King of Jerusalem cloncd his iniquitous scheme of conquest by a disgraceful retreat into Palestine. But the Egyptian Vizir immediately felt a victim to his own tortuous policy. For, now jealous of the influence which the victorious Turk had acquired over the feeble mind of the Khalif, he conspired against the life of so dangerous a rival; and Shiracouch, anticipating his treachery, caused him to be seized and put to death, and himself to be invested with the dignity of Vizir.*

Its failure.
A. D.
1169.

Rise of
Saladin.

The new ruler of Egypt survived his elevation only two months; and his death prepared the rise of his nephew, the famous Sallah-u-deen or Saladin. This scourge of the Christian fortunes in Palestine had attended his uncle in all his expeditions into Egypt; and in the second of those campaigns had particularly distinguished himself by a skilful and resolute, though unsuccessful, defence of Alexandria. But the political genius and ambition of the young Curdish Chieftain had remained concealed from the world, and perhaps from himself, in the pursuit of licentious pleasures; and on the death of Shiracouch, when the haughty pretensions of elder leaders to the Vizirship alarmed the jealousy of the feeble Khalif of Egypt, the apparent weakness of Saladin induced that Sovereign to nominate him to the vacant dignity. If the disgust and disaffection of the disappointed Emirs at first rendered Saladin the powerless servant of the Khalif, his skilful use of the royal treasures soon purchased for him the return, and won the affections, of his former rivals; and the new Vizir from the minister easily became the master of the Khalif, and the real lord of Egypt. A single bold measure, favoured by the mortal illness of the Khalif Adhed, was now sufficient to complete the Turkish conquest of that country. One of the followers of Saladin, taking possession of the principal pulpit of Cairo, substituted the name of the Khalif of Bagdad for that of the Egyptian Sovereign in the public prayers, as the true Commander of the Faithful; the people from indifference or fear silently acquiesced in the change; and the green emblems of the sect of Ali were everywhere displaced by the black ensigns of the Abbasid tenets. The natural death of Adhed, who expired in ignorance of the event,

He completes the
Turkish
subjugation.

and extinguishes the
Fatimid
Dynasty of
Egypt.
A. D.
1171.

in a few days completed this great political and religious revolution, by which the Fatimite Dynasty of Egypt was extinguished and that Country, after a schism of two Centuries, was restored to the orthodox communion of Islamism. The Abbasid Khalif of Bagdad, whose dignity as the spiritual chief of that faith was still revered, and whose nominal functions of temporal sovereignty were dictated by his Turkish masters, was made to sanctify the usurpation of Saladin, as the Vizir of the Sultan of Damascus in Egypt; and as long as Nouredin lived, the youthful conqueror was overawed by his power, and, though not without some symptoms of impatience, affected a dutiful submission to his will. But when the death of the Sultan* released him from the necessity of further dissimulation, Saladin threw off the mask; gradually extended his influence and dominion over Syria and parts of Arabia and Armenia; and deposing the young and helpless sons of Nouredin, finally united the Mussulman States from the Nile to the Tigris under his single Empire.†

By every motive of religion and policy, the new and puissant Lord of Syria and Egypt was urged to attempt the expulsion of the detested enemies of his faith from the intervening territory of Palestine; but he was long obliged to suspend his ultimate designs against the Christians, by the more immediate necessity of consolidating his dominion over his Mussulman opponents. Meanwhile, the Latin Kingdom, through its intestine disorders, was fast falling into a state of weakness, which promised to deliver it an easy prey to so vigorous an assailant. On the death of Almeric, which shortly followed that of Nouredin, the crown of Jerusalem devolved on his son, Baldwin IV.; but this Prince was afflicted with leprosy, and felt himself so unequal to the toils of government, that he committed the Regency of the Kingdom to his sister Sybilla and her second husband Guy de Lusignan, a French Knight;‡ to whom she had given her hand after the death of her first lord, a Count of Montferat. But Lusignan was destitute both of talent and courage; his despicable character and unmerited elevation provoked the scorn and insulted the

Progress
of the
Crusade.

From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.

Death of
Nouredin.

Saladin
crowned
Egypt, &c.
under his
sceptre.
A. D.
1173.

Weakness,
disorders,
and danger
of the Latin
Kingdom.

Raise of
Baldwin
IV.
A. D.
1173.

* The character of Nouredin is among the brightest in Mohammedan History; for political ability and valour were the least of his great qualities. A Mussulman Writer declares that the catalogue of his virtues would fill a volume; and among these, his justice, clemency, and piety extorted a still stronger testimony even from his Christian foes, who had sufficient reason to fear and dread so powerful and deadly an enemy. Thus William of Tyre, after numbering him among the bitterest persecutors of the Christian name and faith, adds, *principis tamn justus, ceteris, proceribus, et secundum genus sua tradidit religionem*. A trait of the frugal and rigid integrity with which he abstained from applying the public treasures to his domestic uses, has often been repeated from the pages of D'Herbelot. To some expensive request from the best beloved of his wives, this absolute lord of the gorgeous East would only reply, "Alas! I fear God and am no more than the treasurer of his people. Their wealth I cannot appropriate; but three shops in the city of Hems are yet my own, and those you may take, let those alone can I give." *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. *Nouredin*.

† Will. Tyr. p. 980—995. *Ed. Orient. Art. Saladin*. Also Bohadin, *Vita Saladin*, (Schultens), p. 1—40. Abulfeda, (*in Excerpt*, Schultens), p. 1—13. De Guignes, lib. xiii. (vol. ii. p. 201—211).

‡ Lusignan was a native, or at least a subject, of the French domains of our Henry II., who banished him for the treacherous murder of the Earl of Salisbury, on which he assumed the Crown, the natural resource of malefactors, and came to seek his fortune in Palestine. So contemptible was the estimation in which he was held even by his own kindred, that when his brother heard of his subsequent elevation to the throne of Jerusalem, he ironically exclaimed, "Surely, since the Barons of Palestine have made him a King, they would have made me a God if they had known me." Hoveden, p. 514.

* Will. Tyr. p. 974—980.

History.

From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
and Baldwin V.
A. D.
1183.

Civil war
on his
death.

Guy de Lusignan,
King of
Jerusalem.
A. D.
1186.

Saladin at-
tacks the
Latin
Kingdom.

pride of the Barons of Palestine; their disaffection was fomented by the intrigues of Raymond II., Count of Tripoli, a man himself capable of every perfidy; and the whole Kingdom was distracted by the selfish conflict of factions. To terminate their struggle the Royal leper was at length compelled to make a new settlement of his Realm, by which, abdicating the crown in favour of his infant nephew, Baldwin V., the son of Sybilla by her first husband, he committed the person of his young successor to the protection of his relative Joscelyn de Courtenay, titular Count of Edessa,* the custody of the fortresses of Palestine to the two Military Orders, and the general Regency of the Kingdom to the treacherous Count of Tripoli. Baldwin IV. survived this disposition only three years; his own decease was quickly followed by the suspicious death of his nephew; and Sybilla, supported by the Patriarch and the Grand Master of the Templars, who hated Raymond of Tripoli, obtained the joint coronation of her worthless husband and herself as King and Queen of Jerusalem. The proud and contemptuous refusal of many of the Barons to acknowledge Lusignan for their Sovereign produced a civil war, in which the Count of Tripoli, under pretence of supporting the rival claims of Isabella, sister of Sybilla, to a share in the succession, allied himself with Saladin; and these disorders were scarcely appeased by the address of Sybilla and the submission of most of the insurgent Nobles, when the fatal tempest of Musulman war burst upon the disunited and devoted State.†

As long as Saladin was occupied in establishing his authority over Egypt and Syria, the peace of the Latin Kingdom had not been much disturbed by the incursions of the Infidels; and some indecisive hostilities had been terminated by a truce. But just at the crisis when the Turkish conqueror was prepared to attempt the work of destruction which he had probably long meditated, the Christians themselves were the first to disturb the hollow pacification, which might alone have deferred the hour of their ruin; and a just occasion of war was afforded by the aggressions of a predatory Baron, Reginald de Chatillon, who surprised a frontier castle belonging to the Musulmans on the borders of the Arabian Desert, intercepted and plundered their caravans between Egypt and Mecca, and insolently defied the vengeance of the Sultan. Saladin demanded redress of the King of Jerusalem for these outrageous violations of the existing peace: but the government of Lusignan was either too feeble or too corrupt to punish the lawless marauder; and on a refusal of justice, Saladin invaded Palestine at the head of eighty thousand Turcoman horse and foot. The siege of the castle of Tiberias was the first signal operation of the Musulman host; and for the relief of so important a fortress the whole strength of the Christian States was hastily collected. But, including the army of the Military Orders, the King of Jerusalem could now assemble under his standard no more than twelve hundred Knights and twenty thousand foot; and the

disproportion of his numerical force was aggravated by his own incapacity and cowardice, as well as by the discord and treason* which prevailed in his camp.

On the plain of Tiberias the hostile armies drew out for a conflict, of which the event was to decide the fate of the Christian Kingdom. Few intelligible particulars are related of the sanguinary battle which followed: but those few attest the superior skill of Saladin, who in the first day's encounter drove his opponents into a situation destitute of water; by setting fire during the night to some neighbouring woods increased their intolerable sufferings from the drought and heat of a Syrian summer's night; and on the following morning overwhelmed and massacred their exhausted and fainting host. Not only was the slaughter of the cavaliers and soldiery exterminating, but all the principal leaders of the Christian host were the victims or prizes of this fatal field: the Grand Master of the Hospitalers was mortally wounded and died in his flight; and the chief of the rival Order of the Temple, together with the Marquis of Montferrat, Reginald of Chatillon, the worthless Lusignan himself, and many of his Nobles and Knights, became the captives of Saladin. The scene which ensued is too characteristic of manners to be omitted in this place. When the trembling Lusignan, and Chatillon the guilty provoker of the war, were conducted to the tent of the conqueror, Saladin generously reassured the craven King of his safety by the proffer of a cup of iced water, the Eastern pledge of hospitality. Lusignan wished to pass the cup to Chatillon: but the Sultan sternly declared that the impious marauder, who had so often insulted the Prophet of Islam, must now either acknowledge his law, or die the death which his crimes had merited. With more virtue than his life had promised, Chatillon spurned the condition of apostasy; and a blow from the scimitar of the ferocious Sultan himself was the immediate signal for his murder. With less excusable cruelty, while he spared his other noble prisoners, Saladin in his fanatical hatred of the Religious Orders, or his dread of their prowess, offered the same alternative of apostasy or death to the Knights of St. John and of the Temple who had fallen into his hands. To a man, these devoted champions of the Cross, two hundred and thirty in number, proved the sincerity of their faith; and the victory of the Moslems was stained by the cold-blooded murder of the whole body.†

The disastrous effects of the battle of Tiberias were immediately felt throughout the Latin Kingdom: for all of the principal fortresses had been drained of their garrisons to swell the ranks of the army; and Tiberias itself, Caesarea, Acre, Jaffa, and Berituss, rapidly fell before the arms of the conqueror. Tyre was alone preserved through the heroic efforts to which the citizens were

* By some of the Latin writers, the destruction of the Christian army is ascribed to the treason of the Count of Tripoli, the enemy both of Lusignan and of the Grand Master of the Temple. Mr. Mills (*Hist. of the Crusades*, vol. i. note L.) considers the previous favourable mention of the Count by William of Tyre, and the silence of Ralph Crompton, whose Chronicle is contained in the fifth volume of Martene, and who was in Palestine at the time of the battle of Tiberias, as a satisfactory refutation of the charge. But the earlier silence of the Count of Tripoli with Saladin (Bernardus Thesaur. c. 140.) is undisputed; and his sacrifice of the Christian cause to party or personal hatred on that occasion is surely sufficient to warrant the worst inference from his subsequent conduct.

† Bernardus Thesaur. c. 147—151. Contin. Will. Tyr. p. 590—600. Jacobus a Vitrico, *Hist. Hierosol.* p. 1117, 1118. (in *Græc. Dei per Francos*) Hierosol. p. 636—637. D'Hierbiot, *Art. Saladin* (vol. iii. p. 176, 177. &c.) Bohadin, p. 40—68. Abulfeda, p. 32.

Progress
of the
Crusades.

From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
Battle of
Tiberias.
A. D.
1187.
Victory of
Saladin.

* This Joscelyn de Courtenay was the grandson of the hero, and the last of the three Counts of Edessa who bore the same name. After the loss of the Edessene territory, and the marriage of his sister with Almeric, the Royal favour had invested him with extensive Fiefs in the Kingdom of Palestine; but leaving no son, the male line of the Asiatic branch of the Courtenays became extinct on his death. *Lignage d'Outremer*, c. xvi.

† Will. Tyr. p. 593, ad fin. Flaggon, (continuator of William of Tyre, in Martene, *Fr. Scriptorum Coll.* vol. v.) p. 583—590. Bernardus Thesaurarius, (*apud Munsteri Scip. Rer. Hist.* vol. vii.) c. 140—147.

"History.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

inspired by the firmness of a young cavalier, son to the captive Marquis of Montferrat. But Saladin would not suffer any secondary object to arrest his great design upon the Christian Capital; and turning aside from the walls of Tyre, he marched to the siege of the Holy City. Jerusalem was already crowded with fugitives from every quarter of Palestine: but the number of warriors within its gates was small, and their commander was a timid woman. Queen Sybilla, herself distracted with sorrow and apprehension, was more solicitous for her own safety and that of her captive consort, than for the public defence; and dismay and discord reigned within the place. The first summons of Saladin for its surrender was indeed rejected: but when the siege was formed, the resistance was feeble or ineffectual; and in fourteen days, the Turks, despite of the sallies and efforts of the garrison, had advanced their works and engines to the foot of the rampart and undermined the walls. A desire to capitulate was then expressed: but Saladin, in his fury at the refusal to accept his proffered terms, had sworn to execute a dreadful vengeance upon the Christians for the Moslem blood which their ancestors had shed at the capture of the City in the First Crusade. He now therefore received the proposal of a capitulation with bitter contempt; and he only listened to the suggestions of mercy, when his burst of passion was spent, and the suppliant Christians left him to dictate the terms of surrender. He then consented to spare the lives of the inhabitants, and promised a safe-conduct for the Queen, her Nobles, and soldiery to Tyre: but declared that the remaining population of Jerusalem should become slaves, unless they were ransomed at the rate of ten crowns of gold for each man, half that sum for each woman, and a single piece for every child.

Generosity
of Saladin.

As soon as these terms had been accepted by the submission of the vanquished, Saladin exhibited traits of a generous humanity which might have been little anticipated from the cruelty with which he had recently stained the victory of Tiberias; and his conduct at Jerusalem well merits the eulogy of an enemy, that he was in nothing but in name a barbarian. He not only performed his promises with a religious fidelity, but exceeded their fulfilment by a full measure of benevolence. When the weeping female train of the Queen issued from the gates of Jerusalem, his spirit melted even unto tears at the spectacle of their misery: he advanced to meet the mourners; attempted to console the Princess with the courteous sympathy of a warrior of Chivalry; released the husbands and children of all her train without ransom; and even dismissed them laden with presents. Nor did his generosity end here: for he accepted a price very much beneath the stipulated sum for the freedom of the Christian poor; and even liberated so many of his other captives gratuitously, that the total number who remained in bondage did not much exceed ten thousand, out of a population which is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand. These better feelings of his nature achieved a more difficult triumph over even the fanaticism which was usually his master passion: for learning the humane attentions which the Knights of the Hospital bestowed upon the sick, he allowed several brethren of an Order, which he detested and found ever in arms against him, to remain in the city a sufficient time for the accomplishment of their pious and charitable offices.*

* Bernardus, c. 151—167. *Cont. Wll. Tyr.* p. 601—613. Hoveden, p. 637—645. D'Herbelot, *ubi supra*. Bohadin, p. 68—75. Abulbeda, p. 39—43.

When the Queen and her train had been safely dismissed, the magnanimous victor made his entry into Jerusalem in triumphant and splendid procession. The great Mosque of Omar, on the site of Solomon's Temple, which had been converted into a Christian Church, was immediately consecrated anew to the worship of Islam, after its pavement and walls had been washed with Damascene rose water; the golden cross which surmounted the dome of the Church of the Sepulchre was taken down and for two days dragged through the streets; and after a possession by the Christians of eighty-eight years, Jerusalem was again defiled by the religion and empire of the votaries of Mohammed. Nazareth, Bethlehem, Ascalon, Sidon, quickly followed the fate of the Capital; the Principality of Antioch was only spared on the ignominious condition of tribute to the Sultan; and of all the possessions of the Christians in Palestine, the seaport of Tyre was almost the only place of importance which was saved from the wreck of their fortunes. But to that city all the Christian garrisons which capitulated had been permitted to retire: the whole remaining strength of the Latin Chivalry of Palestine was contained within its walls; and when the Turkish army a second time appeared before the place, it was again so bravely defended under the guidance of Conrad of Montferrat, that the conqueror of Jerusalem was compelled to retire from a fruitless siege. The grateful people resolved to bestow the sovereignty of their city upon their brave leader; and when Guy of Lusignan, having obtained his liberation, attempted to enter the place, they refused to admit him within the walls, or to acknowledge further allegiance to the man, on whose incapacity and cowardice they laid the ruin of the Christian cause. Lusignan indeed had only obtained his release by a solemn renunciation of his crown to Saladin; and the Sultan, satisfied with this vain confirmation to the title of conquest, had returned to enjoy his glory at Damascus: when he was roused from a brief season of repose by the alarming report that the nations of Europe, burning with ardour to avenge the shame of the Christian defeat, and the loss of the Sepulchre of Christ, were again about to precipitate themselves upon the shores of Palestine.*

The news of the Fall of Jerusalem had filled all Western Christendom with horror and grief. By the superstitious piety of the Age, the apathetic indifference which had permitted the hallowed scenes of Human Redemption again to be profaned with the triumph of the enemies of God, was deeply felt as an offence, which merited and would provoke the wrathful judgments of Heaven. But after the first shock of the intelligence, the general consternation and despair were at once succeeded by a burst of enthusiasm, equally congenial to the fanatical and martial state of society. All the principal Sovereigns of Europe, except those of Spain, who

* Bernardus, c. 167—177. Coggeshal, p. 811, 812. *Hist. Hierosol.* (in *Gesta Dei, &c.*) p. 1150—1169.

† Henry II. of England and Philippo-Auguste of France met and received the Cross together near Gisors; and the English King appears to have been earnest in his intention of undertaking the Crusade, until prevented by the second rebellion of his Sons. At a Great Council which he assembled at Gidington, in Northamptonshire, it was agreed that a tenth of all rents and moveables should be levied from the clergy and laity of the Realm for the service of the expedition; and by this means the King obtained seventy thousand pounds from his Christian subjects; while he extorted the enormous sum, for those days, of sixty thousand more from the Jews in his dominions, at the rate of a fourth of all their pos-

Progress
of the
Crusades.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
Fall of
Jerusalem
by
Saladin.
October 2.
A. D.
1197.

Effects of
this event
in Europe.

See Times
Caravan.

History. found sufficient exercise for their zeal against the Musliman power in that Peninsula—immediately vowed to lead their National forces to the recovery of Jerusalem: but even their earnest preparations were too tardy for the popular impatience; and myriads of their subjects, thronging from every Country to the ports of the Mediterranean, took shipping at their private charge and hastened to the shores of Palestine. The chief means of transport were, as usual, supplied by the Maritime Republics of Italy; but numerous bands of pilgrims, embarking from the ports of the Baltic, the North Seas, and the British Channel, from thence accomplished the whole maritime passage to the Asiatic coast.*

Arrival of its first suc- By the arrival at Tyre, in quick succession, of all these Crusaders, led by many Noblemen and Prelates of distinction, the imbecile King of Jerusalem soon found himself at the head of a numerous army; and when he was encouraged or impelled by the renovated strength and ardent zeal of his followers to advance from Tyre and lay siege to Acre, the numbers of the Christian host before the walls of that important city rapidly swelled to one hundred thousand men. The danger of a fortress which, by its position between the sea and the great central valley of Palestine, may be regarded as the maritime key of the whole Country, roused Saladin from his inaction; and while the strength of the fortifications and the valour of a numerous Musliman garrison, defied all the efforts of the Crusaders, the Sultan himself, arriving in the adjacent plain at the head of a mighty host, enveloped their beleaguer and harassed them with perpetual though desultory assaults. The Christians, in their turn, were reduced to the necessity of standing on the defensive; their camp was diligently fortified; and such was the strength and completeness of the works with which they surrounded it, that in the hyperbolic language of the East, the Muslims declared not even a bird could penetrate the lines. By sea the contest was maintained with equal obstinacy; for the naval forces of the combatants were so nicely balanced, that, by each successive reinforcement, either party was enabled to relieve the garrison of Acre, or to refresh the wants of the besiegers. The latter indeed suffered so dreadfully from famine, disease, and the incessant vicissitudes of combat, that above three hundred thousand Crusaders are computed to have perished before the walls and in the plain of Acre; and the losses of the Muslims from the same causes were probably inferior only in degree. But, on both sides, this frightful consumption of human life was continually fed by new arrivals; and during nearly two years the strength of Christendom and Islam was concentrated and exhausted in an indecisive conflict before the single city of Acre.†

March of the Empe- Meanwhile, the great Monarchs of the West were rath-
ror Frederic gathering their national powers for the Third Crusade.
Barbarossa Foremost in preparation, as in dignity among them,
to the East.

was the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, in whom age had no power either to quench the thirst of glory or to chill the fire of religious enthusiasm. But the Chivalrous devotion of Frederic was regulated by those prudent qualities of a great commander, which had been matured in forty years of warfare; and while he boldly resolved to take the same route through the East of Europe and Asia Minor, which had been found so disastrous to former hosts of Crusaders, his provident and skilful arrangements showed how attentively he had studied the tremendous lessons of their failure. No individual was permitted to join in the sacred enterprise who was unable to furnish the means of his own support for a whole year; and the march from the confines of Germany to the shores of the Hellespont was conducted with the strictest regularity and discipline. The numbers and composition of the host were worthy of the Imperial name and power. Besides his own son, the Duke of Swabia, Frederic was attended by the Dukes of Austria and Moravia, by above sixty other Princes and great Lords of the Empire, and by fifteen thousand Knights, the flower of the Teutonic Chivalry. Their mounted attendants swelled the total array of cavalry to sixty thousand; and the infantry, exclusive of unarmed pilgrims, numbered one hundred thousand men. Throughout their passage over the Greek dominions, the German host encountered a repetition of precisely the same course of treacherous hostility, under the hollow semblance of amity, which the Byzantine Court and people had pursued in the previous Crusades: but the vengeance of his troops was generally restrained by the magnanimous or prudent forbearance of Frederic; and though he resented the perfidy of the reigning Emperor of the East, Isaac Angelus, by refusing to visit Constantinople as a guest, he peaceably transported his formidable host across the Hellespont. The subsequent passage through Asia Minor was a yet severer trial of Frederic's patience and ability: but his genius surmounted every obstacle of climate and warfare; and the march of the Imperial army was effected with far superior order, success, and reputation, to that of any preceding host of Crusaders. The sufferings of a route through burning and waterless deserts admitted indeed of little mitigation; and thousands of the Germans sank under fatigue, agonizing thirst, and the perpetual assaults of the Turcoman hordes, which hung upon their flanks and rear. But the firmness of the Teutonic array repulsed every attack, and prevented any general disaster; and Frederic not only defeated the Sultan of Iconium, but stormed his Capital and compelled him to sue for peace. Having thus overborne all opposition, the aged hero pursued his way in unmolested rear, and triumphant ardour; until he lost his life in the little Cilician stream of the Calycadnus, either by a fall from his horse, or by imprudently bathing in the icy waters of that mountain torrent. The consequences of this event proved how largely his followers had been indebted for their success to the greatness of his personal qualities. The Infidels, recovering from the terror inspired by his name and actions, immediately renewed their hostilities on the report of his death; and thenceforth the German army was incessantly harassed by attacks, and nearly disorganized by famine, sickness, and the efforts of the enemy. Thus, although Frederic's son, the Duke of Swabia, who succeeded to the command, was neither deficient in courage nor ability, so dreadful were the losses of the Crusaders that, before they reached the

Progress of the Crusades.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

His triumphant career, and death.
A. D.
1190.

missions. Gervase, p. 1529. Hoveden, p. 644. This tax of one-tenth, under the name of the Saladin tithe, was imposed by general consent throughout Europe; and though originally proposed to last only for one year, was perpetuated, by the cupidity of the Papal See, into a claim upon the tenth of all Ecclesiastical benefices.

* Bernardus Thesaur. c. 177, 178. Benedictus Abbas Petrobergensis, p. 495, 496. Hoveden, p. 636—640. Hist. Hierosol. p. 1170. † Bernardus Thesaur. c. 179. Hist. Hierosol. p. 1170—1172. Bohadin, (in vita Saladin.) p. 180. Vivesceti, ubi infra, p. 427.

History.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
Arrival of
the Ger-
man army
before Acre.
Institution
of the Or-
der of
Teutonic
Knights.

Syrian confines, their numbers were reduced to one-tenth of their original force. Their array was still, however, sufficiently formidable, on their arrival at Antioch, to deliver that Principality from the oppression of Saladin, whose troops retired at their approach; and from thence the gallant Duke of Swabia, with unbroken spirit, led the remains of the German army to reinforce the Crusaders before Acre: but it was only to perish himself of disease, with some thousands of his devoted and way-worn followers, under the walls of that city.*

The arrival of the German Chivalry before Acre was followed by the memorable institution of a martial Order of Religious Knighthood, which, emulating the design of the fraternities of St. John and of the Temple, and surviving the original object of its creation for the defence of Palestine, was fated to perform no inconsiderable part in the subsequent History of Northern Europe. Above half a Century before the loss of Jerusalem, a German Crusader and his lady had founded hospitals in that Capital for poor pilgrims of both sexes of their nation; and when subsequent endowments had enriched these houses, the male brethren were moved by the example of the two great Orders to devote themselves to military as well as charitable services. But their efforts had obtained little distinction; and their fraternity was dissolved by the expulsion of the Christians from Jerusalem. Its purposes were now recalled to the National attention by the private charity of some individuals among the German army, who supplied the want of regular hospitals by opening their tents before Acre for the reception of their sick and wounded countrymen; and a number of Knights joining their benevolent association, the Duke of Swabia seized the occasion to incorporate them for the National honour into a regular Order of Religious Chivalry, in avowed imitation of those of the Hospital and Temple. A Papal Authority approved the design, invested the new Order with the same privileges as its elder co-fraternities, and ordained the Rule of St. Augustin for its government. A white mantle with a black cross was appointed for the garb of the brotherhood, who were divided into three classes of noble cavaliers, priests, and sergeants, all exclusively of German race; and thenceforth under the title of the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem, the Order worthily aspired to an equality in duties and honour with the two great martial fraternities of Palestine.†

Prepara-
tions and
voyage, of
Philippe-
Auguste of
France, and
Richard I.
of England.

While the German army was still threading its toilsome march through the deserts and mountain passes of Asia Minor, the Sovereigns of France and England had availed themselves of the maritime position and resources of their States to escape the same dangers and fatigues by a naval passage to the Syrian shores. Both Philippe-Auguste and Richard Cœur de Lion were in the full pride of youthful ambition, impatient for Chivalric distinction, and actuated far more by the thirst of glory than by the religious spirit of the Age. Interchanging vows of eternal friendship, which were as passionately broken in the first moment of jealous excitement, they had agreed to combine their forces for the sacred expedition; and on the plain of Vezelay in France, they reviewed a gallant and well-equipped

host, which amounted to one hundred thousand men of both Nations and of all arms. Conducting their march in concert as far as Lyons, the two Monarchs separated at that city, after naming the port of Messina in Sicily as the place of reunion for their combined armaments: Philippe leading the French forces to embark at Genoa; and Richard proceeding to Marseilles with his army, there to expect the arrival of his fleet* from England. But his impatience would brook no delay; and finding that his own navy had not reached that port, he immediately hired a few vessels for the conveyance of his suite, sailed for the Italian coast, and after rashly exposing himself to several dangerous adventures,† crossed into Sicily. Meanwhile the English fleet, after touching at Lisbon on its way and successfully assisting in the defence of Santarem against a Mussulman army, reached the Mediterranean in safety, received the land forces on board at Marseilles, and entered the port of Messina some days before the arrival either of Philippe or Richard himself.‡

In Sicily both Monarchs wintered with their forces; and here several circumstances arose to foment into hatred, those feelings of ambitious rivalry which naturally sprang from their conflicting pride and pretensions. Against Tancred, the reigning King of Sicily,§ Richard had several causes of resentment, for the detention in prison of his sister Joan, relict of William II., the late Sovereign of the Island, and a refusal either to restore her dower, or to pay legacies which her husband had bequeathed to the English Crown. To enforce redress for these injuries, Richard had recourse to very violent proceedings: seized a castle, on his sister's release, for her residence, took military possession of other posts, and allowed his troops to commit many excesses. While the French King was interposing as a mediator, the citizens of Messina were provoked to attack the English, and after a bloody engagement, in which the latter prevailed, Richard allowed them to sack the city, and planted his banners on its walls. Philippe was justly offended at an outrage, which in effect, as he resided in Messina, left him a prisoner in the hands of an ally who was also his Vassal; and Richard was at last induced to appease him by withdrawing his troops. The submission of Tancred to all the demands of the English Monarch restored the general peace; and

Prepar-
ation of
the
Crown.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204

* Before his departure from Normandy, Richard promulgated a code of regulations for the government of his fleet, which, as illustrative of the rude principles of marine jurisprudence adopted in that Age, would be worthy of a place in our naval history. A murderer was to be tied to the corpse of his victim and cast with it into the sea; or if the crime were committed on shore, to be buried in the same grave with the dead body. A simple blow was to be punished by the immersion of the offender thrice in the sea; but if blood were drawn, by the loss of his right hand; abusive language by a fine. A thief was to have his head shaved, tarred and feathered; and in that state to be set on shore at the first opportunity. Hoveden, p. 666.

† On one occasion, when travelling in Southern Italy with a single attendant, he entered a cottage to seize a falcon which he heard was detained there: for it seems that no "base churl" might without offence possess a bird trained for the exclusive sport of the Chivalric Order. The peasants presumed to resist his violence; and in the scuffle, as he struck one of them, who had drawn a dagger upon him, with the flat of his sword, the weapon broke; and he was compelled to defend himself with stones until he effected his retreat to a neighbouring Monastery. Hoveden, p. 672.

‡ Hoveden, p. 664-673. Galfredi a Vinesauf, *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi, &c. in Terram Hierosol.* (apud Gale, *Scriptores Hist. Anglican.* vol. ii.) p. 247-308.

§ Vide p. 644 of this volume.

* *Hist. Hierosol.* p. 1156-1163. Godfridi Monachi *Annales*, p. 348-356. Tageno, p. 407-416. (Both in the second volume of Struve's edition of the *Rerum German. Scriptores* of Freher.)

† Jacobus a Vit. p. 1083.

History.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

Richard generously sent Philippe twenty thousand ounces of gold, as the moiety of the sum which he compelled the Sicilian Prince to pay in satisfaction of his claims. He also loaded both English and French Knights with presents; and on Christmas day feasted the whole Chivalry of the two Nations, and dismissed every individual with some largess apportioned to his rank. His prodigal dissipation by such means of the treasures which had been wrung from his subjects before his departure on the Crusade, exalted his popularity in both armies far above that of his more provident or less wealthy rival; and formed an additional source of jealousy to Philippe. A new ground of quarrel between the two Monarchs was soon created by the intelligence that Richard, disregarding his engagement to marry Alice or Adelaïs,* sister of Philippe, was about to espouse the Princess Berengaria, daughter of Sancho, King of Navarre, who, in effect, soon after arrived in Sicily, escorted by the Queen-mother, Eleanor of England. After much dispute, Philippe at last consented to release Richard from his contract upon his promise to pay ten thousand marks, and to restore Alice with the castles which had been assigned as her dower.†

Their fruds being thus terminated by a hollow reconciliation, Philippe, on the return of Spring, was the first to depart with his forces from the Sicilian shores, and arrived without accident at the Christian camp before Acre: but Richard was less fortunate or prudent. Off the coast of Crete, his fleet was dispersed by a storm; and at Rhodes his fiery temper was roused by intelligence that two of his vessels, which had been wrecked on the shores of Cyprus, were plundered and the crews detained in captivity. To revenge this injury he sailed for Cyprus; and having in vain demanded reparation of Isaac, a Prince of Comnenian race, who had revolted against the Byzantine throne and seized the government of the Island, the English Monarch disembarked his troops, took Lymesol, the tyrant's Capital, by storm, and being assisted by the defection of the Islanders, compelled him to surrender at discretion. The English Prince made an ungenerous use of his victory: for he threw the fallen usurper into chains, which, with a mockery of respect, were forged of silver; grievously taxed the Cypriots, who had welcomed him as their deliverer; and asserted the title of conquest to the lordship of their Island. After celebrating at Lymesol his nuptials with Berengaria, which had been deferred in Sicily on account of the season of Lent, Richard finally sailed for Acre. The numbers of his land forces have not been recorded; but the magnitude of the whole armament may be estimated by the enumeration of his fleet, which consisted of fifty galleys of war, thirteen large store-vessels, and above one hundred other transports filled with horses and men. On the short voyage from Cyprus to the Syrian shore, the English navy intercepted an enormous troop-ship of Saladin, having on board, according to the Latin Chroniclers, for the reinforcement of the garrison of Acre, the incredible number of fifteen hundred men, and well supplied with stores of the Greek fire. The great bulk and lofty sides of this vessel long defied the attacks of the light galleys of the Christians: but she was at length carried by boarding; her hull being either scuttled, during the conflict, by the desperation of her own crew, or pierced by the beaks of the English galleys, she sank with all

her stores; and every soul of the Infidels, except thirty-five, was either massacred or drowned.*

A few days afterwards Richard disembarked his army before Acre; and his arrival was greeted in the Christian camp with enthusiastic rejoicings. Notwithstanding the previous junction of the King of France and his forces, the operations of the long protracted siege had continued to languish: but the English Monarch had no sooner landed his battering engines than, despite of an illness under which he was labouring, he caused the attack to be pressed with the utmost vigour; and as well by his personal example as by prodigal rewards, animated the whole Crusading host with a new spirit. Every effort of Saladin to rout the besiegers or relieve the place was repulsed; and at length, after an heroic resistance, finding their defences shattered on every side and their numbers daily diminished, the exhausted and despairing garrison obtained the reluctant permission of the Sultan to capitulate. Upon condition that Saladin should restore the wood of the true cross which he had taken in Jerusalem, release fifteen hundred chosen Christian captives, deliver up Acre, and ransom the garrison by the payment of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, the Monarchs of France and England agreed to spare the lives of all the Muslims in the place. Upon these terms the city was surrendered; and the banner of the Cross was again planted on its ruined walls. The garrison and inhabitants, with the exception of some thousand hostages, were permitted to depart unmolested; and the Sultan immediately broke up his camp and withdrew from the vicinity of the captured fortress. His subsequent failure, from reluctance or more probably from inability, to pay the ransom of the prisoners within the stipulated period, was the signal for a tragedy horribly characteristic of the barbarous and fanatical spirit of Crusading warfare. The Musliman hostages, to the number of above five thousand, being led out from the city to the French and English camps, were slaughtered in cold blood; and Richard himself, in a letter still extant, boasted of the massacre as an acceptable service to Heaven. The Sultan was not slow to revenge this cruelty in the blood of his Christian captives; and on both sides repeated butcheries continued to darken the mutual hatred of the combatants.†

Progress
of the
Crusades.
From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.
Arrival of
the two Mo-
narchs be-
fore Acre.
A. D.
1191.

Surrender
of that city.

* Hoveden, p. 698—692. Vinesauf, p. 316—329. Bohadin, p. 166. But the Musliman Historian rates the troops on board this great store-ship at only six hundred and fifty, still indicating in the vessel a bulk very unusual for the times.

† Hoveden, p. 692—698. Vinesauf, p. 329—346. Bohadin, p. 180—188. Hoveden, indeed, declares that the massacre of the Christian captives by Saladin preceded that of the Turkish hostages by Richard; but Bohadin says otherwise; and it is not probable that the Sultan would thus have provoked the destruction of his people, whom he had wished to save. The expressions in Richard's letter, as given in Hoveden, (p. 698) are, *See, ut decuit, fecimus expirare*; and no Writer in that fanatical age seems to have imagined that even the cold-blooded slaughter of Infidels could be otherwise than meritorious and acceptable to Heaven. The old Romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion* goes yet a step further: for it exaggerates the glorious deed into the murder of 60,000 Infidels; and the Author, imagining that the subject deserved to be associated with pleasurable emotions, thus prefaces the tale of the butchery with a poetical descant on the charms of the vernal season.

"Merry is, in time of May
When fowls sing in her lay
Flowers on apple trees and perry
Small fowls sing merry
Ladies strew her lovers

With red roses and lilly flowers," &c.
Ellis. *Specimens of Metrical Romances*, vol. ii. p. 273.

* Vide p. 624—684 of this volume.

† Hoveden, p. 673—688. Vinesauf, p. 306—316.

History.

From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204
Retirement
of Philippe-
Auguste
from the
Crusade.

The capture of Acre was hailed by the Christians as a glad omen of the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. But these sanguine anticipations were shortly chilled by the retirement of the King of France from the Crusade. The causes of this secession, for which severe illness afforded some plea, have been sought in feelings of jealousy at the superior glory won during the siege of Acre by the liberality and prowess of his Royal Associate. The eminent political abilities of Philippe-Auguste, indeed, though they placed him in sober estimation at an immeasurable distance above his irrational and fiery rival, were of little weight in the fields of Palestine; the martial qualities by which he was himself distinguished, would sustain no comparison with the transcendent personal heroism of the "Lion-hearted" Plantagenet; and he who, in the annals of Europe, figures as the ablest Monarch and most renowned Conqueror of his Age, is discerned only through the wild Romance of the Crusades as the envious or recreant deserter from a Holy War. But the withdrawal of Philippe was produced less by any inconsistency in his own character, than by the intemperate conduct of Richard. The reckless spirit with which the English King had already wasted so much of the season for action in Sicily and Cyprus, and the intolerable arrogance of pretensions that would brook no control, alike foreboded any but a happy issue to the confederacy of which he was so puissant a member; and unless the King of France had been prepared to submit unconditionally to his capricious and haughty dictation, their separation might alone avert an open rupture, and the total ruin of the Crusade. The real disgrace of Philippe was his subsequent perfidy in attacking the dominions of his absent rival, contrary to the solemn oath which Richard exacted from him on his departure: but the interests of the Crusade itself were promoted by his abandoning to his rival the undivided possession of the supreme command; and, as an evidence of his sincerity in the cause, he left with Richard ten thousand of his best troops under the conduct of the Duke of Burgundy.*

Exploits of
Richard in
Palestine.

After the retirement of the French King, Richard prepared to resume the design of the War,† and still found himself able to muster nearly thirty thousand English, French, and German warriors under the standard of the Cross. He conducted the advance of this combined force from Acre in a Southerly direction upon Jaffa along the sea-shore; and in the order of his march no inconsiderable share of military skill and discipline is observable. Nearest to the coast, and in communication with the English fleet, which attended the expedition with supplies of provisions and stores, were the camp train and followers; while the army itself, covering these accessories, moved in five divisions: the Templars in the van, the Hospitaliers closing up the rear; and the archers and other light armed foot on the left or outward flank to check with their missiles the desultory but galling onsets of the Turkish cavalry. By day, clouds of these horsemen hovered around the

front, flank, and rear of the Christians, and harassed their march with incessant assaults: by night, Saladin encamped in their vicinity, and broke the repose of the wearied soldiery with frequent alarms. But the firm array, the unshaken valour, and the patient determination of the Europeans, exhausted all the artifices of Asiatic warfare. The daily march was accomplished in compact array, and with a slow but resolute advance; at sunset the army regularly halted; and thrice during the night the loud voices of the heralds, breaking the deep silence of the camp with solemn injunction to remember the Holy Sepulchre, roused the slumbering sentinels of the religious host to watchfulness and prayer. At length Saladin, reinforced by new swarms of the Moslems from all parts of his Empire, and finding every desultory attempt to arrest the progress of the Christians unavailing, resolved upon one mighty effort to accomplish their total destruction. On the morning of the sixteenth day after the advance of the Crusaders from Acre, the brazen kettle-drum of the Sultan sounded the attack; and the whole Infidel host was suddenly precipitated, in one tremendous charge, upon the Christian array. So rapid and furious was the onset, so vastly superior were the numbers of the assailants, and so overwhelming the force and weight of the shock, that the small squadrons of the Crusaders, enclosed within their own infantry, were for a time crushed together from all sides by the pressure. Galled by the Turkish arrows, the Chivalry impatiently demanded permission to extricate themselves by a charge: but the fiery Plantagenet, now alone calm, cool, and collected, and foreseeing a decisive victory, restrained the impetuosity of his Knights, until he observed that the quivers of the Infidels were emptied and their strength exhausted. Then, causing the infantry to open out, he led and let loose the Christian Chivalry in all directions upon the wavering enemy. The whole Turkish host, unable to resist the vigour and strength of these steel-clad squadrons, broke and fled to the adjacent hills. So successful and sanguinary were the charge and pursuit, that above twenty Emirs and seven thousand of the flower of the Turkish cavalry were slain on the field; and the result justified the boast of Richard that, in forty campaigns, the veteran Sultan had never sustained so severe a defeat;‡

Progress
of the
Crusade.
From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.

Victory over
Saladin
near
Asotus.

Subsequent
operations.

After this signal victory the Crusaders, without further molestation by the Infidels, pursued their triumphant march to Jaffa; and Saladin having wisely destroyed the works of fortresses which he was hopeless of preserving, they took possession both of that city and Casarea, with other dismantled castles in their vicinity. It is said that Richard desired at once to have followed up his success by advancing against Jerusalem, but was prevented by the factious opposition of the French Barons: who, seconded by the wish of the army to repose from their fatigues, insisted upon the necessity of first rebuilding

* Hoveden, p. 697. Vinesauf, p. 344. That Richard, however, was greatly incensed at his rival's desertion is evident from the intemperate expressions of his letter, already quoted in p. 625 of this Volume.

† He had some difficulty in inducing his army to quit the licentious pleasures of Acre: a city so abounding, according to Vinesauf, *vino propinquo et pulcherrimis*, that by deep potations the countenances of the gravest warriors in the host had contracted a disgraceful rubeumity.

* The heroic fortitude of the Crusaders is attested by the unsuspicious evidence of an enemy and an eye-witness. Many of them who had received several Turkish arrows at a time in their chain-mail, the thick cloth lining of which alone protected them from wounds, marched on, while these shafts bristled on their backs, with a firm step and calm demeanour. Bohadin, p. 189.

† Not the eleventh, as the exact Gibbon (c. lix.) with unusual inaccuracy has stated: for Richard commenced his march from Acre on the 22d of August, and the battle of Asotus was fought on the 7th of September. Hoveden and Vinesauf, *in fectis*.

‡ Hoveden, p. 698. Vinesauf, p. 346—368.

History.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
Advancers
of the Cru-
saders to-
wards Jeru-
salem.

the fortifications of Jaffa and its dependencies.* However this might have been, two months were consumed in restoring these works, and in vain negotiations with Saladin,† before the Crusaders again moved forward towards Jerusalem. They penetrated without serious opposition to Ramla within a short distance of the Holy City. But here the inclemency of the season, want of provisions, and the consequent and alarming increase of sickness, arrested their march; and Richard himself admitted the present hopelessness of success. The army, therefore, fell back to the coast; and the Winter was spent by the soldiery in repairing the walls of several of the conquered fortresses, and by their leaders in treacherous intrigues or violent dissensions. At length, on the return of Spring, Richard so far succeeded in restoring unanimity, as to assemble all the Christian forces in Palestine under his standard; and at their head again he advanced towards Jerusalem. The general enthusiasm of the army was kindled by the renovated hope of success; the Chieftains and soldiery joined in a solemn oath that they would not quit Palestine until the Sepulchre of Christ should be redeemed; and when the army reached the valley of Hebron and arrived even in sight of the Holy City, the accomplishment of their vows seemed at hand. The Moslems were filled with consternation; numbers fled from Jerusalem; and even Saladin despaired of preserving his proudest conquest.‡

But, at this critical juncture, the Sultan was delivered from his apprehensions by the unexpected retreat of the Crusading host. The causes of this failure are variously ascribed by the Christian Chroniclers to the contemplated difficulties of a siege, to the envious or treasonable defection of the Duke of Burgundy and his French followers, and to the indecision of Richard himself. But the best attested account is that which refers the abandonment of the enterprise to the act of the King.§ Whether he was swayed by his usual impulses of caprice, urged to hasten his return to Europe by repeated intelligence of the dangerous machinations of his faithless brother and rival, or secretly conscious that the resources of the Crusade were unequal to the capture of Jerusalem, it is vain to inquire. But he suddenly

* During this cessation of active hostilities, Richard, while pursuing the sport of falconry, with his usual imprudence, beyond the precincts of the Christian lines, was attacked by a party of Saracens; and only escaped captivity or death through the generous devotion of a Provençal Knight named Guillaume de Pratelles, who drew off the attention of the enemy by feigning to be the King, and as such surrendered himself. Richard proved not ungrateful; for his last care in Palestine was to ransom his preserver. Vineauf, p. 372.

† In the course of these negotiations, which were more than once interrupted and resumed, Richard and Saladin seem to have seriously entertained a singular project for an accommodation of the Christian and Muslim interests by means of a marriage between Saphadin, or Malec-al-Adel, the brother of the Sultan, and the widowed Queen of Sicily, sister of the English King, who had accompanied him to Palestine. With his Christian bride, the Muslim Prince was to receive from his brother the sovereignty of Jerusalem; but the whole design, according to Bohadin, though agreeable to both Saladin and Richard, was frustrated by the repugnance of both Asiatics and Europeans to so unnatural an alliance. Bohadin, p. 209. During the negotiations, however, the two armies mingled in constant and amicable intercourse; and frequent kindnesses were interchanged between their Sovereigns. When Richard was ill, Saladin sent him the choicest fruits, and the yet greater refreshment of snow during the burning heats of Summer. Hoveden, p. 653.

‡ Hoveden, p. 698-714. Vineauf, p. 360-409. Bohadin, p. 188-237. Abulfeda, p. 50-52.

§ Vineauf, p. 409. Bohadin, p. 237.

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paused in his operations, and when its walls were within his view, proposed the appointment of a council, selected from among the Barons of Palestine and the Chiefs of the Military Orders, to decide upon oath if it were preferable to engage in the siege of the Holy City, or to make a diversion against Damascus or Cairo. To the general surprise and disappointment, the council decided upon the expediency of deferring the enterprise before them; and Richard, amidst the discontent of the whole army, commenced a second and final retreat to the sea-coast. Yet, whatever were the motives of necessity or inconstancy which dictated this resolve, he poignantly felt the mortification or shame of his failure; and when one of his followers led him to a height from whence he might take his last view of Jerusalem, he hid his face in his shield, exclaiming that he who was unable to rescue, was unworthy to look upon, the Sepulchre of Christ.*

Saladin was not slow to reap his advantage on the retreat of the Crusaders; and finding that Richard had continued his march from Jaffa to Acre, he poured down from the hills with his troops on the former city, and assaulted the place so unexpectedly, that numbers of the Christian garrison and inhabitants were slain in the streets, and the remainder only saved their lives by shutting themselves up in some of the towers. They had already been reduced to sue for a capitulation; when Richard arrived off the port to their succour. He had prepared to embark for Europe before he heard of their danger: but fired with indignation that Saladin should have renewed the offensive while his foot was still on the strand of Palestine, he threw himself into a galley, and followed only by a few Knights and archers in six other vessels, sailed for Jaffa, leaving his army to retrace their march after him along the coast. When his small squadron had approached the shore, finding that some of the garrison still held out, he plunged into the sea; his attendants, inspired by the heroic example, quickly followed; and the opposing Moslems on the beach were so dismayed by the fury of the attack, that they fled before this handful of assailants, and abandoned Jaffa to its deliverers. Though Richard, including the rescued garrison, had with him only fifty-five Knights, of whom but ten were mounted, and two thousand foot soldiers, he displayed his contempt for the Infidels by encamping without the gates; and in this situation, on the morrow of his arrival, the Turkish cavalry, recovering from their surprise and ascertaining the scantiness of his force, attacked him with overwhelming numbers. He not only sustained their repeated charges, but each time rushed into the thickest of their squadrons at the head of his ten Knights; and everywhere carried death and confusion into their ranks. Never had even he performed such prodigies of valour and personal strength; whole squadrons of the quailing Infidels fled before his single arm; and the Muslim Writers themselves are the most adoring witnesses and warmest eulogists of these incredible exploits.† Night

Progress
of the
Crusades.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

Heroism of
Richard at
Jaffa.

His last de-
feat of the
Infidels.

* Hoveden, p. 715. Vineauf, *ubi supra*.

† This concurrent testimony of Christian and Mohammedan Writers compels History to ascribe to Richard feats of personal heroism, which might otherwise be dismissed as the dreams of Romance. Such was the admiration which he exerted from his enemies, that Saphadin, during his last action before Jaffa, observing him dismounted, sent him two Arabian horses, on one of which he continued the conflict until nightfall. Some time before, the same Turkish Prince had solicited and obtained, at the hands of the Christian hero, the honour of Knighthood for his son.

D H

History.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
End of the
Third
Crusade.

put an end to the unequal combat: but so hopeless was Saladin's prevailing against the hero, that he raised the siege of Jaffa without any further attempt.*

This was the last and most brilliant achievement of the Lion-Hearted King on the shores of Palestine; and with it ended the Third Crusade. The exertions of Richard brought on a fever which increased his longing desire to return to Europe; and the awe inspired by his prowess and victory facilitated his overtures for a renewal of former negotiations. Saladin himself was weary of fruitless hostilities, and languishing under a bodily decline, which in a few months bowed him to the grave. Richard consented to dismantle the fortifications of Ascalon, which as the key of Egypt from the Syrian frontiers, was in the hands of the Christians an object of jealous disquietude to the Sultan; and the latter on his part agreed to leave them in unmolested possession of Tyre, Acre, and Jaffa, with all the maritime territory between the first and last of those cities, to abstain also from attacking the territories of the Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli, and to grant all Christian pilgrims free access to the holy places of Jerusalem. Upon these terms the two Monarchs concluded a truce between the Nations of their respective faiths for three years and three months; and Richard, embarking at Acre, bade a last adieu to the scene of his glory, and commenced that homeward voyage, of which we are in another place to relate the calamitous issue.†

Treaty with
Saladin.
Return of
Richard to
Europe.

Political
state of Pa-
lestine dur-
ing the
Crusade.

Such was the termination of the Third Crusade. Its grand object in the recapture of Jerusalem had not been accomplished: but the total ruin with which the affairs of the Latin Kingdom were threatened by the fatal defeat at Tiberias had been averted; the tide of Musulman conquest was arrested; and a great part of the sea-coast of Palestine with its chain of fortresses remained in the hands of the Christians. The recovery or preservation of this territory, which for eighty years deferred the final triumph of the Moslems, was chiefly attributable to the heroic achievements of the English King; and but for his intemperance and caprice even greater advantages might have been reaped from his splendid exploits. Yet it may be doubted whether his want of complete success was not full as much produced by the political vices of the Latin States, as by the errors of his own conduct. The factions nursed in Palestine during the feeble reign of the leper Baldwin IV. had grown into uncontrollable strength and violence; their quarrels were embraced by the Crusaders from Europe; and even while the victories of Saladin threatened to involve all parties in a common ruin, the dissensions of the Christians were more dangerous to the general cause than the arms of their infidel enemies. The conflicting pretensions of aspirants to the Latin throne of Palestine supplied a constant subject of disunion. By the death of his consort Sybilla and her children, during the siege of Acre, the worthless Lusignan had lost his

Dissensions
of the
Christians.

But the most striking proof of the reality of his astonishing prowess, is the enduring terror in which his very memory was held by the Moslems: for, above half a century after his fiery spirit had been quenched in the grave, "his tremendous name was employed by Syrian mothers to silence their infants; and if an horse suddenly started from his way, his rider was wont to exclaim, 'Dost thou think King Richard is in the bow?'" *Quidam in que ce soit le roi Richard?* Gibson, ch. lix. from Joinville.

* Vinesauf, p. 412—421. Bohadin, p. 238—249. Abulreda, p. 52.

† Vinesauf, p. 422. Bohadin, p. 260.

only title to a matrimonial crown; and he found a formidable competitor in Conrad, the gallant Prince of Tyre, who had espoused Isabella, or Melicent, sister of the late Queen. From their personal enmity, the King of England supported the cause of Lusignan, and the French Monarch that of Conrad and his consort. After the departure of Philippe, Richard, to suppress a civil war, found it necessary to recognise the royal title of Conrad, and consoled Lusignan with the Crown of Cyprus: but this accommodation was scarcely concluded, when Conrad was murdered in the streets of Tyre by two of the Hassassins, or followers of a fanatical Mohammedan Chieftain, whose systematic employment of the dagger against their enemies introduced a new term into the languages of Europe. By the partisans of Conrad, his murder was imputed to the instigation of Richard; and this charge was made the plea for new dissensions: but all evidence of the open and fearless impetuosity of Plantagenet's temper is opposed to the belief that, if he had sought the life of Conrad, he would have stooped to so perfidious and dastardly a mode of gratifying his enmity.* The widow of Conrad accepted the hand of Henry, Count of Champagne, who in right of this marriage was recognised, both by the public voice and the assent of Richard, as King of Jerusalem; and his undisputed assumption of the visionary title at length removed one of the means by which the factions of Palestine had aggravated the disasters of the Christian cause.†

But the Christians in Palestine were indebted for their safety after the Third Crusade far less to any union among themselves, than to the death of their formidable enemy. Saladin† only survived his treaty with Richard a few months; and on his decease the great Empire which he had consolidated was almost immediately dissolved. In its division, three of his numerous sons erected distinct thrones at Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo: but most of his veteran soldiery preferred to range themselves under the standard of his brother Saphadin; and at their head that Prince carved out for himself, at the expense of his nephews, a considerable sovereignty in

Progress
of the
Crusades.

From
A. D.
1099,
to
A. D.
1204.

Conrad of
Montfort,
King of Je-
rusalem.
His murder.

Henry of
Champagne,
King of Jeru-
salem.

Transac-
tions in
Palestine
during its
reign.
Death of
Saladin and
division of
his Empire.
1193.

* Bohadin, indeed, (p. 225.) asserts that the murderers, who were taken and put to the torture, confessed that they were employed by the King of England: but both Vinesauf (p. 377.) and Hoveden (p. 717.) agree in reporting the declaration of the Hassassins, that they had killed Conrad in revenge for an injury which he had offered to their Chief; and this version of the tale has great internal probability. Richard, in fact, since his reconciliation, had nothing to gain by the crime; and Conrad himself so little suspected him as, on his death-bed, to desire his widow to commit the fortress of Tyre to the keeping of the English Prison. No conclusion, either of the innocence or guilt of Richard, is fairly to be drawn from the execratory letter from the Chief of the Hassassins, an evident forgery subsequently produced at his trial before the Imperial German Diet. Rytner, *Foedera*, vol. i. p. 71.

† For these political transactions in Palestine during the Third Crusade, see chiefly Vinesauf, p. 324. 377. 392.

‡ The really great qualities of Saladin have sometimes been too absolutely lauded: for, as Mr. Mills has well observed, (*Hist. of Crusades*, vol. ii. p. 82.) his character was but a "compound of dignity and baseness." He had established his throne over the Moslems by treachery and bloodshed; and his first successes against the Christians had been stained by atrocious cruelty. But his government of his own people, after his power was secure, was mild and equitable; as a Mussulman, in his latter years, he was eminently pious, just, and charitable; and we have seen that, even towards enemies, he was sometimes capable of the most magnanimous and generous conduct. He is perhaps the brightest exemplar in history of an Asiatic hero; and his virtues, like the dark traits which obscured them, exhibit the genuine lineaments of his clime and race.

History. Syria. At the expiration of the three years' truce which the English King had negotiated, the dissensions of the Infidels revived in the Christians the fond hope of reconquering Jerusalem; and at the instigation of the Military Orders a new Crusade* was proclaimed by Pope Celestin III. Throughout France and England, from whatever causes, the appeal was heard with indifference: but in Germany the design was promoted by some momentary schemes of ambition which the Emperor—the execrable Henry VI.—appears to have cherished of aggrandizing himself in the East; and, supported by his influence, the preaching of the Clergy in that Country was so successful, that the Cross was enthusiastically taken by many Princes and Prelates of the Empire, and by vast numbers of Nobles and persons of inferior rank. Thus composed, three great armaments, all from Germany, successively reached the port of Acre, and raised the most confident anticipations among the Latins in the East of a decisive triumph over their Infidel enemies. But the Mussulmans both of Egypt and Syria, forgetting their civil feuds in the common danger of their Religion and Empire, rallied around the standard of Saphadin; and though the combined Chivalry of Germany and Palestine gained some victories in the field, these successes were always either marred by their dissensions, or counterbalanced by the elastic spirit of Turkish hostility, which started into new and vigorous action, as often as misconduct or exhaustion relaxed the efforts of the Christians. By the death of the Emperor, the German Princes and Prelates were recalled through political interests to Europe; and at their departure they left the Latin possessions in Palestine only slightly enlarged by their aid. The general superiority, however, which their arms had asserted over the Mussulman power was useful in sustaining the dignity and safety of the Christian State; and though the nominal Capital of the Kingdom was still unrecovered, the German victories had given security to the throne of Henry of Champagne, whose real sovereignty extended over great part of the sea-coast of Syria. To these considerable fragments of the Latin Monarchy of Palestine, Cyprus was soon after added, on the death of Henry, by the union of his Queen, thus widowed for the third time, with Almeric of Lusignan, the successor of Guy in the sovereignty of that island; and on the solemnization of this marriage at Acre, Almeric and Isabella assumed the joint title of King and Queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus.†

The exhortations of Pope Celestin III. had failed to reanimate the religious zeal of the Chivalry of France: but a fresh impulse was given to their fanaticism when Innocent III., three years afterwards, ascended the Papal throne. The convenient precedent of the Saladin title might suggest to that celebrated Pontiff a tempting occasion for again taxing the Clergy of Europe

under the pretext of a new Crusade: but perhaps the single motive of filling the Papal coffers by this disgraceful expedient has been too confidently attributed to Innocent, in whom the ambitious desire of extending the spiritual and temporal dominion of the Holy See was at least as strong as any mere cupidity of gold. But whatever were his objects, he entered on the design of again arming Europe against the Infidels with all the energy which distinguished his character. He wrote himself to the Sovereigns of Christendom, exhorting them severally, either to take the Cross in person, or at least to contribute their forces and treasures to the sacred enterprise; and his Legates were despatched throughout the Kingdoms of the West to levy on all Ecclesiastical bodies the fortieth part of their revenues, and to obtain the pecuniary subscription and personal services of the laity by the promises of indulgencies and pardon for their sins. So productive were these efforts, that the free offerings of the Princes and people exceeded the total amount imposed on the Clergy: but the most powerful auxiliary of the Papal design was a fanatical priest named Fouques, of Neuilly near Paris, who professed to atone for a life of sin by dedicating its remains to the service of Heaven; and who, without the rude originality of the Hermit Peter, or the learning and dignified virtues of St. Bernard, yet with a success little inferior to that of either, by the vehemence of his exhortations, and by his pretended revelations of the Divine Will, now kindled the flame of Religious enthusiasm throughout Flanders and France.*

When the fame of his preaching and his miracles had already prepared the public mind of those Countries for the sacred enterprise, the martial and fanatical zeal of the French Nobility was roused into action by the example which was offered to them at a great tournament in Champagne. There Thibaut, the youthful Count of that Province, and his cousin Louis, Earl of Blois, both of them nephews, by a common relationship, to the Monarchs of France and England, and the former brother to the late King Henry of Jerusalem, resolved to exchange the martial sports for the sterner duties of Chivalry, and solemnly devoted themselves and their fortunes to the service of the Cross. Their spirit was enthusiastically caught by the assembled Knighthood; their vows were embraced on the spot by Simon de Montfort, Lord of Mante, and a numerous band of the noblest Chevaliers of France; and when intelligence of the inspiring design reached the Court of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, brother-in-law of Thibaut, that Prince, with a great body of Flemish Knights, hastened to enrol himself in the holy cause. Meanwhile, in Italy and in Germany, the Papal exhortations and promises of spiritual rewards had not been without their desired effect. In the former Country, Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, brother of the murdered Conrad of Tyre, and in the latter, the Bishop of Halberstadt, both seconded by great numbers of Knightly and plebeian warriors, assumed the Cross; and the King of Hungary, with his subjects, sealed the sincerity of their faith by the same test.†

Progress of the Crusades.
From A. D. 1099. to A. D. 1204. Projected by Pope Innocent III.

Preaching of Fouques of Neuilly.

Many French Barons and others take the Cross.
A. D. 1200.

New Crusade of the German Chivalry.
A. D. 1195.

Its indecisive result.

Almeric of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem.
A. D. 1197.
THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

* As the exhortation of the Pope to the nations of Europe to engage in this design was general, some Writers have dignified the abortive result with the title of the Fourth Crusade; and numbered the subsequent expedition, which was directed against the Byzantine Empire, as the Fifth of Nine. But the more usual, which seems also the more convenient division, restricts the term of distinct Crusades to Seven, or at most Eight, great efforts, which were either produced by some signal occasion, such as the loss of Edessa or Jerusalem, or else productive of some considerable event.

† For all these transactions in Palestine, see Bernardus Thesaur. p. 813—818. Chron. Schæferum, lib. iv. v. vi. (in Freher, Rerum Script. German. vol. ii.) Cont. Will. Tyr. lib. ii. Abulfeda, lib. iv. &c.

* Fouques did not live to contemplate the full consequences of his preaching. He died before the Crusading armament sailed from Venice. Du Cange on Villehardouin, No. xxxvii.

† Vita Innocent. III. (apud Muratori, Script. Hist. Ital. vol. iii.) p. 506—526. Histoire de la Prise de Constantinople, par Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Ed. Du Cange, Fœrsgræph No. 1.

History.

From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

Prepara-
tions of the
French
Barons.

The French nobles did not suffer the ardour of their followers to cool by inaction. To forward the enterprise and arrange its details, the three Counts of Champagne, Blois, and Flanders, with their principal associates, met twice in deliberation at Soissons and at Compiègne; and the result of their counsels was a resolution to avoid the disasters which the fatal experience of former Crusades had shown were the inevitable attendants of a land expedition to Palestine, and to imitate the maritime passage of Philippe Auguste and Richard Plantagenet. But as the Barons of the inland Province of Champagne could not command the same means of naval transport as those Sovereigns, they determined upon attempting to purchase the aid of one of the maritime Republics of Italy, who throughout the Crusades had been wont to hire out their services both as the common carriers and allies of the Western pilgrims. Among these States, Venice had already attained a preponderance of power and resources; and to that city, with full powers to negotiate on their behalf, the French Barons despatched six chosen deputies, and in the number Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, to whose pen or dictation we are indebted for a simple and expressive narration of the whole Crusade.

Their em-
bassy to
Venice to
obtain her
services.

The Ducal Crown of Venice was at this time worn by Enrico Dandolo, who at the extraordinary age of ninety-three years, and in almost total blindness, still preserved the vigorous talents, the active heroism, and the ambitious or patriotic spirit of his youth. He received the noble envoys with honour; and, after the purport of their embassy had been regularly submitted to the Councils of the State, invited them to meet the assembled citizens in the Place of St. Mark. There, before a multitude of more than ten thousand persons, the haughty Barons of France threw themselves upon their knees to implore the assistance of the commercial republicans in recovering the Sepulchre of Christ. Their tears* and eloquence prevailed; the price of the desired aid had been left by the envoys to the assessment of the Doge and his immediate council; and for the sum of eighty-five thousand silver marks—less than £200,000 of our modern English money, and therefore not an unreasonable demand—the Republic engaged to transport four thousand five hundred Knights, nine thousand Esquires and men at arms with their horses and equipments, and twenty thousand foot soldiers, to any part of the coasts of the East which the service of God might require, to provision them for nine months, and to escort and aid them with a fleet of fifty galleys; but only on condition that the money should be paid before embarkation, and that whatever conquests might be made should be equally divided between the Barons and the Venetian State.†

Subsequent
duties.

On the return of the envoys to France, these terms received a joyful approval from their associates: but several untoward circumstances arose to obstruct the performance of the treaty. The young Count of Champagne, the ardent promoter and destined chief of the enterprise, was already stretched on a death-bed; and on his decease some time was lost before the mutual jealousy of the French Barons, which prevented their

electing one of their own body to succeed him, was reconciled by the choice of a foreign leader in the person of the Marquis of Montferrat. Many of the Nobles and their followers had, meanwhile, in inconstancy or impatience, wholly deserted their engagements or found their own passage to Acre: so that when at length, nearly two years after the tournament in Champagne, the Marquis Boniface mustered the French, Italian, and Flemish confederates at Venice, their numbers fell short of expectation, notwithstanding the junction of some German Crusaders; and they were utterly unable to subscribe the stipulated cost of the enterprise. Though the Marquis and the Counts of Blois and Flanders made a generous sacrifice of all their valuables, above thirty thousand marks were yet wanting to complete the full payment; and as the Republic, with true mercantile caution, refused to permit the sailing of the fleet until the whole amount of the deficiency should be lodged in her treasury, the enterprise must have been abandoned, if the Doge had not suggested an equivalent. He proposed that, upon condition of the Crusaders assisting in the reduction of the strong city of Zara on the Dalmatian coast, which had revolted from the Republic, their payment of the remaining sum should be postponed until the conclusion of the Holy War; and despite of his years and infirmities,† he engaged on their assent himself to take the Cross, and to lead the naval forces of his Republic.

The confederate Barons gladly acceded to this expedient, when another obstacle was opposed to its adoption, which had nearly frustrated the whole enterprise: the people of Zara had placed themselves under the sovereignty of the King of Hungary; and the Pope, through his Legate, positively forbade the Crusaders to turn their arms against the subjects of a Prince who had himself taken the Cross. But the Venetians, who entertained little reverence for the authority of the Holy See, succeeded in persuading their more scrupulous allies to disregard the prohibition of Innocent; the desire of honourably discharging their obligations prevailed with the French Barons over their fear of the Papal displeasure; and, although the Marquis of Montferrat, their leader, abstained from accompanying them, they sailed to Zara with their followers in the Venetian fleet, which was commanded by the venerable Doge, as he had promised, in person. Zara was deemed in that Age one of the strongest cities in Europe: but the inhabitants, after a siege of only five days, were terrified or compelled into a surrender: and though their lives were spared, the city was pillaged with great cruelty, and both its houses and defences razed to the ground. In his first burst of indignation at their disobedience, Innocent excommunicated both the Crusaders and Venetians; and when the French Barons sent a deputation of their number to Rome to express their penitence, he assured them of pardon for their sins only upon condition of their making restoration of their booty to the people of Zara, and withdrawing from all alliance with the more stubborn Republicans, who still set his spiritual censures at defiance. The fanatic De Montfort alone, whose subsequent share in the Crusade against the Albigenes has given a horrible celebrity to his name, showed full obe-

Progress
of the
Crusades.

From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

Assembly
of the Cr-
usaders at
Venice.

A. D.
1202.

Division of
their area
against
Zara.

Capture of
that city.

* These doughty champions of Chivalry were, as Gibbon has observed, by habit great weepers. *Mult plarant, &c.* is the phrase of Villehardouin on almost every occasion of excitement.

† Andrew Dandolo, *Chron. Venet.* (in *Script. Hist. Ital.* vol. xii.) p. 320—323, in which the original treaty is given. Villehardouin, *No. xiii. xiv.*

* Notwithstanding the expression of Villehardouin, that the venerable Doge had lost his sight by a wound, it may be doubted whether he was totally blind: for the statement of his descendant and Chronicler, much more probable in itself, is only that he was *visu debilis*. Dandolo, *Chron.* p. 322.

History.

From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.Further
change in
the purpose
of the Cru-
sade.Retrospect
to the af-
fairs of the
Eastern
Empire.
Reigns of
Alexius I.
(Comne-
nus.)

dience to the Papal mandate by wholly abandoning his associates; but the rest of the French Nobles and their troops continued to winter with the Venetians at Zara, where, after its surrender, the Marquis of Montferrat joined them; and it was during this season of repose that an entirely new destination was given to the continued armament.*

To explain the occasion of a change of purpose in the Crusaders, which produced one of the most singular and memorable enterprises in History, it is now necessary to revert to the state of the Byzantine Empire: the Annals of which, during the XIIIth Century, have been purposely reserved for a brief and rapid notice in this place. Our retrospect will ascend to the reign of the first Alexius: down to whose accession the affairs of the East have been narrated in a distinct chapter;† and the subsequent crisis of whose fortunes was involved and has been described in the transactions of the earliest Crusade.‡ Following closely on the triumphant career of the Latins through the Lesser Asia, Alexius richly gathered the fruits of victories, which they were impatient to abandon for the ulterior objects of their great enterprise; and as the Turkish forces were successively withdrawn from the shores of the Propontis and Ægean Sea to the defence of the interior, the Emperor restored to the Byzantine dominion the whole circuit of the sea-coast from Nice to Tarsus, or from the Bosphorus to the Syrian gates. Even in the interior of Asia Minor, the Sultan of Nice, after the loss of that Capital, had been compelled to remove the seat of his throne from thence to Iconium, above three hundred miles from Constantinople; and amidst the exhaustion of the Turkish power in its struggle with the Crusading invaders, Alexius, by policy and arms, so diligently improved his advantage that, before his decease, the Greek Empire, which, at the outset of his reign, was straitened and shaken on all sides by hostile pressure and seemed to rock to its foundations, had not only assumed an aspect of renovated strength, but expanded with offensive force against its former assailants.§

In the succeeding reign of his son John, termed in derision the Handsome, or Calo Johannes, a Prince more honourably distinguished both for his pacific virtues and warlike qualities, internal concord and happiness were preserved by a mild and vigorous administration; while the dignity of the Empire was asserted, and its security increased, by twenty-five years of victorious contest with the Turks. From the Latin Princes of Syria, the Greek Emperor won equal respect by the powerful assistance which, in the interval between the First and Second Crusades, he rendered them in repelling the Infidels, and by the vigour with which he obliged Raymond, the reigning Prince of Antioch, to do homage to him for his possessions. Manuel, the second surviving son of John, who was preferred in the succession to an elder brother both by parental and popular favour, inherited his father's martial spirit with his throne: but did not emulate the worth of his private life and civil government. During an active reign of thirty-seven years, the ambition of Manuel, rather than the necessity of his position, involved his Empire in continual wars, not only with the Turks and Hunga-

rians, its natural enemies on the Asiatic and European frontiers, but also with the ancient foes of his House, the Normans of the Two Sicilies. In the hostilities, indeed, which kindled anew the quarrel of the preceding Century, Manuel was not the first aggressor. Reviving the magnificent design of Robert Guiscard for the subjugation of the Byzantine Empire, Roger, King of Sicily, upon pretext of some slight shown to his Ambassadors at Constantinople, despatched a great armament into the Ionian and Ægean seas; and the Normans disembarking from their ships reduced Corfu and other islands, and overran the Continent of Greece. Manuel was at the time absent from his Capital: but his return and revengeful activity soon terminated the triumph of the invaders. With the powerful cooperation of the Venetians, his navy outnumbered that of the Normans, and swept the seas of their galleys; his troops, which he led in person, overpowered the garrisons which they had left in Greece; and a single campaign sufficed to clear the Empire of its audacious assailants. It was then that the ambitious hopes of Manuel rose with his success; and the glorious issue of a just and defensive war suggested dreams of aggrandizement, which embraced the sovereignty of Italy and the reunion on his brows of the Imperial Crowns of the East and West.¶

With the plea of punishing the Norman invaders of his States, a Byzantine army, under the command of his son, Palæologus, a leader of noble birth and approved valour, was landed upon the shores of Southern Italy; and favoured by the declining health and death of the Sicilian King, and by the affection of the people for the ancient community of language and faith which had bound them to the Greek Empire, the whole of Apulia and Calabria was rapidly re-annexed to the Byzantine dominion. From this epoch, throughout the subsequent contests between the Western Emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, on the one side, and the Papacy and Lombard Republics on the other, the intrigues, the blunders, and the gold of Manuel, were unsparingly employed to extend his influence in Italy, and to promote his visionary scheme of wresting the sovereignty of the whole Peninsula from the German usurper of the Roman title. To the Pope he threw out the lure of terminating the schism of the Latin and Greek Churches; to the Lombard Cities he was prodigal both of money and promises: but the intrinsic weakness of the Greek Empire was unequal to the prosecution of this ambitious design; its weight was severely felt in the balance of Italian politics; and when the Pope and the Lombard Republics had terminated their great struggle with Barbarossa, the subsidies and the negotiations of Manuel were alike disregarded. In Southern Italy fortune was equally capricious to the Eastern Empire; the death of his brave lieutenant Palæologus was followed by the loss of his transient conquests; and, in a truce concluded with William the Bad, the successor of Roger on the Sicilian throne, in which that Prince acknowledged himself the vassal of the Byzantine throne, the dignity and pretensions of Manuel were only saved by his abandonment of the Italian soil. In other quarters the warlike reign of Manuel was signalized by victories both over the Hungarians and Turks, though in his last years its splendour was clouded by a severe defeat which he sustained from the Infidels in the Pontian mountains. To his own subjects, even his more suc-

Annals of

the East.

From
A. D.
1099;
to
A. D.
1204.His tran-
sient con-
quests in
Southern
Italy.A. D.
1156.

* Dandolo, *Chron. ubi supra*; *Vita Innocent. III.* p. 529—531. Villehardouin, No. xx.—liv.

† Vide ch. lxx. in this volume.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 587, 588, 591—600.

§ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad.* lib. xi.—xiv.

¶ Johannis Cinnami *Historia*, lib. ii. iii. Nicephorus Choniates, in *Manuel Comnen.* lib. i.—iii. ad c. 6. (Both in *Scriptor. Byzant.*)

John Com-
nenus, (or
Calo Johanne,
A. D.
1118.Manuel
(Comne-
nus.)
A. D.
1143.

History.

From
A. D.
1099.
to

A. D.
1204.

Alexius II.
(Comnenus)

A. D.
1180.

Andronicus
(Comnenus)

A. D.
1183.

Isaac II.
(Angelus)

A. D.
1195.

Loss of
Bulgaria.

A. D.
1186.

Alexius III.
(Angelus)

A. D.
1195.

Appeal of
his nephew
Alexius to the Crusaders
against his usurpation.

A. D.
1202.

Motives of
the Venetians for
interference.

cessful wars were productive of heavy burthens; his private life was licentious; and his political character was stained, as we have seen, with the reproach of pretended friendship and treacherous hostility to the Latins in the Second Crusade.*

With the death of Manuel ended the greatness of the Comnenian race. His infant son and successor, Alexius II., was oppressed by a perfidious guardian and daring usurper of his own blood, Andronicus, himself a grandson of the first Alexius: who, after deposing and murdering his Imperial ward, himself terminated a tyrannical and bloody reign of less than three years, by an ignominious and cruel death. The popular insurrection in which he fell was headed by Isaac Angelus, another member, by descent in the female line, of the Comnenian family. The leader or tool of the insurgents was raised to the throne; and under his feeble reign of ten years, the Empire crumbled into ruin. A revolt of the Bulgarians was provoked by his tyranny in seizing their flocks and herds to supply the wasteful pomp of his nuptials; and his tame acquiescence in their assertion of independence severed their Country from the Byzantine Crown, after a possession of nearly two Centuries, and established the second Kingdom of Bulgaria under a race of their ancient Princes. The inglorious and indolent reign of Isaac was frequently, and perhaps justly, threatened by abortive conspiracies; but his worst and successful enemy was his own ungrateful brother, Alexius, whom he had redeemed from a Turkish prison, and who repaid the obligation by surprising his security, depriving him of his eyes, consigning him to a dungeon, and seating himself on his throne. The son of the deposed Prince, who was named also Alexius, a boy only twelve years of age, was spared by the pity or contempt of his uncle; and he had subsequently contrived to escape into Italy, when the news of the assembly of a great Crusading armament at Venice, inspired his youthful hopes that its leaders might be induced, by adequate offers, to defer the ultimate object of their enterprise for a season, and to direct their powerful arms to the restoration of his father. The entreaties of the young Prince for their aid were supported at Venice by Ambassadors from his protector, the Duke of Swabia, who had married his sister: but it was at Zara, during the inaction of Winter, that the friends of Alexius were permitted more successfully to negotiate a treaty with the Latin Barons and Venetian Republic, which was eventually to deliver the Imperial inheritance of his House into the detested hands of foreign and barbarous spoilers.†

To induce the Venetians to accept the overtures of the young Greek Prince, there were not wanting many motives both of passion and policy. The alliance between their State and the Emperor Manuel Comnenus in the last Age, had been converted, by his protection of Ancona, the commercial rival of the Republic, into deadly enmity; in revenge for a general confiscation of the property of the Venetians in his ports, to which Manuel was provoked by their insolence, their fleets had ravaged the Byzantine Islands and coasts; and though the Emperor, by a final submission to their demands, had appeased the haughty Republic, the hatred of the people of Constantinople, during the license of

subsequent revolutions, had repeatedly exposed the Venetian merchants in that Capital to spoliation and massacre.* The arms of the Republic, or the dread of her vengeance, generally, indeed, obtained indemnification for these outrages: but repeated broils cherished mutual national antipathy; and when the Pisans availed themselves of the temper of the Greeks to supplant the Venetians in their commercial relations with the Empire, the exasperation of the latter people had reached its height. By assisting young Alexius, their Republic would therefore both revenge her wrongs and regain her commercial advantages in the East. The politic Dandolo was not slow to anticipate the benefits which would accrue to his Country from such an alliance; and he eagerly employed all his influence with the confederate Barons to engage them in the design.‡

For its adoption even as a means of advancing the ultimate object of the Crusade, some plausible arguments might be adduced. As the possession of Egypt was supposed to form the principal support of the Turkish arms in Palestine, the original design of the Crusaders had been to attack the Infidels at that source of their power. But it was now contended by the Venetians, that any loss of time in deferring the projected invasion of Egypt would be richly repaid to the profit of the Crusade, by the advantages likely to arise from the command of the Byzantine resources, which young Alexius offered as the price of his father's restoration. The proposals, indeed, of the Imperial exile, were of the most tempting nature: for he engaged not only to pay two hundred thousand marks among the Crusaders as soon as his parent should be reestablished on the throne; but also to put an end to the schism of the Greek and Latin Churches by submitting his Empire to the spiritual dominion of the Roman See; and either to combine personally with the Crusaders, at the head of the Byzantine forces, in the subsequent expedition against Egypt, or in default of his own presence, to send ten thousand men at his charge for one year, and to maintain five hundred Knights during his life for the defence of Palestine.§ These promised benefits to the cause of the Church and the Crusade might at first have a powerful influence in winning assent even among the more devout leaders of the war; but it must be doubted whether the motives of their subsequent conduct were equally pure and disinterested; and since the diversion of their arms against Zara had familiarized the minds of the Crusading host to the postponement of their vows, it may be suspected that the successful siege and sack of that city had but awakened their appetite for a more splendid achievement and a richer booty.

The influence of such feelings is detected in their second and more deliberate contempt of the prohibition, which Innocent III. now fulminated against their design. The Byzantine usurper, anticipating the proposal of young Alexius, had, by a solemn embassy to Rome, offered to place the religious affairs of his Empire under the government of the Latin Papacy, and requested the presence of a Legate from Rome; and the ambitious Innocent, hoping thus to secure the submission of the Greek Church, as the price of keeping the reigning

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Advantage
proposed to
the Crusaders.

Papal prohibition disapproved.

* Cinnamus, lib. iv.—vi. Nicetas, ad fin. Manuel.

† Nicetas, in Andron. Comnen., in Isaac Angel., in Alex. Angel., ad lib. iii. &c.

* Cinnamus, lib. vi. c. 10. Nicetas, in Manuel. lib. ii. c. 5. in Alex. Mon. Fulv. c. 11. in Isaac. lib. ii. c. 10.

† Nicetas, in Alex. lib. iii. c. 9. expressly accuses the Doge and Venetians as the instigators of the French Crusaders.

‡ Villehardouin, No. xlv. Chron. Dandolo, lib. x. c. 2.

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tyrant on the Byzantine throne, promised him protection against his enemies. The Pontiff, therefore, proceeded positively to interdict the Crusaders from espousing the cause of the Imperial exile, or arrogating to themselves any authority for the redress of wrongs among Christians, or the suppression of schism, for which it was the province of the Holy See alone to provide. But, by the Venetians, the commands of the Pope were immediately treated with such open disregard, that the Cardinal-Legates, whom he had despatched to Zara to enforce them, hopelessly quitted the place and sailed direct for Palestine; and their example was followed by a number of Barons and other Crusaders, including many most renowned for their devout and warlike spirit, who conscientiously dreaded to incur the Papal censures, by turning their arms against the Eastern Empire: while not a few disguised, under the same pretext, their secret dread to engage in an enterprise so perilous and disproportioned to the assembled force of the confederates. Since, indeed, submission to the Papal authority was identified with every pious sentiment of the Age, it is impossible not to conclude that, in the minds of the remaining leaders and soldiery, the temptations of glorious or gainful adventure had triumphed over religious considerations; and chiefly through the personal persuasions, as it is said, of the Venetian Doge, the proposals of young Alexius, despite of the impending thunders of the Vatican, were finally accepted by the Marquis of Montferrat, the Counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Paul, with eight other great French Barons, and the majority of their followers.*

However apparently inadequate for the conquest of an ancient Empire, the armament wherewith the Doge of Venice and the confederate Barons now sailed for Constantinople, was of its kind the most complete and formidable which the world had yet witnessed. The fleet was composed of fifty great galleys of war, one hundred and twenty flat-bottomed horse transports, called *palanders*, or *huissiers*,† two hundred and forty vessels filled with troops and warlike engines, and seventy store-ships laden with provisions. On board this navy of nearly five hundred sail—of which the enumeration conveys so magnificent an idea of the wealth and power of the great Republic—there were embarked, under the confederate Barons of the Crusade, six thousand cavalry, composed of two thousand Knights with their Esquires and Sergeants, or mounted attendants, and ten thousand foot: besides the Venetian sea and land forces, of which the numbers might be loosely estimated at twenty thousand more.‡ Although the Byzantine usurper was early apprized of the destination and force of this hostile armament, he made not a single effort to oppose its course; the Crusaders were permitted successively, during a tardy navigation, to refresh themselves and their horses, and to replenish their provisions on the

coasts and islands of Greece; and they finally approached the port of Constantinople itself without having encountered an enemy. The Byzantine navy, which, it is said, had but lately numbered sixteen hundred vessels of war, might have sufficed to harass, and even to destroy, on its passage an armament so encumbered with horses and stores: but the Greek Admiral, Michael Struphnos, brother-in-law of the usurper, had, in the baseness of his avarice, broken up the hulls of the shipping, that he might sell, for his private profit, the masts, rigging, and iron work; and the port of Constantinople now contained only twenty galleys. The shores of the Propontis might have furnished abundant timber for the construction of a new navy: but the ennuis of the palace, to whom the charge of the imperial forests was intrusted for the purposes of the chase, would not suffer a tree to be felled for the public defence. To this and every other object of patriotism, the whole Nation indeed was alike insensible: for the unwarlike and degenerate Greeks, as a race in whom the despotism of Centuries had extinguished every spark of generous shame, beheld in covering apathy the approach of a detested enemy; and without favouring the cause of the younger Alexius, the people both of the Capital and Provinces were equally indifferent to the danger of the tyrant who filled their throne.¶

If that usurper himself, or his adherents, had been capable of exerting even the passive courage of a defence, the natural strength and resources of the Capital might have defied the efforts of assailants, whom the able-bodied inhabitants outnumbered at the lowest estimate as ten to one. When the Venetian navy arrived before the walls of Constantinople, and the gorgeous city, which the admiration of the Crusaders deemed well worthy of being the mistress and queen of the world, burst in all her magnitude and splendour upon their astonished gaze, there was no heart so stout, is the simple and emphatic confession of the noble companion and chronicler of the adventure, but recoiled with dread at the spectacle of her massive ramparts and gigantic towers: for never surely had so great an enterprise been essayed.† But with the awe which the bravest might not feel ashamed to confess, was not the less mingled a magnanimous spirit which rose with the danger: and each warrior looking upon his arms reflected with unshaken resolution, that the hour was at hand in which these must serve the need, and would suffice to ensure the event, of glorious achievement. As a strong wind swept the armament past the walls of the majestic Capital towards the opposite shore, the fleet was there brought to anchor; and the Chivalry disembarking took possession of the Asiatic suburb of Chrysopolis, the modern Scutari, and during nine days reposed in an Imperial palace and gardens. This interval of inaction was marked by some negotiations, in which the Byzantine usurper offered to expedite their march through Asia Minor against the Infidels, but menaced them with destruction if their purpose was hostile to his State: while the Doge and Barons sternly replied, that they had entered the Empire in the cause of Heaven to avenge the wrongs which he had committed; and boldly admonished him

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Their arrival before that Capital.

Alliance of the Crusaders and Venetians with young Alexius.

They sail to Constantinople.
A. D.
1203

* Villehardouin, No. xlv., xlvii., lii. *Vita Innocent. III.* p. 533. *Ejadem Epistolæ.* No. xlvii., &c.

† The origin of the former term for such a description of naval transport has been lost; the latter is derived from the *hau*, or door in the side of the vessel, which was let down as a drawbridge for the purpose of shipping and landing the horses. Du Cange, on Villehardouin, No. xlv.

‡ According to Savaro, *Vite de Duchi di Venezia*, (in *Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. xxii.) p. 528. the land forces of the Republic in the expedition, were four hundred and fifty cavalry and eight thousand foot. But after the first siege of Constantinople, Villehardouin (No. clii.) estimates the total combined army of French and Venetians at only twenty thousand men.

* Villehardouin, No. lvi., lvii. Rhamnusius, *De Bello Constantinopolitano*, &c. lib. i. p. 33. Nicetas, (in *Alexen*) lib. iii. c. 9.

† *El sacheiz que il ne ot si hardi cui le cuer ne fremist, et ce ne fut merveill, car onques si grande affaire ne fut entrepris.* Villehardouin, No. lvi.

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Assault

that if he hoped for mercy he must descend from the throne which he had unjustly seized.*

After this declaration, they prepared to cross the Bosphorus to the European shore: the whole body of the Chivalry being divided into six corps or battles, two composed of Flemish Knights with their attendant archers under Count Baldwin and his brother, three of French Crusaders led respectively by the Counts of Blois and St. Paul, and the Lord of Montmorency, and the sixth or reserve of Italians and Germans under the Marquis of Montferrat. The Knights and Sergeants embarked in the palauaders, with their horses ready saddled and caparisoned: the Venetian galleys took them in tow; and in this order, they stood across the strait towards the European suburb of Galata, which commands the entrance of the port. The Greek cavalry were drawn out on the beach in far superior force to oppose their landing; but when the Knights, as soon as the water reached only to their girdles, leapt from the vessels, lance in hand, the enemy immediately fled; and the horses being brought on shore, the cavaliers mounted, pursued the flying squadrons, and captured the Imperial camp without striking a blow. On the following morning, after a faint sally by the Greeks, the assailants entered the town of Galata with the fugitives; the chain which from thence secured the mouth of the harbour was broken; and the whole Venetian fleet entering the port of Constantinople in triumph, the remains of the Imperial navy either fell into their hands, or were driven on shore and burnt.†

and capture
of the port.

Siege of the
city.

Though the port was thus captured, the gigantic works, by which the city itself was completely enclosed and separated from the suburbs, might still bid defiance to the efforts of the Crusaders: but their courage and confidence were unbowed; though their numbers were insufficient to observe more than a single front of the walls, they determined to commence a regular siege; and this magnanimous resolution presents the singular and amazing example of the investment of the largest and strongest Capital in the world by a few thousand men. The perils and the hardihood of this extraordinary enterprise were enhanced by the privations under which it was prosecuted. Of flour and salt provisions, the confederates had a supply but for three weeks left; clouds of Greek cavalry confined their few foragers to the camp; and their only fresh meat was obtained by the slaughter of their own horses. Delay was therefore far more to be dreaded than the resistance of the enemy; and the preparatory operations of the siege were urged with superhuman exertions. The possession of the harbour determined the point of attack; and against the walls on that side, two hundred and fifty great projectile and battering engines were planted. When by incredible labour the ditch had been filled up and some impression made upon the defences, the French and Venetians agreed to attempt a simultaneous assault: the former from their approaches against the land faces; the latter from their galleys upon the fronts which overlooked the port. Standing upon the raised deck of his vessel, with the gonfalon, or great banner of St. Mark, floating over his head, the venerable Doge himself led the naval attack; and such was the ardour excited by his presence, his voice, and his example, that the line of galleys was boldly rowed to the bench under the walls;

General
assault by
the French
and Vene-
tians.

by ladders from the foot of the ramparts, and by draw-bridges let down upon their battlements from the masts of the loftier vessels, the defences were surmounted; and the banner of the Republic was planted on one of twenty-five towers which were carried by the assailants.

But meanwhile the attack on the land side had been less successful; every gallant effort of the French Chivalry to scale the walls through the imperfect breaches had been repulsed by the assistance of some Pisan colonists and the valour of the Varangian, or Anglo-Saxon and Danish guards, ever the firmest support of the Byzantine throne;‡ and the numerous cavalry of the Greeks, pouring from the gates, threatened to surround and overwhelm the scanty array of the exhausted Crusaders. The Doge learning their danger, after setting fire to the quarter of the city which he had entered and which was thus reduced to ashes, drew off his triumphant forces to the succour of his fainting allies; and the pusillanimous Greeks, without daring a closer or prolonged encounter, disgracefully retired within the shelter of their walls. The confederates passed the succeeding night in eager rather than anxious suspense: but such was the terror with which the usurper Alexius was seized at the balanced success of the conflict that, under cover of the darkness, he basely fled from his Capital with a part of the Imperial treasures. On the discovery of his absence, the trembling Nobles of the palace drew his blind and captive brother Isaac from the dungeon to the throne; and when morning dawned, the leaders of the Crusaders were astonished by an embassy from the restored Emperor, announcing the revolution, desiring the presence of his son, and inviting them also to receive his grateful acknowledgments.†

The first proceeding of the confederates on the receipt of this message was to depute two Barons and two Venetians to wait upon the Emperor with their felicitations, and with a less welcome demand for the fulfilment of the engagements which his son had contracted in his name. While he admitted that their services were entitled to the highest recompense which was his to bestow, Isaac heard with consternation the extent of the conditions which he was required to ratify: the payment of two hundred thousand marks of silver; the employment of the Imperial forces in the service of the Crusade; and the submission of the Greek Church to the spiritual authority of the Pope. But the immediate subscription of the Emperor to these onerous terms was peremptorily insisted upon, and, however reluctantly obtained; on the return of the envoys to the camp, young Alexius was permitted to make his triumphant entry into the city, attended by the Latin Chiefs; and the joint coronation of the aged Emperor and his son, which was joyfully celebrated, seemed to announce a

Assault of
the East.
From
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1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
its sequel.

Restoration
of Isaac II.
(Angelos)
to the By-
zantine
throne.

Alliance
of the Cr-
usaders with

Isaac and
his son
Alexius.
Joint Cor-
onation of the
Emperors of the
East.

* On the subject of the Anglo-Saxon emigrations which filled the ranks of the Varangian guards of the Byzantine throne, see p. 666 of this volume. Du Cange, indeed, (notes on Villehardouin, No. lxxix., &c.) labours to prove that these Varangians came from the Northern continent of Europe only; but the words of Villehardouin are explicit, *Anglos et Danos*; it is not probable that a French Knight could have confounded their race; and his statement is in agreement with the fact, that impatience of the Norman tyranny had, ever since the epoch of the Conquest, driven multitudes of the bolder spirits among the oppressed English to seek a more honourable existence in foreign Countries.

† Villehardouin, No. lxxxi.—scilicet, Dandolo, *Chron.* p. 321, 322. Nicetas, (in Alexius,) lib. iii. ed. *fol. Vitis Innocent.* III. c. 91. p. 533, 534.

* Villehardouin, No. lviii.—lxxxi.

† *Ibid.* No. lxxxi. Nicetas, (in Alexius,) lib. iii. c. 10.

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peaceful conclusion to the recent struggle. This fallacious promise of concord between two Nations so mutually obnoxious as the Latins and Greeks, was of short duration. To satisfy the rapacious demands of their deliverers, the Emperors, in the low state of the Byzantine treasury, were compelled to make many grievous exactions from their subjects; the warlike Franks cared not to conceal their insolent disdain for a pusillanimous people; and above all, the veneration of the Greeks for the peculiar forms and doctrines of their faith—the only symptom of virtuous feeling which, discernible as it is throughout the long annals of their degradation, may command some share of our respect—was outraged by the undisguised design of subjugating their Church to the Papal yoke. From the very altar of the Cathedral of St. Sophia, the Patriarch of Constantinople was compelled, at the dictation of the Crusaders, to proclaim the spiritual supremacy of the Roman Pontiff; and the people were required to subject their consciences to the doctrines and discipline of a Church, which they had ever been taught to regard with horror as schismatic and heretical. By these measures, their political and religious antipathy was extended to the young Emperor, as the ally and creature of the detested foreigners; and the conduct of Alexis himself did not tend to win the favour, or to command the respect, of his offended subjects. While the boisterous orgies and rude freedoms, which marked the social intercourse of the Western Nations, shocked the superior refinement or ceremonial pride of the Greeks, the young Emperor, regardless alike of the difference in national manners and of his own dignity, continued to visit the quarters, and to share in the debaucheries and gaming, of the Franks. In one of these carousals, he suffered the diadem to be snatched in sportive or contemptuous familiarity from his head, and exchanged for the coarse woollen cap of some low reveller; and the contempt as well as the aversion of his subjects was not unjustly provoked against the unfeeling or thoughtless boy, who could thus basely, in the eyes of insolent Barbarians, sully the lustre and dishonour the majesty of his Imperial Crown.*

Alexis induces the Crusaders to defer their departure.

Through all these causes, Alexis soon found that he had become so odious to his Countrymen, as to render the continued presence of his Latin allies indispensable to the security of his throne; and he endeavoured by the promise of further rewards to induce them to postpone their departure, and the prosecution of their Crusading vows, until the following Spring. He found them little loth to accede to his terms. On the first restoration of Isaac, indeed, the Latin Barons had given some signs of pursuing the original purpose of their confederacy; had sent a defiance to the Sultan of Egypt; and had deprecated the anger of the Pope at their repeated disobedience, by entreaties for pardon and by assurances that thenceforth their arms should be devoted exclusively to the sacred service of Palestine. The Venetians also had condescended to solicit a reconciliation with the Holy See; and Innocent was so well satisfied with the prospect of bringing the Greek Church under his dominion, and so rejoiced to recognise the slightest symptom of penitence in those stubborn Republicans, that he extended absolution to them as well as to their more submissive Baronial confederates. But in truth, both

the Doge and his noble allies were by this time almost equally ready to disregard the Papal displeasure and the objects of the Crusade for their personal profit; and Alexis seems to have experienced little difficulty in purchasing their continued services until the Spring, as soon as he had quieted their consciences by repeating the condition, that he would then accompany them to Egypt with the recruited forces of his Empire.†

To occupy the interval, and enforce the recognition of his disputed authority over the Imperial territories, the Marquis of Montferrat, with a body of the confederate Chivalry, successfully conducted the young Prince in an expedition through the Thracian Provinces; but during this absence, the hatred of the people of the Capital was fatally aggravated by the misconduct of the Latins. Though, for the prevention of feuds, a separate quarter had been assigned to the strangers in the suburb of Galata or Pera, some Flemings and Venetians, during a visit to the city, attacked a commercial colony of Musulmans, which had long enjoyed the protection of the Byzantine Emperors. The Infidels, though surprised, defended themselves bravely; the Greek inhabitants assisted them, while some Latin residents aided the aggressors; and during the conflict, the latter set fire to a building, from whence the flames spread with such frightful rapidity, that, before they could be extinguished, a third part of the magnificent city was reduced to ashes. During eight days, the conflagration raged over above a league in extent from the port to the Propontis; immense quantities of merchandise and other valuable property were destroyed; and thousands of families were reduced to beggary. The Latin Chiefs expressed their vain sorrow for a calamity which, as produced by the unbridled license of their followers, it should rather have been their care to prevent; but the suffering and exasperated Greeks were little disposed to credit their sincerity. Moreover, as some of the Italian settlers in the Capital had instigated or shared the outrage, the vengeance of the sufferers was specially directed against the ingratitude of these foreigners who had long been naturalized among them; and to the number of fifteen thousand persons, the whole Body were compelled to abandon their dwellings, and to consult their safety by flight to the suburban quarters of the Crusaders.‡

From this epoch the national animosity of the Greeks and Latins mutually increased to a deadly height; and when the young Emperor returned to his Capital, he found the rupture incurable, and his own position such, that he was scarcely permitted to choose between the party of his subjects and that of his allies. By the Greeks, he was more than ever abhorred as the tool of their oppressors; by the Latin Chiefs, without consideration for the difficulties which oppressed his government, his hesitation in fulfilling the pecuniary conditions of the alliance was resented with suspicion and menaces. Not deigning to admit the public distresses, which the late conflagration had grievously aggravated, as any excuse for delay in the collection and payment of their promised reward, the confederate leaders suddenly adopted the most violent counsels; and an embassy was sent, in the name of the Doge of Venice and of the Barons of the army, to defy the two Emperors in their own palace. After fearlessly delivering their haughty

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Great part of Constantinople burned in a feud.

Frightful ravages of the flames.

Exasperation of the Greeks.

Mutual hatred between them and the Latins.

Renewal of hostilities.

* Nicetas, in *Isaacum et Alexium Angulos*, c. 1.—3. Villehardouin, No. xcix.—ci.
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† *Papa Innocent. III.* p. 534. Villehardouin, No. ci.—ciii.
‡ Nicetas, in *Isaac. et Alex.* p. 272—274. Villehardouin, No. cvii.—cviii.

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1204.
Revolution
in Constantinople.

message, the envoys mounted their horses and returned to the quarters of the confederates; and hostilities, to which the two Emperors were the only reluctant parties, as they were also the first victims, immediately commenced on both sides.*

Such was the unhappy condition of the Nation and the times, that the only man among the Greeks who had courage and ability to undertake the defence of his Country, was placed in the odious light of a traitor and an usurper. Alexius Angelus Ducas, surnamed Mourzoufle, from his sluggish eyebrows, a Prince allied by blood to the Imperial House, had been the chief instrument in urging the vacillating young Emperor to resist the laughable demands of the Latins; and in the war of skirmishes which now ensued, his personal valour and energy were invidiously contrasted with the weakness or reluctance of his Sovereign. The seditious populace of Constantinople demanded the deposition of Isaac and his son, whom they stigmatized as the secret friends of the invaders; and after the prudence of several members of the nobility had induced them to decline the proffered dignity of the purple, a young Patrician, named Nicholas Canabus, was tempted by his vanity to accept the Byzantine crown. But the valour of Ducas had meanwhile gained the suffrages of the Varangian guards; the Imperial puppet of the hour was displaced without resistance; Isaac and his son were persuaded to seek safety in flight, and were betrayed into a dungeon, in which the former soon expired of grief and terror; and the more deserving patriot or successful conspirator was unanimously called to the throne. From the hour in which Ducas assumed the insignia of Empire, a new impulse was given to the Byzantine councils: the walls of the Capital were guarded with active discipline; many sallies were at least boldly directed; two attempts, frustrated only by the intrepidity and skill of the Venetian sailors, were made to burn the Latin fleet; and if it had been possible to nerve the hearts of the Greeks in the national cause, its ruin might yet have been averted by the spirit of their leader. But in every encounter before the walls and in the adjacent country, Ducas was deserted by the cowardice of his new subjects; he found it necessary to negotiate with the invaders; and when they insisted on the restoration of the deposed Emperor, he attempted to remove that obstacle to an accommodation, since Isaac was already dead, by the murder of his remaining prisoner Alexius.†

When the intelligence of this event reached the camp of the Crusaders, the causes of resentment which had separated them from the young ally and companion of their voyage, were forgotten in commiseration and horror at his untimely and cruel fate. They passionately swore to revenge his death upon a perfidious usurper and Nation; and the crime of Ducas served only to exasperate the enmity, while it inflamed the ambition, of these formidable assailants. Conceiving themselves now released from all obligations of forbearance towards a race so inhuman and treacherous as the Greeks, and easily adopting the convenient doctrine that it was a

religious duty to punish their murder of a Prince by the conquest and dismemberment of his Empire; the Doge and confederate Barons proceeded to sign a Treaty of partition by which, in the hardly confidence of valour, and undaunted by the disparity of their force to the perilous magnitude of the enterprise, they anticipated the result of their astonishing achievements. It was agreed that, after liquidating, out of the booty to be captured, the pecuniary claims of Venice for the expenses of the armament, the remainder should be equally shared between the troops of the Crusaders and the Republic; that the existence of the Empire should be preserved, and one of the confederate Barons raised to its throne, but with only a fourth of its present territories for the support of his title; and that, of the remaining three-fourths, one moiety should be surrendered in full sovereignty to Venice, and the other divided into Imperial Fiefs among the Nobles of the Crusade.*

The Winter had been consumed in desultory conflicts or in necessary preparation; but, with the return of Spring, the confederates having completed the arrangement of their daring project, proceeded to put it into execution. To prevent a repetition of the failure in the last attack upon the walls from the separation of their forces, it was determined that the assault of the Capital should be attempted from the port alone; and the Venetian fleet being distributed into six divisions, to correspond with the former arrangement of the Chivalry into as many *battles*, one body of Knights embarked in the palanders of each squadron with their horses and followers. In this order the whole armament crossed the harbour, and assaulted the same line of defences, against which the Venetians had before successfully exerted their efforts. But, though the depth of water permitted the vessels to approach near enough to the walls for the combatants, on the ramparts and on the drawbridges and rope ladders which were let down from the upper works of the galleys, to fight hand to hand; the insecure footing of the assailants on these frail and floating machines, and the firm vantage ground and superior numbers of the besieged, rendered the combat so unequal, that the former, after astonishing feats of valour, were finally repulsed at every point. Instructed but not intimidated by this failure, the Venetians now undertook to supply their allies with the means of approaching the walls in steadier array; the large vessels were strongly lashed together in pairs to increase their stability and impulsive force; and three days having been spent in preparation and refreshment, the assault was again given with resistless vigour and happier fortune.

From sunrise to noon, the slow advance of the heavy line of vessels was retarded by volleys of missiles which were showered from the walls; the recent success of the Greeks had animated their spirit into a courageous resistance; and the issue of the conflict still hung in dangerous suspense: when a strong breeze, suddenly springing up from the North, all at once drove the double galleys with propitious violence against the walls. The names of the two linked vessels—the Pigrim and the Paradise—having on board the martial Bishops of Soissons and Troyes, which first touched the walls, were repeated with loud shouts as an omen of Divine aid; the panic-stricken Greeks fled from their posts; loud

Mourzoufle
deposes the
two Em-
perors.
A. D.
1204.

And murders
Alexius.
Second
siege of
Constanti-
nople by
the Crui-
saders.

Annals
the East.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204

General
assault,

and capture
of the city.
April 12.

* Villehardouin, No. cix.—cxii. Nicetas, *ubi supra*.

† Villehardouin, No. cxiii.—cxix. *Vita Innocent. III.* p. 534, 535. Nicetas, in *Innoc. et Alex. c. 4, 5*, in Mourzoufle, c. 1.

‡ Yet if Nicetas (p. 280), may be credited, in preference to the Latin authorities who do not notice such a transaction, the Crusading Barons, by the advice of the Doge of Venice, were still willing to have granted peace to the usurper for fifty thousand pounds of gold: but mutual distrust broke off the negotiation.

* *Epistola Baldvini, in Fifth Innocent. III.* p. 536. Danduli, *Chronicon*, (in notes), p. 326.

History.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

towers with a long line of rampart were escalated and carried; and three gates being burst open, the Knights led their horses on shore from the palanders, mounted, and swept through the streets of Constantinople in battle array. In the mazes of a vast Capital, indeed, their cavalry might have been useless, their feeble numbers might have been lost and overpowered; in the hands of a brave people, every house might have been defended, every church and palace and massive building converted into an impregnable fortress. So conscious were the victors of their danger, that they immediately began to fortify the first quarters which they had seized; passed the night under arms; and setting fire to the streets in their front, produced a new conflagration, which in a few hours consumed another portion of the city equal in extent, according to the confession of their Chronicler, to any three towns in France. But these precautions were needless against an enemy, whom neither patriotism nor despair, neither the ruin of their Country and fortunes, nor the violence with which the licentious passions of a ferocious soldiery menaced their own lives and the honour of their women, could rouse to one generous or manly effort. The Emperor Ducas, finding it impossible to animate his craven subjects with any portion of his own spirit, abandoned them to their fate, and retired from the city with his family. After his flight, the brave efforts of two other illustrious Greeks, Theodore Ducas and Theodore Lascaris,—the latter of whom was destined subsequently to re-establish and sustain the fortunes of his Country,—proved for the time equally ineffectual; a suppliant train bearing crosses and images sought the quarters, to implore the mercy of the Crusaders for the fallen Capital; and when morning dawned the Latin Chiefs, who had anticipated that the reduction of the whole city would still cost them at least the labour of a month, found themselves the masters of the Eastern Empire.*

But while they gladly accepted the submission, they were deaf to the abject prayers of the Greeks. Constantinople was abandoned to a general pillage, during which the miserable inhabitants witnessed and endured every extremity of horror. Yet even the brutal and licentious soldiery were surpassed in cruelty by the Latin residents who had been recently expelled from the city; and chiefly by whose revengeful malice two thousand of the unresisting Greeks were wantonly murdered in cold blood. Insult and sacrilege were added to rapine and debauchery; the churches and national worship of the Greeks were defiled and profaned; and by the followers of a Crusading army was strangely enacted at Constantinople the same impious scene, which another European Capital was to exhibit to modern times, of enthroning a painted strumpet in a Christian Cathedral.† The worst vices were freely perpetrated by the rabble of the camp and Latin suburbs; but attempts were made to control the privilege of rapine for the general benefit of the victors; on pain of excommunication and death all individuals were commanded to bring their booty to appointed stations for a public division; and though some incurred the penalty of disobedience, and

many more successfully secreted their spoils, the quantities of treasure which were collected exceeded the most greedy or sanguine expectation. After satisfying the claims of the Venetians, the value of the share which fell to the French Crusaders is estimated, by their Chronicler, at four or five hundred thousand marks, besides ten thousand horses; and another eye-witness declares that, by the division of the booty, the poorest of the host were rendered wealthy.*

But the gain of the adventurers, however enormous, bore a small proportion to the destruction and waste of property by which their victory was attended. It would be vain to estimate the wealth of Ages which had been consumed in three conflagrations, or spoiled in the wantonness of a sack. But every scholar and lover of the Arts must deplore the irreparable loss of those relics of the literature and sculpture of Classical Antiquity, which perished in the fall of Constantinople. Her libraries, still containing many precious remains of the best Ages of Greece and Rome, which have not been preserved to our times, were now abandoned to the flames by the ignorant indifference of the barbarian conquerors; but their malevolence or cupidity was more actively exercised in the destruction of those beautiful monuments of which Constantine had robbed the ancient seat of Empire to enrich his new Capital. In the furious violence of conquest or in mere wanton love of destruction, the statues of marble were mutilated or thrown down from their pedestals: but those of bronze were melted, with insensible and sordid avarice, to afford a base coin for the payment of the soldiery. This barbarous abuse of the right of conquest was probably the work of the rude Barons of France: for the more refined Venetians, with better taste if not with less injustice, converted a portion of their spoil into a national trophy; and removed to St. Mark's Place in their Capital those four celebrated horses of bronze which, at the distance of six Centuries, still present the most striking memorial of the glory and ruin of the once mighty Republic.†

After the division of their booty, the leaders of the confederate host assembled to consummate the more important work of partitioning an Empire. For the preliminary business of nominating one of their number to fill the spoliated throne of the Cæsars, six persons of each nation, French and Venetian, were appointed under one of the provisions of the existing Treaty; and this Council now balanced the claims of the Marquis of Montferrat, hitherto the chosen leader of the Crusade, and of the Count of Flanders: for though the superior merits of the Doge to either were generously suggested by the French electors, his own Countrymen, with the patriotic jealousy of republican freedom, declared the Imperial dignity incompatible with the office of the first magistrate of their commonwealth. The final choice of the Council fell upon the Count of Flanders, determined, perhaps, by his descent from Charlemagne, his alliance by blood to the King of France, and the anticipated repugnance of the French Barons to obey an Italian Sovereign. As soon as this decision of the electors was announced, Baldwin was raised upon a buckler,

Annals of
the East.
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.

Destruction
of the re-
mains of,
ancient
letters and
art.

Partition of
the Empire
among the
conquerors.

Baldwin of
Flanders,
first Latin
Emperor of
the East.

* Villehardouin, No. cxx.—cxxx. *Epistola Baldwini in Fide Innocent. III.* p. 535, 536. Nicetas, in *Marzuffum*, c. 2.

† This "Goddess of Reason" of the XIIIth Century was seated on the throne to represent the office and person of the Patriarch, while drunken revellers in ribaldrous songs and dances mocked the chants and ceremonies of the Greek worship. Nicetas p. 303.

* Villehardouin, No. cxxx.—cxxxv. *Vita Innocent. III.* p. 536

—538. Nicetas, in *Marzuffum*, ad fin.

† Before St. Mark still glow his steeds of brass
Their gilded collars glittering in the sun;
But is not Doria's menace come to pass?
Are they not bridled?

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A. D.
1204.

according to the Byzantine custom, by his brother Barons and Knights, borne on their shoulders to the church of St. Sophia, invested with the purple, and exhibited to the Greeks as their new Emperor. His rival, and now his vassal, the Marquis of Montferrat, was consoled by the possession of Macedonia and great part of Proper Greece with the regal title; and the remaining Barons shared, by lot or precedence of rank, the various Provinces of the Empire in Europe and Asia which remained at their choice, after the stipulated appropriation of three-eighths of the whole to the Venetian Republic. Besides that proportion of the Capital itself, Venice thus obtained the sovereignty of Crete, of most of the Islands in the Ionian and Ægean Seas, and of a long chain of maritime ports on the continent, from the eapes of the Adriatic to the Bosphorus. While the Republic, in virtue of this partition, arrogated to her venerable Doge and his successors the proud and accurate title of lords of one-fourth and one-eighth of the Empire of Romania, to the new Sovereign of Constantinople had been reserved in immediate sovereignty only one-fourth of the Byzantine dominions; and on all sides the narrow and inadequate limits of his throne were surrounded by vassals, who only nominally acknowledged, and by enemies who wholly denied the legality of his reign.*

Aspect of
the Latin
Empire.

The eagerness of the Latin adventurers to occupy their several allotments of the territorial spoil, discovered the total insufficiency of their divided strength to secure the work of conquest, which they had so daringly achieved. The dispersion of the French Barons, each attended by no more than a few score of lances, over the vast Provinces of the Empire, betrayed to the subjugated Nation the weakness of their conquerors while the impolitic contempt by which the Greeks of all ranks found themselves excluded from employments and honours in the Latin Court, increased their impatience to escape from a yoke, which they still wanted courage or concert to break. By degrees, therefore, from the Capital and its neighbouring Provinces on the European shores, the noblest born and the bravest of the Greeks withdrew into less accessible quarters of the dismembered Empire to range themselves under the standards of native leaders. In Europe, for a moment after the fall of Constantinople, the Imperial title was still arrogated by the two fugitive usurpers, the elder Alexis Angelus and Ducas Mourzoufle; and between them an apparent reconciliation was effected. During his short reign, Ducas had endeavoured to strengthen his pretensions to the Imperial dignity by seizing the hand of a daughter of Alexis;

and being now driven out of Adrianople on the advance of the Latins, he obtained, through the tender of allegiance to his father-in-law, a promise of such protection as his camp could afford. But he had no sooner placed himself in the power of Alexis, than that tyrant, even more perfidious than impotent, caused him to be deprived of his eyes and thrust from the camp. In this sightless and horrid condition, as he was endeavouring to escape across the Hellespont into Asia, Mourzoufle was arrested by the Latins; brought to trial for his own worst crime, the murder of young Alexis; and condemned to be cast, alive and headlong, from the lofty summit of the Theodosian pillar at Constantinople upon the marble pavement beneath.* The execution of this dreadful sentence on him was soon followed by the captivity of his betrayer Alexis, who was surprised by Boniface of Montferrat and transported to an Italian dungeon. By the fate of these two usurpers, the principal support of the National cause of the Greeks devolved upon a young hero, who might maintain, in right of his wife, the hereditary claims, while he spurned the base qualities of the Angeli; and in whom the valour of Ducas was unsullied by the guilt of treason and murder. This was Theodore Lascaris, who had also married a daughter of Alexis Angelus; and whose gallant devotion to his Country had already been signalized in the two sieges of Constantinople. Retiring, after the fall of the Capital, across the Bosphorus into the recesses of Bithynia, and being joined by the most generous and congenial spirits of his Nation, he there organized a resistance against the Latin adventurers, which not only prevented them from ever gaining a secure establishment in the Asiatic Provinces of the Empire, but prepared their expulsion from their European conquests. But the fate both of the Latin and Greek Dynasties, which for sixty years were to dispute the sceptre of the Eastern Empire, will reclaim our future attention in another place; and the connection of the History of the Crusades with the Revolutions of Constantinople closes at the period before us.

In the division and enjoyment of a conquered Empire, the confederate Barons who had embraced the service of the Cross now seemed as completely to have forgotten the original object of their expedition, as if it had never been undertaken for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre; and the vain trophies of a victory, not over Paynim but Christian enemies—the gates and chain of the harbour of Constantinople—sent by the new Emperor of the East to Palestine,† were the only fruits of the Fourth Crusade which ever reached the Syrian shores.

Annals of
the East
From
A. D.
1099.
to
A. D.
1204.
Fate of
Mourzoufle
and Alexis
Angelus.

Escape of
the Greeks
from the
conquered
Provinces.

End of the
Fourth
Crusade

* Villehardouin, No. cxxvii.—cxli. Dandoli, Chron. lib. x. c. 3. Du Gange, Hist. de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François, lib. i.

* Villehardouin, No. cxi.—cix. Nicetas, in Baldoin. p. 393. † Nicetas, in Baldoin. p. 393.

BIOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

THOMAS AQUINAS.

BORN A. D. 1224, DIED A. D. 1274.

Biography. THE Biography of the Schoolmen of the Middle Age presents at the first view little to interest the general reader, who seeks to be led through a series of incidents various in character and striking in effect. A prospect seems stretched before him of wild plains or barren sea, without any landmarks to arrest the eye, or irregularities to break the dull level. But it is only at the first vague glance of the subject that it appears in this uninteresting form. The level which, whilst we viewed it from a distance, seemed nothing but uniformity, on the nearer approach discloses the variety of hill and valley, which its broad surface had concealed from the distant survey. And so the life of the Schoolmen, when closely studied, is by no means devoid of the interest naturally to be expected from an account of any one among men, whose name has attracted the admiration of Ages, and thus obtained an historical importance.

But the interest here is of a different kind from that which an unreflecting prejudice may suggest to our wishes. It is true, that there is something of that uniformity, which repels and disappoints both the imagination and the feelings. There are no vicissitudes of fortunes, like those which diversify the story of the more busy agent in the History of the world. For the most part, the life of the Philosopher of the Schools of the Middle Age was drawn out in even tenour, amidst the still shades of the cloister, or the wrangling but still innocuous tumults of the Schools. We may single out, indeed, the instance of the celebrated Abelard in the XIIth Century; whose calamities, the effects of the vicious system of the Age more than the fault of the individual, have rendered him notorious in the page of Ecclesiastical and Literary History, no less than his labours as a Philosopher and a Theologian. But with this exception, one uniform character seems to prevail over the whole assemblage of illustrious names, which the annals of the Schools present.

Is there, however, no interest even in this very uniformity? Is variety of incident all that captivates the reader of Biography? If the development of human character be a principal object in the record of human actions and events, then is the very uniformity of the Scholastic Biography an important feature in it, demanding our attention and close examination. For the sameness of character, which we thus observe diffused

over so large a surface of human life, is clearly not a fortuitous desultory effect; but is an index to the philosophical eye, of the force of circumstances in influencing and modifying the human mind. Men born in different conditions of life, of different tempers and talents, have been found, to be acted on by the discipline of circumstances in the Middle Age, nearly in the same manner, and to have yielded to the same impressions. It is an interesting inquiry, then, to trace these dominant influences in the life of any of those distinguished individuals, who shone as the luminaries of their own dark Age. It is the Philosophy of Man that we are unconsciously searching into: and even the scanty fragments of incident which we may be able to collect, are valuable: for they give us some instruction in the elements of which our nature is compounded, some illustration of what it is susceptible of under the varied action of society and education.

The life of Aquinas may be particularly selected as a type of the Scholastic Biography. His name is familiar to every one, as the representative of the class to which he belongs. That very familiarity is an evidence of the conspicuous place, which he holds among the Theological Philosophers of the Middle Age. But we have been taught at the same time to associate his name with all that is dark in Religion or in Philosophy: and we are apt, therefore, to think of him with some degree of ridicule or contempt, as unworthy of the serious inquiry of enlightened times. In truth, however, Aquinas, when impartially examined, will be found not to shrink from a comparison with the Philosophers of the brightest period of Literature. If we are to judge of the Philosopher from the intrinsic powers of mind displayed, independently of the results attained by him, which chiefly depend on the concurrence of favourable circumstances, then may Aquinas be placed in the first rank of Philosophy. If penetration of thought, comprehensiveness of views, exactness the most minute, an ardour of inquiry the most keen, a patience of pursuit the most unwearied, are among the merits of the Philosopher, then may Aquinas dispute even the first place among the candidates for the supremacy in speculative science.

Descended from a noble ancestry on both sides; his Nobility of Father Lodolph being Count of Aquino, and his mother his family. Theodora, daughter of the Count of Theate, the future Saint and Doctor of the Church seemed destined for a

Thomas Aquinas.

peculiar interest (that uniformity).

Thomas
Aquinas

Biography. fortune of life very different from that, to which his own temper subsequently directed his choice. He was born at the castle of Roccaica at Aquino, in the year 1224,* being, as it seems, the youngest of several sons. Whilst his brothers, however, pursued the military profession, the circumstances of his early life soon marked him out for another path of employment and distinction. Being sent at the age of five years to the Monastery of Monte Cassino, one of the usual places of education for the children of Italian Nobles, during the five years spent there, he gave indication, even at this early period, of that seriousness and abstractedness of mind, which characterised his maturity. The thoughtful manner of the child attracted, indeed, the notice of the Abbot of the Convent; by whose recommendation his parents sent him to Naples, which was then established as a flourishing School of Philosophy under the patronage of the Emperor Frederic II. The six years which he passed at Naples tended only to foster and develop this contemplative disposition: and it was a natural result when, at the age of seventeen years, he passionately devoted himself to the monastic life; embracing the profession of a Dominican, and adhering to his resolution, in spite of the remonstrances and opposition of his family.

Educated at Monte Cassino;

Afterwards at Naples.

Cessation of inducements to active life at this period.

We may, perhaps, at first be at a loss to conceive the inducement to a young man of rank, thus to relinquish his hereditary pretensions, and to embark on a scheme of life, in which distinction was to be sought by dint of personal exertion. We might wonder the less, had we heard of his leaving his father's home on some romantic project of adventure, suggested by the enthusiasm of a young and ardent mind; such as would be furnished by the occasion of the Holy Wars. But our surprise will be removed, when we reflect on the general condition of the Western, or Latin World in those times, and the relation in which the Church then stood to the community at large. The Crusades of the XIIIth Century had supplied the cravings of the public mind for some matter of interest and excitement, to vary and relieve the listlessness which had spread over the whole face of society. The spontaneous impulse and blind obedience, with which the spiritual call to fight the battles of the Lord in a distant land, was answered throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, show the existence of that demand by which they were so readily met. But by those very events, the cause which had stimulated, and in a great measure indeed occasioned them, was removed; and the public mind found employment in a new direction. The fact is evidenced in the little interest taken in the Crusades of the following century. Infidels were yet to be exterminated from the land of the Holy Sepulchre; the sacred duty of waging interminable war against the Infidel still continued to be preached. But the call was no longer heard with alacrity: the interest was gone; and the change of circumstance was not a state of inaction, as of exhaustion after violent exertion, but of employment, as we have said, in a new direction. We may characterise the activity which then began to develop itself, in general terms, as an expansion of intellect, as a reaching towards larger and more diversified means of learning and information. The efforts made in this direction were indeed feeble in their result: they were those of persons ignorant of the true grounds of mental

cultivation, of the right method of applying any existing resources to that end. But still there was a vigour about them; a spirit of enterprise, which, in more felicitous circumstances, would undoubtedly have produced more fruitful results. There was enough certainly in the intellectual labours of the XIIIth Century, however, in the pride of modern improvements in Literature, we may look back on them with contempt, to engage the elevated and aspirant mind. Little really worthy of such minds was to be accomplished by the adventures of a military life, the only other existing resource besides the pursuit of Literature, to those endowed with any energy of character. The spirit of Chivalry, as it is called, had its charms for those cast in a rougher mould; to whom the busy stillness of the intellectual life, would in any Age have seemed no better than torpor and stupidity. But to the gentler, more thoughtful disposition of mind, the diversion into the quiet paths of Philosophy, would be eagerly hailed as a refuge from the storms of the world, where it might freely exert its strength, and come back from its excursions, loaded with the spoils of bloodless victories.

To those, however, who were duly susceptible of the Social improvement begun at that period, the Church of the XIIIth Century presented the only opportunity for indulgence of the sentiment awakened in their minds. The great Society of the Church itself, and the several subordinate associations into which it was divided, the Monastic Orders, and the Schools of Theology, presented means of combination, and opportunities for the display of personal talent and influence, which could be found nowhere else. The Church in fact, as it then was constituted, was the great centre of power. Men who looked on what passed around them with any shrewdness of discernment, could not but observe that, whilst kings and armies were the ostensible agents in the affairs of the world, it was the power of the Church which actuated the whole machine, and guided, if it did not always originate, the complex movements of the social mass. If there was ambition then in the breast of any one, here was the theatre on which it might act; if there was the love of Literature, here it might find opportunities for its gratification; if there was concern for the public good, the high-born wish to be among the benefactors of the human race, here were the means provided by which either good or evil might be achieved on the greatest scale. Nor was the simple circumstance of the fellowship subsisting between members of the Church as such,—and more particularly of that intimate connexion between individuals of the same Religious fraternity,—an inconsiderable attraction to men of sensibility and refinement, in those days when society scarcely existed in the world at large. In these associations, the artificial distinctions which separated man from man, disappeared. Men met together on a principle independent of the passions or the vicissitudes of the world, the principle of equality in the sight of Him who is no respecter of persons. At the same time, there was enough in them to solicit and reward the candidates for the spiritual Society, who entered it with higher pretensions of birth, or talent, or character. The dignities of Bishop, or Abbot, or General of an Order, held out to such persons a rank analogous to the aristocracy of worldly station; or where a more refined and spiritual ambition might be superior to such attractions, the loftier, more abstract honours of saintly reputation, or the refined luxury of a profession of piety, maintained

the Social improvement of the Church.

* *Sub initium anni 1225. Oudin, in Vit.*

Biography. to superior merit its due relative situation in the community.

Probably indeed the adoption of the monastic profession by Aquinas, in the first instance, was not altogether voluntary. The first step may have been taken with little reflection on the momentous change of life consequent on it; from the mere enthusiasm of a youthful mind, and an ardent compliance with the example and wishes of a revered instructor. The Dominican and Franciscan Orders, themselves in great measure an effect of the peculiar circumstances of the times, were but recently established in the early part of the XIIIth Century. The spirit of proselytism consequently was actively exerting itself at this period, to obtain for each its respective votaries, and raise it to an ascendancy over the rival institution. The Dominican Order especially, as framed in a more worldly spirit of fanaticism, had its clever and active partisans dispersed every where, who, by the fame of their erudition and piety, and by their tact, won the hearts of devout hearers to their cause. It was by the addresses of a preacher at Naples, a Dominican, by name John of St. Julian, that Aquinas was induced to take up the monastic profession. He had imbibed the teaching of the Monk with an eager attention, and anxiously sought an opportunity of personal conference with his spiritual instructor. A conversation with St. Julian decided his purpose. His religious wish was communicated to the brothers, and readily approved by them; on which he immediately assumed the habit of a Dominican, and immured himself within a Monastery of the Order at Naples.

Intelligence of this proceeding on his part was received by his family with the greatest concern and indignation. Theodora, his mother, especially, remonstrated with passionate vehemence against the act, and strove to reclaim him to his family. The writer of the Life prefixed to his Works, in his partiality to the sacred Order, would have us believe that the resentment of the mother was an after-thought; and that at first she expressed the piety of her heart in devout thankfulness to God at the event. But with what probability this statement is made, we may judge from the active measures taken to frustrate the purpose of her son. The recovery of such a step was not easily to be effected, or rather was impracticable. The victim of the cloister was bound by a spell which no entreaties or menaces could unsay. In this difficulty, force was resorted to as the only expedient. But the Dominicans were on the alert. To prevent the effect of an interview with his mother, they conveyed their novice to Rome, intending to transmit him thence to Paris. His mother followed him to Rome, and disappointed of seeing him there, instructed his brothers to watch the roads, and intercept him on his way. They succeeded in surprising him as he was drinking at a spring after the fatigues and heat of his journey, forcibly seized him, and struggling in vain to strip him of his monastic habit, carried him away to his home. His mother received him with tears, and provided for his future security, by confining him within their own castle. The Dominicans complained to the Pope of the sacrilege: but though the Pope was disposed to favour the new Religious Orders, as the great bulwarks of his authority, the power of the Emperor, who was in the interest of the brothers of Aquinas, was then in collision with that of the Apostolic See, and could not be boldly opposed. His family was left for the present,

therefore, in undisturbed possession of their recovered prize.

Aquinas being once more in the bosom of his own family, every argument of kindness was tried by his mother and sisters to alter his unwelcome purpose. He was proof against these, and even against the severities of angry rebuke; expressing his readiness to submit to the closest confinement, but never to abandon the Religious profession which he had assumed. To complete the trial of the future Saint, by an experiment usual in the legends of Saints, the biographer adds, that the brothers of Aquinas next assailed him with the blandishments of female society; thinking that the resolution which had proved inexorable under stern trials, might at length yield to softer impressions. They introduced accordingly a female visitant to his apartment. Consolation was made the ostensible pretext of the visit; whilst under this cover all the winning arts of womanly endearment were plied to solicit his affections. His firmness had nearly failed him under this ordeal, when suddenly collecting himself, with a rude indignation, he abruptly dismissed his fair assailant, searing her from his presence with such arms as were ministered by the fury of the moment, a burning stick snatched from the hearth. He then threw himself, as the story proceeds, before the sign of the Cross, which the random force of the stick had traced on the wall; and praying for strength to resist the temptations of the flesh, and for an entire devotedness, he at length fell asleep from exhaustion. The scene is closed by a vision of two angels, appearing to him as he slept, girding him, and strengthening his chaste determination.

Aquinas patiently endured this imprisonment at his own home for two whole years, relieving his stubborn solitude only by prayer, and religious contemplation, and literary studies. Together with the Scriptures, the Book of the Sentences, the celebrated Digest of Theology compiled by Peter Lombard, a Bishop of Paris in the preceding Century, now engaged his attention. At the same time he employed himself in writing a Commentary on Aristotle's Book of Fallacies. The art of disputation was cultivated at this period with the most intense interest, as we shall presently show more fully, being regarded as an essential part of the education and business of the Theologian. The writings of Aristotle in particular, being more known to the Christians of the West about the same time, attracted extraordinary curiosity: and both the Dominicans and Franciscans dexterously availed themselves of the course which the fashion of the Age had taken; establishing Chairs of Philosophy at the various Schools and Universities, for the express purpose of expounding the doctrines of Aristotle. We find accordingly a Logical Work of that Philosopher occupying the leisure of the secluded devotee, no less than studies of a strictly Theological character.

The tenderness of a mother was no match for the implacable resolve of an enthusiastic self-devotion. The mother of Aquinas, who had all along been the chief agent in these measures of restraint, finding all endeavour to turn him from his purpose utterly unavailing, at length gave up the unequal contest, and connived at his escape; preferring probably making the concession in that way, to openly surrendering him to the demands of the Dominicans. The Monks were apprized that his escape might be effected by night. Accordingly, they were in attendance at the stated time, at the well-

Thomas Aquinas.

Expendents tried by his family to reclaim him.

He is imprisoned for two years; relieves his solitude by prayer and study.

His escape connived at by his mother.

Aquinas won to the Dominican profession by John de St. Julian.

Enters a Monastery at Naples.

Indignation of his mother.

He is rescued by his brothers.

and confined at his own home.



Biography. known window of his apartment, through which they had been used secretly to convey to him the woollen habit of the Order. He let himself down from the window, was received by them, and conducted to Naples, and then to Rome, to John the Teutonic, the General of the Order. This took place in the year 1244, when he was in the twentieth year of his age.

He was immediately placed by the General of the Order under the charge of Albert of Cologne, also a Dominican by profession, and whose fame for science and erudition, then diffused throughout Europe, had obtained for him the distinctive appellation of the Great. The School of Albert, indeed, like that of Plato at Athens, (if we may venture to compare the degenerate Philosophy of the Middle Age with the high thoughts and animated eloquence of the classic Age of Science,) appears to have been the great seminary, from which the chief Philosophers of the subsequent period were propagated. Plato combined the traditions of ancient wisdom extant at his time, and moulded them into a whole by the force of his genius: and it is to that spirit which he breathed over the whole, and which his disciples imbibed, that we may trace both the acute vigour of the Aristotelic Logic, and the masculine dignity of the Stoic Ethics. So to Albert of Cologne the epithet of the Great appears to be not unworthily attached, if we look to the effects of his influence on the Philosophy of the Schools of the Middle Age. Before him there hardly existed any Philosophy, that might properly be called Scholastic. There had been many who had taught the like principles, and had reasoned in the same manner: particularly we may notice Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury; who in the century preceding composed several Treatises which display an astonishing power of metaphysical reasoning. So, again, Abelard, though inferior to Anselm, might be mentioned as an eminent instance at the same period, of the same kind of metaphysical acuteness. And perhaps but for him,—but for that popularity which Abelard attained, and for the disciples of his School, who afterwards filled influential stations in the Church,—the School of Albert would not have been frequented, or his method of philosophizing have been so generally adopted. Still Albert must have the praise of having systematized the Scholastic discussions; of having perfectly accomplished what Anselm had only partially executed; the drawing to one point the mass of reasonings which had hitherto existed in dispersed portions, and combining the various principles employed in those reasonings into one peculiar Philosophy, to which we give the peculiar name of Scholasticism.

In Aquinas, Albert had a pupil exactly qualified for maturing the instructions received in his School. To carry on the analogy just mentioned, Aquinas was to Albert what Aristotle was to Plato. Aquinas digested the rude plan of Albert, and elaborated the system in its minutest parts. Under Albert, indeed, at Cologne, he exercised the functions of "Master of the Students;" collecting and reducing to writing the lectures of his master; so that his mind was in fact completely formed by the training of Albert.* He had not that taste for physical pursuits, or that various knowledge for which

Albert was distinguished; but his attention was more concentrated on the pure theories of Scholasticism in itself, and their application to Theology. And here he may be said to have surpassed his master. The wonderful perspicuity which, amidst all the subtilities and abstruseness of metaphysical speculation, pervades his celebrated Work entitled the *Sum of Theology*, is enough to establish his superiority in the contrast, as well with Albert, as with any other Scholastic writer, on this particular ground.

Whilst a hearer of Albert, Aquinas was content to listen and learn in silence, leaving the exercise of disputation to others; both from an extreme reserve and shyness of disposition, and from his devotional employment, which led him to avoid all conversation and concern in affairs of the World. He carried this reserve so far as to incur the reproach of stupidity from some, and even the humorous appellation of "the mute ox," which the massy frame of his limbs rendered the more apposite. But he had an opportunity of showing how little the reproach was merited, when Albert, having heard how he had convinced and silenced some individuals who had presumed to instruct him, called on him to defend a particular opinion on the following day. The dexterity with which he executed this task, reluctant as he was to undertake it, from an excess of diffidence in himself, astonished all present, and extorted from Albert the honourable and characteristic eulogy; that "the mute ox, as he was called, would one day make the world resound with his roaring."

The great Professors of that day did not confine their instructions to one particular place, but went from School to School, as their services might be required. During three years, from 1245 to 1249, Albert filled the Chair of Theology at the College of St. James at Paris. There accordingly he was attended by Aquinas. On the return of Albert to Cologne in 1248, Aquinas accompanied him; and appears to have resided there until 1253, when he returned once more to Paris, and commenced the office of a public lecturer. At the commencement of his lecture, which consisted of an exposition of the *Book of the Sentences*, he had only the degree of Bachelor: but the talent which he displayed so excited the admiration of all, that at the close of his course, he was created Master in Theology; an honour which he accepted, it is said, not without a modest reluctance.*

In 1260 he left Paris, and appeared as a Professor of Theology and Philosophy in his native Country; accompanying the Court of Rome in its successive changes of residence, and teaching at Rome, Bologna, Pisa, and other cities of Italy. At length, in 1272, he proceeded to Naples, where he continued the same course of laborious employment during the remainder of his life.

In the midst of these active labours, his mind, it is said, was still incessantly engaged in religious contemplation, which he regarded as the most real mode of prayer. To such excess did he carry these silent con-

* There is some difficulty in ascertaining the dates of these circumstances. According to the biography prefixed to his Works he was twenty five years of age when he went to Paris, and obtained the Theological degree. This may have preceded his formal commencement of the duty of a lecturer in Theology. Oudin, in his *Life of Aquinas*, assigns the year 1256 as that in which the degree of Doctor was conferred on him at Paris: a date which is confirmed by the observations of Brucker also, *Hist. Crit. Philoe.* tom. iii. p. 800.

* *Frater Thomas magister lecturarum studiosi collegii, et redegit in scriptis opus, stylo disertum, subtilitate profundum, sicut a fonte tanti doctoris haurire potuit, qui in sacralis omnium hominum in sui temporis aetate precepsit.* *Vita S. Th. ap. Act. SS. Mon. Mortii,* tom. i. p. 603. Jourdain, *Rech. Crit. sur l'Age et l'Origine des Trad. Lat. d'Aristote*, p. 436. Paris, 1819.

Thomas Aquinas.

Extreme reserve and diffidence of Aquinas.

His lectures at Paris.

He created Master in Theology.

He retired finally to Naples.

His mental abstraction.

Biography. temptations, that in the midst of society he would sometimes be entirely lost in mental abstractness. An instance of this, it is said, occurred in the presence of the King of France; when, from the vehemence of his interest in an argument pursued in the silence of his own thoughts, he struck the table with his hand, exclaiming, "that the argument was now conclusive against the Manichees." The ambitious style of Saintly biography has appended also several miraculous stories to the account of his mystical devotion; such as, that by intensity of contemplation he was, on some occasions, so transported out of the world of matter, that his very body, sympathizing with the elevation of his mind, was raised into the air.

General view of the Scholastic Religious life.

In order, indeed, to arrive at a just estimate of the Religious and Philosophical character of Aquinas, and, in him, of the whole class of Theologians to which he belongs, we should observe him under this point of view more particularly. It is the practical exemplification of the Scholastic Philosophy. As that Philosophy was a mixture of Heathen and Scriptural truth, so the Religion of the Schoolman was a mixture of two systems of life—the perfect life of the Heathen Philosopher and that of the Christian. From Heathenism were derived all those austerities and privations, and sequesterations of the thoughts and affections from the concerns and sympathies of humanity, so fondly regarded as the highest credentials of purity and sanctity; whilst the more excellent parts of that scheme of life, the devotion to the glory of God, the imitation of the life of Christ, and the fixing of the mind on the things of Eternity, were, as taken in themselves, real constituents of Christian profession. But Christianity nowhere gives the preference to the contemplative life over the practical: on the contrary, it lays its stress on the duty of practical exertion; presenting to us for our example, one of eminently social disposition and social habits, and who went about doing good, conversing and acting amidst the scenes of human life. But Heathenism has exalted the contemplative life in comparison with the practical. And it naturally did so: its theory of human happiness required such a view. In that theory, the life of contemplation was the substitute for the Future State which Christianity reveals. The Philosopher beheld in that life the nearest approach to a condition, in which the soul is at rest, and where the wicked cease from troubling. Exemption from the active engagements of an evil world, where the force of irregular passions and depraved customs is continually disturbing the tenour of happiness, promised a repose and security which could be found in no other way. The Philosopher, therefore, living entirely in theory, and having no further concern with the world than that which the actual necessities of nature required, was the most truly virtuous, the most truly happy man, according to Heathen views. It followed, too, from this estimate of human happiness, that the peculiarly social affections would sink in importance. At first they would lose their relative force in connection with the other principles of human nature, in consequence of their not being proportionately exercised. Their indulgence would next come to be regarded as positively sinful; and then would be created those imaginary virtues of ascetic continence and passive obedience—the living among men, as not a man—as a living instrument, actuated, not by Feeling, but by pure unimpassioned Reason. Such then were the principles engrained on the Christian self-denial. There is something attractive to the imagination, it must

be confessed, in thus living and dying, as it is said, in "the odour of sanctity." But it is only an illusion of the imagination; which pleases itself, without dwelling on the thought of what is morally right or wrong in the concrete being, man, with the ideal beauty of a superhuman purity and of a heroic, romantic virtue. The mass of human misery which has really been produced by the indulgence in this fond illusion, who can duly estimate? Half of human nature has thus been left without cultivation, and consequently more than half of human happiness has been sacrificed. A penalty not ordained by God has been affixed to certain acts, and a false susceptibility communicated to the conscience. Whilst, therefore, much positive happiness has been missed from the want of a due exertion of all the active principles of human nature, much positive misery also has been inflicted, in the waverings and searchings of heart which an unreal code of moral offences has occasioned.

The real evils covered under the snow-white mantle of the angelic life of devotional contemplation, did not escape the notice or the censure of some even in that Age, when the fashion of piety was entirely set that way. Indeed, the disregard of parental authority, the breaking of ties of blood and of friendship, which this inhuman Religion produced; the neglect of social duties, the proud humility involved in it; could not pass unobserved. For who, in his heart, could justify the renunciation of family, the fanatical self-devotedness of the young Aquinas, when once he had given himself over to the Religious fraternity? If the constancy and pious feeling of the individual be admired, yet who could approve the spirit of an institution, which could so control and pervert the best principles, shaping the immutable law of right and wrong according to its own arbitrary will. The biographer of Aquinas, in order to magnify the virtue of his hero, has introduced his mother and sisters pathetically remonstrating with him on the act of desertion, and asking whether those could be preachers of peace who could produce so much discord in the bosom of families? The speeches, however, which he puts in their mouths, are the real expressions of the popular indignation against the Monastic Orders. Nor were these complaints without their organs among the Clergy themselves. A Work appears to have been presented to the Pope Clement IV., in which the author freely discussed the merits of the Monastic life, complaining of its inertness and its opposition to the precepts of Scripture. This Work indeed Aquinas was called upon to answer; and he succeeded, as we might expect from an effort thus made under the command of the sovereign authority of the Church, in suppressing the obnoxious publication.*

In truth, the cause of the Monastic institutions did not rest on argument; however ingeniously Aquinas may have defended it. They were a requisition of the times. They were aristocratical, as opening to the higher orders a resource of power and influence: but there was also a democratical leaven in them, so far as the lowest of the people might be admitted into them, and all as brothers were on a footing of equality. They had therefore in their constitution a principle of conservation. All classes in some measure felt it to be their interest, that these Societies should exist. Their vices would sometimes attract indignation, or their follies excite a laugh: but these were transient expressions:

Thomas Aquinas.

Censures of the Monastic system at that time.

Real basis of the Monastic institutions.

* *Fit. S. Thom. Opera*, ed. Antwerp. 1612.

Biography. the institutions themselves survived these attacks, unshaken at least, so long as they rested on the demands of social life.

Peculiar claims of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders.

Add to this that the institution of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders was an effort of reformation. The world was scandalized at the luxurious habits and pomp and wealth of the ancient Orders. It occurred to the thoughtful observers of the state of public opinion, that new institutions, professing poverty, and devoted to the active duties of preaching, and the cultivation of Learning and Philosophy, were wanted at such a crisis. And the truth of their calculations was shown in the great popularity which the institutions so framed immediately obtained. It was an infusion of new blood and new life into the decayed body of Monasticism; and men forgot the innate deformity of the system, in the renovation of energy and active usefulness which it exhibited in its revival.

Aquinas refuses all worldly dignity.

The situation in which Aquinas now stood was so congenial to his temper, that no offers of promotion to the dignities of his Order or of the Church, could induce him to quit it. Clement IV. would have advanced him to the Archbishopric of Naples. But though his own town of Aquino had been sacked by the Imperial forces, and his relatives who had espoused the cause of the Pope were slain or driven into exile, he could not be prevailed on to receive any accession to his worldly fortunes. Nor would he even accept the station of Abbot of Monte Cassino, which was also offered to him, and which might have seemed more accordant with the tenour of his life. He showed his contempt of all earthly honours and wealth, when on a visit at Paris, his pupils having jocosely observed that the Kingdom of the Gauls was what they wished for him, he replied, "For my part I would rather have the Commentaries of Chrysostom on Matthew." It was no little complacency in his own peculiar pursuits, which could have dictated such an answer.

His perspicacious method of instruction.

Rome, Paris, and Naples appear to have been the principal scenes of his labours. His lectures were crowded not only with doctors and dignitaries of the Church, but with persons of every class. His teaching is characterised as eminently perspicuous, though proceeding in the established Scholastic method of disputation. For though, as it is observed, he had spent much study on Cicero and other classical writers, he did not think it becoming his modesty to depart from the established method, and adopt a more easy, open style. Such, at least, is the statement of his biographer. But we must express our doubts whether any other form of teaching than that generally adopted in the Schools of the Middle Age, would have appeared at all proper, or even have suggested itself, to a mind trained in the Philosophy of that period. The method itself is so closely connected with the Philosophy, that for a writer or lecturer to have followed any other, would surely have appeared a departure from his principles.

His vast labours in composition.

The whole period of his life was included within fifty years, the latter half of which was uninterruptedly devoted to these intellectual labours. How incessantly his mind was occupied in them, is sufficiently evident from the voluminous monuments of them which are yet extant. The mass of accumulated Commentary on various Treatises of Aristotle, of discussion of questions of Philosophy and exposition of Scripture, which compose his Works, is truly astonishing. The printed edition of his Works extends to eighteen volumes in folio.

Of these, the first five consist of Commentaries on Aristotle, the remaining volumes being occupied by his *Sum of Theology*, his principal Work, which fills three of the volumes, his Commentary on the Book of the Sentences, Commentaries on various Books of Scripture, Sermons, and some smaller Theological tracts. Nor are these the whole of his writings.* If we may believe his panegyrista, his facility of composition was so great, that he constantly employed four persons to write by his dictation, which was even too rapid for their united labours. Or if we would follow them in the still greater marvel of the story, he could compose himself to rest when exhausted, and still carry on the connection of his argument unbroken. An ambition seems to actuate the biographer of a Philosopher-Saint, like that of the panegyrista of Mahomet, of magnifying the literary labours of his hero into miraculous effects.

This restless working of the mind at length exhausted the powers of his constitution. He had been invited by Gregory X. to attend the 11d Council of Lyons in 1274, in which the disputes constantly agitated with the Greek Church were to be debated with a view to their settlement. By command of the preceding Pope, he had composed a Work against the Greeks, which he intended to have presented at the Council. But he did not live to attend the Council. He was seized with illness on his journey, and immediately feeling that his end was near, observed to his companion Reginald, who was in constant waiting on him, when, after long reverie, he returned to himself, that "soon he should write no more." Afterwards he became more languid, but rallied again a little, sufficiently to be conveyed on a mule to an adjacent Monastery of the Cistercians. There, on entering the Church, he observed in the same strain of melancholy anticipation to Reginald: "Here is my resting place for ever and ever." The Monks were delighted to receive so distinguished an inmate, and waited on his dying bed with sedulous kindness. He lingered for several days; but they were days in unison with the tenour of his life. He continued conversing with the Monks, and instructing them to the last, and even at their request composed, in that extremity, Commentaries on the Canticles of Solomon. He received the Eucharist prostrating himself on the ground, and exerting his feeble strength to meet the Host. After receiving also the rite of extreme unction with the same devoutness, he calmly expired with a serene countenance; replying just before his departure, to an inquiry from his sister, "whether he had any wish to express," that "soon he should have every wish gratified."

Thus died this extraordinary man; a martyr, we may say, to the spirit of the times in which he lived; and affording in himself a striking picture of the state of Christianity in that Age. There was in him the gentleness, the modesty, the piety of the Christian character; but these graceful outlines were dashed with the hard touches of Monastic austerity. He stands forth to our view, like the sculptured image of the form of Christianity, executed after the true model, but by some rude hand, ignorant of the principles of taste, and unable to subdue the stubborn marble to a conformity with the living original. His mental endow-

* Considerable deduction must be made for the Commentaries of the Cardinal Caietan, appended to his text, for translations of Aristotle accompanying the exposition, and for some additions of writings which are not his. The Antwerp edition of 1612 is the one referred to here.

His character.

Biography. —ments and character are not inaptly represented by the description given of his person. His body, it is said, was "almost vast, tall, and massy in the bones, to which the spare flesh scarcely gave a complete covering." For so was there something gigantic in his mind and his scheme of life, whilst there was a nakedness and dreariness in his studies and contemplative pursuits,—a want of substance and vitality,—truly characteristic of the scholastic Theologian and Philosopher. Nor is the remainder of the portrait out of keeping with the above. "The expression of his eyes," continues his biographer, "was most modest; his face oblong; his complexion inclined to sallowness; his forehead more depressed than the profundness of his intellect might seem to require; his head large and round, and partly bald; his person erect."*

Thomas Aquinas.

His reputed sayings.

Some of his sayings have been thought worthy of being recorded. Being asked why he had kept silence so long under Albert, he answered, "Because as yet I knew nothing to say worthy of Albert." Being asked again what was the most agreeable thing that could happen to him, he answered, "To understand all that I have read." Some one observed that he was not as learned as he was thought, "It is for that reason I study," he said, "that men may not be deceived." Being reproached for the size of his body: "The cucumber," he said, "also grows without food." Being blamed by a certain matron for avoiding women, when he was himself born of a woman; "This is the very reason," he answered, "because I was born of a woman." To his sister, inquiring what and where Paradise was: "You will know both," he said, "if you will only merit it." To persons consulting him how they might escape error: "By doing every thing," he said, "so as to be able to give a reason for the action." Going to visit Bonaventura, and finding his friend employed in writing the Life of St. Francis: "Let us leave," he said, "the Saint to labour for the Saint;" and retired.† Being led by an importunate brother about the streets of Bologna, until he was exhausted with fatigue, he replied to one who wondered at his patient submission: "By nothing else is Religion perfected but by obedience."

Extent of his fame.

His great reputation during his lifetime attracted to him the notice and favour of the several Pontiffs under whom he flourished. He enjoyed also the patronage of the chivalrous and sainted King of France, Louis IX., who highly esteemed him both for his learning and his counsels. A Work addressed by him to the King of Cyprus on the Government of Princes, shows still further the extent of his fame. He was frequently applied to for counsel in difficulties by various persons throughout Europe. So much was the recluse Monk, living out of the world by profession, familiarly known to the world of his day: and so great must have been the influence really exercised by him, amidst his formal renunciation of all human concerns. Amongst his friends, of whom he had several warmly attached to him, he particularly honoured Albert, whose name from a feeling of respect, it is said, he would never expressly mention in any discussion of his opinions. The legend says, that so great was the union of friendship between these two, that Albert being at dinner at Cologne at the time when Aquinas expired, felt a secret intimation of the event;

for that rising with tears in his eyes from the table, and being asked by the persons present the cause of his distress, he informed them that Thomas Aquinas, the light of the Church, and his dearest friend, was dead. Albert, too, it is added, so approved the doctrines of his favourite disciple, and felt so great an interest in his reputation, as to have undertaken a journey to Paris, in his eightieth year, to defend Aquinas from the attacks of Theological opponents.*

But great as his reputation was during life, it was increased ten-fold after his death. It was then cherished as the property of a rival party in the Church. The interest of the Dominican Order was engaged in setting forth the heroism and the Philosophy of their own brother to the greatest advantage. Hence the miraculous attestations which are alleged to have been given to his sanctity and the truth of his doctrines. The question of the Immaculate Conception which divided the Dominicans and Franciscans, made each party solicitous about maintaining their ground in the popular favour. Arguments might suffice, as addressed to each other, to learned and philosophizing Theologians; but other means of persuasion were required with the mass of believers. This is evident in the introduction of accounts of miracles confirmatory of their doctrines, both in the Life of Aquinas, and in the counterpart on the Franciscan side, the Life of John Duns Scotus. They are not merely the miracles of the ordinary legend, but miracles intended to bear on the truth of their doctrines. To John Duns Scotus, the marble statue of the Virgin bows its head, as he offers a prayer before it, on his way to the place where he is to hold his triumphant disputation in favour of the Immaculate Conception.† To Thomas Aquinas, not only the Apostle Paul gives an express sanction to the Saint's interpretation of his Epistles, but the Virgin, and even Jesus Christ himself, speaking through the mouth of their images, confirm the Saint's exposition of doctrine, by the declaration, *Bene scripsisti de me Thomas*.

The honours of canonization conferred by John XXII. in the year 1323, and the assignment to him of the rank of Vth Doctor of the Church, were the fruits of the same struggle. The honours given to a Dominican were paralleled on the other side by the like declarations in favour of Bonaventura, a Franciscan. And as Aquinas was styled in the phraseology of those days, the Angelic Doctor, so, on the other hand, the title of the Seraphic Doctor was assigned to Bonaventura.

But the Theology of Aquinas triumphed in the end. The repeated declarations of Popes that his writings were perfect, without any error whatever, gave a sanction to them which perpetuated their authority in the Church and in the Schools. The intrinsic merits, indeed, of his *Sum of Theology*, in comparison with every other composition of the Scholastic Age, secured for that Work the high estimation in which it has been constantly held. But the fact of his having represented more closely the doctrines of Augustine, the great authority of the Latin Church, on the questions of Grace and Predestination, than the rival Philosopher of the Franciscans, John Duns Scotus, is quite reason enough to account for his more extensive and permanent popularity in the Church.

Triumph of his doctrines in the Church.

The friendship between Aquinas and Albert.

* Life prefixed to the edition of his Works. Antwerp, 1612.

† The proper name of Bonaventura was John de Flandria. He was a native of Tuscany, born in 1171. He became a Cardinal, and died in 1274, during the holding of the 11d Council of Lyons.

* In 1277. Albert died at Cologne, Nov. 15, 1280, at the age of eighty-seven. He was also, like Aquinas, of noble family. Jourdain, *Rech. Crit. sur l'âge et l'Orne des Trad. Lat. d'Arist.* p. 332.

† J. Duns Scoti Vit. a Luc. Wadding. Scoti Oper. tom. i.

Biography.

PHILOSOPHY OF AQUINAS AND THE SCHOOLMEN.

Uniform character of the Scholastic Philosophy.

As we remarked, at the commencement of our observations on the life of Aquinas, the invariableness of character in the different Philosophers of the Schools, is the point to which we would first direct attention, in order to arrive at just views of the nature of the Scholastic Philosophy. The uniform aspect of their biography and their Philosophy is equally remarkable, when we compare them with the eminent men of any other period of Literary History. Take, for instance, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, all, we may say, trained in the same method, and nearly contemporary; and yet how different is the character both of their lives and of their Philosophy! We see in them all the variety of original minds; the later, indeed, versed in the systems of the former, but yet striking out a path for themselves, and throwing into their speculations the peculiarities of their own turn of thought and of their respective condition of life. But compare Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, John Duns Scotus, William Ockam, the four most eminent in the annals of Scholasticism, and to whom we may most properly refer as illustrations of its spirit and form, and we observe only an expansion and working out of the same ideas, in Ockam the last in the succession, which we find in Albert the first. There may be minor differences in parts; the conclusions at which they arrive are sometimes directly opposed. But still it is one note that we hear sounding through all. One might think that it was some mechanical process by which the several elaborate systems of these authors had been constructed; so little evidence is there in them of the vitality of human nature; of their Works having been composed by men each of whom had his own feelings, his own views, his own temper and prejudices.

This uniformity the general idea of the system.

Proceeding then from the uniformity of Scholasticism as the most general idea of its nature, we shall the more easily fall into that train of speculation which the Philosophy of the Schools exhibits. We commonly hear this Philosophy spoken of as dark and subtle, and intricate; and indeed the words "Scholastic subtilty," "Scholastic trifling," are in the mouths of every one. But these are merely declamatory expressions, and give us no proper general description of its character. They denote qualities which accidentally belong to Scholasticism, and which are the consequences of its fundamental idea; modes of proceeding to which it was led by the principle on which it took its rise. The uniformity which pervades it, is, as we have said, the most faithful representation of that principle. This is its real characteristic as it is distinguished from all other scientific methods which have engaged the attention of mankind. The explanation and account of that uniformity will be the great object of our present inquiry. This will lead us to just notions of the method pursued by Aquinas and his brother Philosophers, and of the nature of that system in itself.

Constitution of the Latin Schools.

If we revert to the character of the Schools of the Middle Ages, we shall find a tendency in those institutions to impress one unvarying form on the mental constitution of those educated in them. They were not founded with a view to the enlargement of the mind, to the cultivation and improvement of the intellectual and moral principles, for their own sake, in order to the perfect development of the human being. But they were designed for a particular object; to render those trained in them more fit instruments for the Civil or Ecclesiastical power. We have only to read the regulations of the Theodosian

Code concerning the students at Rome, in A. D. 370, to form an idea of the spirit of those institutions. The strictest supervision, we find, was exercised in regard to the studies pursued and the disposal of their time; the Emperor requiring a report to be sent to him every year of those admitted, that he might know the merits of each, and employ them in offices of public business suitable to their talents.* Nor were they permitted to remain at Rome beyond a certain age: the object being, probably, to disperse them through the Provinces of the Empire, and diffuse the benefits of Roman civilization. The Latin Language, by a wise policy, being retained throughout the Empire, as the language of public business, the institution of the Schools was directed to the cultivation of a knowledge of that Language, and a study, consequently, of Latin authors. Provision, indeed, was made for the study of Greek Literature, but it appears to have formed only a subordinate object of the Schools of the Western Empire, more as the accomplishment, than as the business, of the student. In the East, where Greek civilization was in action at the time of the Roman conquests, Greek continued to be spoken and studied, both as a vernacular Tongue, and as the sacred idiom of Poetic and Philosophic inspiration. But in the West, the legions of Rome had to carry the civilization of Rome into barbarian regions. They had to mould and refine the rough materials which the sword had carved out. This part of the Empire, therefore, was more completely assimilated to Rome. It exhibited, consequently, what we may call a Latin nationality; and the Eastern and Western portions of the Empire became contradistinguished as the Greek and Latin Worlds. A Roman policy has hence been impressed on the Schools of the West, and has survived with that durability which characterises the conceptions of Roman genius, through the long night of the Middle Ages of European History. The Latin Language and Literature, and a limited practical subserviency of the studies pursued, are the prominent features of those Schools, wherever they may have flourished, whether in France, or Italy, or Spain, or Africa, or the British Islands. The great regeneration of the human mind consummated in the reform of Religion, has, in fact, only modified and improved these fundamental characteristics of the education of the Western World. The original Scholastic form has not been obliterated; as we may see in the circumstance alone of the importance which the Latin Language still holds in the Schools and Universities of modern Europe.

But why do we direct attention to the original constitution of the Schools of the West? It is because it contains in it the germ of that principle, which afterwards developed itself in the system of Philosophy called Scholasticism. The Latin Church, growing over the ruins of the Roman Empire, succeeded to the policy and power of the Civil ruler. The maintenance of the Latin Theology became accordingly the immediate limited object to which the Schools, now passed into the hands of Ecclesiastics, would be directed. Men expert in fighting the battles of the Lord, skilful in defending each disputed point, and in parrying the assaults of the Heretic, were the kind of persons which the method of teaching pursued in the Schools would particularly contemplate. There would be no desire on the part of the Latin Churchmen to encourage a freedom

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Transition of the Schools into the hands of Ecclesiastics.

* *Codez Theodos. lib. xiv. tit. 9. Baluzi Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. I. p. 77.*

Biography. of inquiry, or a wide range over the field of Literature ; the adventurer in such a track might be dangerous to the repose of the Church ; might break that chain of dependence, which bound the subject-people to the chair of spiritual authority. Only such a discipline of the intellect would be provided, as should sharpen and strengthen without emboldening it ; render it apt to object, to discuss, to infer, without tempting it to spread forth Dedalean wings, and soar above the labyrinth in which it was immured.

Effects of studies confined to books.

A commenting Literature, and a second-hand Philosophy, naturally became the burthen of the lessons taught in Schools so constituted, both under their Heathen and their Christian administration. The invention of Works of original genius was foreign to their purpose. The Roman Literature, indeed, was essentially derivative. The spirit of the Republic in the busy period when it was occupied in the acquisition of its Empire, was averse to the soft influence of Letters : and a great people found itself the mistress of the World, and in a high state of civilization, with no domestic Philosophy, and scarcely any domestic Literature. In this state of the case, when the leisure of the people demanded the gratification of Literature, recourse was necessarily had to the stores of a foreign Tongue : and the learned Greek was sought by the studious Roman as the interpreter of the Language and Philosophy of Greece. Thus the learning from books was the expedient to which the literary Roman was necessarily driven. And this led further to the rise and employment of Commentators ; to the study, in short, of the instrument of knowledge in combination with the subject explored, and at length to the use of the mere books as an end of study in themselves. When the Schools assumed an Ecclesiastical character, this restricted mode of teaching would only be more fully established. The very low estimation in which all Heathen Literature was held by some of the primitive Fathers, the reprobation, indeed, often cast on it, and the mistaken jealousy with which it was regarded as a rival to Christianity, would contract, instead of extending, the range of studies. Further, Christianity imposing on its disciples the study of a book, the sacred records in which its own truths are deposited, the Christian student would be led to seek his instruction analogously in other subjects from books also : and his Learning, consequently, would consist principally of an interpretation of books.

Increasing ignorance of the Greek Language.

The same reason which induced the Emperors to make the Latin the Language of Government and of Civil intercourse throughout the Empire, would operate no less strongly with the leaders of the Church. The Scriptures being at an early period translated into Latin, were in that form as an original to the Latin world : the knowledge of Greek declining more and more in the West ; to such a degree that, at the close of the 14th Century of the Christian Era, Jerome was perhaps a single exception of a Latin Father competently acquainted with the Greek Language. It would evidently be an important point with the Church leaders, to obtain from all parts of their communion a confession of the same doctrines in the same words. We know what opening is afforded by the translation of expressions of one Language into the corresponding ones of another to vary the sense ; or rather how impossible it is to transmute precisely the same ideas without any addition or diminution, from the terms of one Language into those of another. This, indeed, was felt particularly

during the agitation of the early controversies of the Church. The Greek would insist that the Latin should confess in his phraseology, and the Latin was peremptory in resisting, on finding that the terms imposed by the Greek conveyed to his ear a sense which he could not admit. The desire, therefore, of preserving a uniformity of doctrine suggested the necessity of keeping up a knowledge of the Latin Language, as the idiom of Theology, and, with a view to Theology, of all Literature in the Church, wherever the spiritual power had the rule.

Thomas Aquinas.

Translations into Latin of the Works of Greek authors were accordingly the principal, if not the only methods by which those authors were studied in the Schools of the West. It is obvious that such a method would lower the standard of knowledge. It brought the range of studies immediately under the control of the heads of the Church. Those who from their superior learning or talent in governing, were called to the station of command in the Church, were enabled to select those portions of the Greek Literature which might snow their own confined views, and detain the mind of the student on these exclusively. The consequence was that many valuable Treatises of the Greek Philosophy were neglected, and some were forgotten in the Western Schools. Nothing appears to have contributed more than this circumstance to that desolate, barren state, in which we find the Latin Schools in the Centuries subsequent to the 14th, which have proverbially obtained the name of the Dark Ages. The irruption of Barbarians and the miserable state of society, doubtless aggravated the darkness which then spread over Europe. But the seeds of ignorance were sown in the system itself. The wildness and fury of the elements raging without, will not account for that jejune and frivolous erudition, which overran the very soil itself of the fields of knowledge, during this period. We see, however, a sufficient reason for it, in the intrinsic narrowness of the mode of education subsisting in the Schools, in the circumstances of there being no proper Latin Literature, amidst the neglect of the study of the Greek, and the restriction of the attention of thinking men to certain Works existing in Latin translations.

Besides this, the need of Commentaries to explain the text of an author, when he is read as the writer of another Age and another Country, gave occasion for further limiting the views of students. For soon the original text of the author would scarcely be read : the labour would be spent on the Commentary : and only such Works would be read, as were illustrated by Commentaries. And thus in process of time an artificial, microscopic Literature would grow up, wanting entirely the raciness and spirit of original composition, and encumbering the understanding with its molecular accumulations. Such was the result, in fact ; as a glance over any page of the Scholastic Literature will readily make appear to every one. The explanation of the sense of the author commented upon, is the utmost aim of the expositor : his highest ambition is to show what his author means under every possible light, or to elicit out of his assertions a multiplicity of subordinate propositions.

The unphilosophical nature of the Latin Language was in itself a fatal impediment to the vigour of philosophical studies, when that Language came to be employed as the sole medium of intellectual cultivation. Its utter inadequacy to express the subtle abstractions of the Greek Philosopher, was the means of perverting in great measure the truth of Science ; and not unfre-

Effect of translations.

Effect of Commentaries.

Unphilosophical nature of the Latin Language.

Biography. quently indeed of engrafting materialism on the metaphysical ideas of the Greek, when they came to be represented in Latin phraseology.

Scholasticism the result of this method of education.

Scholasticism an inversion of the natural progress of knowledge.

The same method of education, carried to its full extent, developed itself at length in the proper form of Scholasticism. Nothing was wanting for this result but to direct the attention of the student to certain subjects, and certain Treatises on those subjects. And this was naturally the next step taken. It is by observing the stages of this progress, that we shall arrive at correct views of the peculiar Philosophy of the Schools.

But first it becomes matter of inquiry, why it should have resulted in establishing a particular philosophical system, rather than in forming a particular School of Literature in general. Now this will appear, if we consider that Philosophy is the ultimate growth of a people's intellectual progress. Where a people passes through the regular transitions from an infancy to a maturity of intellectual cultivation, Poetry and the Fine Arts at first engage their attention: the taste is formed before the powers of judgment and reasoning are wrought to their severe perfection. This appears from the case of Greece, where we have the instance of a people forming for themselves, by successive original efforts, their own intellectual character. Their genius threw itself forth in its native Poetry; and their Temples, their Statues, and their Pictures, proclaimed its graceful vigour, before the bowers of Academus or the Lyceum resounded with the hum of their Philosophy. This then is the natural progress of things; the natural course of the education of a people. But in the case of the Latin World, as we here designate that part of the Roman Empire which was united into a social mass by Roman civilization, the intellectual character first developed itself in Philosophy: the first great movement was to that which is the last properly in the order of Nature. But the fact explains itself when we look into it more closely. The Schools of the Middle Age received in a mass the accumulated treasures of antiquity. They invented nothing for themselves: the riches of Poetry, Eloquence, and Philosophy, were poured out on them in lavish profusion. At the same time, there was no capacity for appreciating the relative value of the several acquisitions of knowledge. At this crisis, however, polemical disputation called upon the Heads of the Christian Church, to acquaint themselves with the theories of that Philosophy, from which the Infidel or the Heretic drew his attacks on Christianity. The necessity was felt of opposing Philosophy with Philosophy. Hence, from the earliest Ages, Christianity is spoken of by the Fathers, as a *Philosophy*; and is strenuously maintained to be the only true Philosophy of life, as contrasted with that of Heathen Sages. Whilst the Poetry, therefore, and History, and Eloquence of the Classic Authors were held in contempt, as comparatively unworthy of attention from the Christian, the pages of the Philosopher were eagerly explored, in order to an acquaintance with those principles which were brought into competition with Christianity. And thus, unhappily, the Christian Schools reversed the natural order of the education of the human mind, rushing all at once to an end, legitimately attainable only by the fruit of matured habits of thought and the discipline of all the faculties of the mind. Their Philosophy consequently was an insincere, unreal system; a collection of principles, the data not of investigation and experience, but of a prescriptive authority; the results of the labour and in-

genuity of others taken in their concrete form without analysis, and applied as oracular texts for the deduction of truths.

But not only were Works of Philosophy the principal objects of attention to the Christian student, as containing theories of Science, but also, and more especially, as an instruction in the *method* of polemical defence. The disputers against Christianity were found to possess an acute science of argument, by which they could give a plausibility either to their objections or their heretical speculations. The multitude of believers was open to seduction from the true Faith through the arts of the skilful dialectician, who could often make the worse appear the better view of an opinion or doctrine. The possibility of converting the same instrument to the support of the sacred cause of Christianity and Christian orthodoxy, was obvious. The questionings indeed of the Faithful themselves, which we know from Ecclesiastical History to have arisen on almost every point of doctrine on various occasions, admitting often of no direct answer, required an ingenious solution, so that the difficulty might at least be *staved off*. (if we may so express it,) might be removed a step beyond that at which the questionist had taken his stand. Thus the necessity of combating the Infidel or Heretic with his own arms, and of providing the Christian advocate with a casuistical Theology, such as should meet all the emergencies of doubt and difficulty in the Christian community, made the study of works of dialectical Science,—the Logic of the ancient Schools,—imperative in the course of Christian education. Hence recourse was had to the great master of that Science among the Philosophers of Greece; and the Works of Aristotle, at first reprobated as atheistical and impious, obtained a practical value, which soon bore down all speculative opposition to them, and exalted that Philosopher to the preeminence in the Scholastic system.

The combination of these two objects,—the necessity of an acquaintance with the theories of ancient Philosophy in themselves, and of acquiring an art of polemical defence,—produced in the result an Eclectic, Logical Philosophy, as the peculiar system of the Schools of the Middle Age. To explain the nature of this Logical Philosophy will be to develop the fundamental principles of Scholasticism.

We must observe, then, that Platonism was the established Philosophy of the Church in the primitive Ages of Christianity. The first converts to the Gospel from the class of Philosophers appear to have been of that Sect: and these brought with them into their new professions, a predilection for the theories which they had only formally renounced in embracing the Gospel. Though the accommodation then attempted to be made between truths of Religion and theories of Philosophy, awakened a just alarm in the minds of many, yet the devout and sublime tone of Platonism softened down the opposition of the pious, and won them over as by a siren-song in despite of themselves. Thus we find Augustine, the great Father of Latin orthodoxy, commending and approving the Platonists, as the only Philosophers who had spoken fully of divine things and of human nature; and in describing his own conversion to Christianity, mentioning the advantages he had derived from reading their writings.

Platonism, accordingly, we may say, was the original orthodox Philosophy of the Church, so far as the Church owned itself philosophical. We see this very strikingly

Thomas Aquinas.

Logic studied as an art of Polemics.

An Eclectic Logical Philosophy the result.

Platonism first distinguished in the Church.

Biography. In the early controversies of the Church, when the speculations, both of the Heretic and of the Orthodox, drawn fundamentally from the theories of Platonism, corrupted the pure truth of the Trinitarian doctrine with the subtle alloy of a refined materialism. So firm was the hold which Platonism had on the Church, from the veneration paid to the great men of its early history who had professed their admiration of that system, and from its having been incorporated with various expositions of Christian Truth, that it was impossible to substitute any other Philosophy in its place, even had any such design existed in the Schools of the Middle Age. Still that Philosophy did not suffice for the whole state of the case. It presented, indeed, the means of speculating on the truths of Christianity, and explaining them to the satisfaction of speculative men: but it was deficient as a *method* of investigation and argument. It was only a vast collection of theories. Such, however, was not the case with the Philosophy of Aristotle. This was essentially a science of methods. Aristotle had analyzed the principles of human knowledge, examining into the nature of Language, as the instrument of communicating knowledge, and delivering with accuracy and fulness the means of producing persuasion and conviction. This was observed to be eminently the characteristic of a large portion of Aristotle's Works, that collection of Logical Treatises to which Moderns have given the name of the *Organon*; whilst throughout his Works a methodical character marks them in contrast with the rhetorical diffuseness and irregularity of Plato. Thus was the Christian student invited to the study of the Logic of Aristotle; and thus too has the name of Aristotle been identified with that of Logical Philosopher. An imperfect Logic, indeed, was already taught, drawn from the Stoic School, which being more accordant with the degenerate Philosophy of the later days of Greece, had superseded that of Aristotle. But the Heretics of the II^d and III^d Centuries had infested the citadel of Orthodoxy with missiles furnished from the dialectical armory of Aristotle himself. And this circumstance, whilst it excited a strong prejudice against the Philosophy of Aristotle in general,—for the heresy of his readers was imputed to the system of the Philosopher,—pointed out to the Orthodox, at the same time, the resources for improving their own argumentative power.

Objects of Plato- nism. The disciples of Plato in the Church strenuously opposed the introduction of Aristotle's Philosophy, not only as Churchmen, but as Philosophers. They had carried to an extreme the very doctrine in the system of Plato, which Aristotle had impugned with the severity of his powerful reasoning. They were, therefore, still more strongly opposed to Aristotle than the original School of the Academy. The theory of Ideas was, according to Plato, the cardinal point of all Truth; so far as the Ideas were the abstract intellectual realities from which all objects of the sensible universe derived their existence. But according to the interpretation of his doctrines adopted by his Alexandrian followers, and through them current in the Christian Church, the Ideas were the eternal reasons of things as they are contemplated by the Divine Intellect. The Philosophy of Aristotle, entirely destitute of any thing like enthusiasm, possessing no attraction for the imaginative and the mystic, seemed to those already enamoured of the pleasing reveries of Platonism, a cold, atheistical system that tied down the intellect to the mere things of sense, de-

priving it of its high and ennobling contemplations of the Divine Being.*

Hence we may account for the entire neglect into which all other portions of Aristotle fell, except the Logical Treatises. These were neutral in the matter of Theology. They contained the rules of a universal method, equally applicable to all subjects. They coincided, however, with the system of the Platonists, inasmuch as that was in itself an application of the Philosophy of Language to the interpretation of Nature. Plato, indeed, had assigned the name of Dialectic to the highest Philosophy, a description which prepared the way for the transformation of it into the Logical Philosophy of the Schools. Thus were the two systems, the Platonic and the Aristotelic, imperceptibly blended together. The Aristotelic, repulsive in its dryness of methodical discussion, and disappointing to the religious feelings of the heart, obtained a support in the enthusiasm of Platonism: whilst Platonism, too imaginative in its own unmixed nature, too evanescent in its abstractions for the herd of Philosophers, descended to conversation with men of humble genius, and combated the religious disputant with reasonings drawn from the practical Philosophy of the Peripatetic School.

This union of the two systems was never indeed completely effected until the mature period of the Scholastic Philosophy which was the result of it; until the period, that is, of Albert the Great and Aquinas, in the middle of the XIIIth Century. In the mean time, we may see the two streams running together, sometimes joined in one channel, sometimes receding from each other. We clearly recognise, as we cast the eye over the page of Ecclesiastical History, two classes of Theologians, the Mystic and the Argumentative; the representatives of each of the two combined Philosophies, and each representing that combination in process. For the Mystic is Argumentative; and the Argumentative betrays a tendency to mysticism: both, in fact, working on partial, undeveloped views of one and the same principle—that very Scholasticism to which their labours separately tended. The Mystic, indeed, as the representative of the original Church Philosophy, is found continually charging on the argumentative Theologian the heresy of his Logic; but the Logician, on the other hand, as the innovator, so far from retorting the censure of mysticism on his opponent, is anxious to show his own contemplative spirit amidst all the rigour and homeliness of his reasonings. These struggles for ascendancy between the Platonic and Aristotelic systems, antecedently to their perfect union in Scholasticism, identified themselves with the conflicts which have ever existed in the human mind, and which the condition of the Church in the Middle Age greatly fomented, between Faith and Reason, and Authority and Reason. Soon the Mystics arrogated to themselves the dignity and merit of supporting the Faith as handed down by the Fathers in its divine simplicity, whilst the Logicians were characterised as the impugners of authority and assertors of Reason against Revelation. Both however were, as we have said, urging forward the same principle, the construction of a divine Philosophy, in which Faith and Reason, Authority and Reason, should meet together and coalesce. The Mystics accomplished this by internal processes of the

Thomas Aquinas.

Logical Treatises of Aristotle exclusively studied.

Union of Mysticism with an Argumentative spirit in the result.

* The existence of a Work attributed to Justin Martyr, entitled *Evereo Aristotelicorum Dogmatum*, is an evidence to this point.

Objects of Plato- nism. Christians to Aristotle.

Biography. intellect, pursuing the Ideas of divine truth by an imaginary spiritualization of the thoughts to the utmost abstractedness from the world. The Logical Theologian only more avowedly trod the same path, pursuing the same ideas by the scientific methods of definition, analysis, and argument.

Augustine and Boethius the leaders in forming the system.

The two great leaders in the formation of this system were Augustine, at the close of the IVth Century and commencement of the Vth, and Boethius about a century afterwards. Augustine, as a venerated head of the Church, whose voice was received as decisive of all points of controversy, set the example in his own writings of a speculative Theology, in which the truths of Revelation were subjected to argumentative discussion. Whilst his authority overruled the refractory reasonings of heresy, he established by the course of his own disputations, orthodox principles of religious speculation. Still in Augustine the Theologian prevailed over the Philosopher. In Boethius, on the contrary, Philosophy was supreme. This may be seen in his well-known Treatise *On the Consolation of Philosophy*; in which it is not Christianity, but Philosophy, that whispers peace to the troubled soul, and pours the balm into its wounds. This excellent and great man formed the patriotic design of laying a broad basis of Latin Philosophy, by transmuting the stores of Greek wisdom into the Latin Language. His project was vast beyond the powers of any single agent, however energetic. Though, however, he accomplished but little in the way of translation, his exertions were fully instrumental in introducing to the Latin world that Eclectic method of Philosophy, which afterwards ripened into Scholasticism. This Eclectic method, having for its express object, to establish a concord between Plato and Aristotle,* was the ultimate form which the Greek Philosophy had received in the School of Athens, where Boethius himself had imbibed it. It was, however, but imperfectly maintained through the centuries intermediate to the Age of Boethius and that of Albert and Aquinas. During this period, when Philosophy began at length once more to emerge from the pressure of Ecclesiastical authority, speculative men were engaged in endeavouring to resume the thread of their lost Philosophy, and in making desultory experimental efforts. The first great effort was that of the celebrated John Scotus Erigena in the IXth Century. And this is characterised, as we might have expected, by a wild metaphysical mysticism; such as the religious spirit of the preceding Ages would have suggested to a philosophic mind, anxiously seeking to think for itself, yet encumbered with the heavy armour of a severe ecclesiastical authority. A mind so circumstanced finds its relief in explaining away, by principles of Philosophy, the opinions imposed on its passive belief; and instead of simply making Reason subservient to the defence and exposition of doctrines, overwhelms the sacred Truth with the officiousness of its speculation. The mixed system

John Scotus Erigena.

* *Ego omne Aristotelis opus quodcumque in manus venerit, in Romanum stygium vertimus, eorum omnium commenta Latini oratione præcedimus; ut et quid ex Logica Artis subtilitate, et ex moralis gravitate primum, et ex naturalis acumen veritatis, ab Aristotele conscriptum est, id omne ordinatum transferamus; atque id quodam lumine commentationis illustramus; in Latine redigam formam. His variis, non equidem contempnendis Aristotelis Platonisque sententiis in unum quodammodo revocare concordamus, et in his eos, non ut plerique dissimulat in manibus, sed in plerisque quæ sunt in Philosophia maxime concordare, demonstramus, &c.* Boethius, *Comment. in lib. de interpretatione.*

accordingly, compounded of the Philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, degenerated, in the hands of Erigena, from the more sober method of the Athenian School, into the wild enthusiasm of the Platonism of Alexandria. Others again, as Anselm of Canterbury in the Xth Century, exemplified more of the Aristotelic character: whilst Abelard seems to vibrate between the two elements of the combination,—a Platonist where he professedly teaches Theology; a disciple of the Aristotelic School in the rigour and positiveness of his abstract reasonings.

Thomas Aquinas.

The confusion and misery prevailing in the West during the Xth Century produced a retrograde movement in the condition of Literature. The feudal anarchy which then desolated a large portion of Christendom, threw the labourer in the field of Science on the resources supplied by the Arabian Literature of those times. The only conspicuous name which emerges out of the storms and clouds of this period, to preserve the tradition of Latin Philosophy, is that of Gerbert, whose reputation for Learning cast a lustre on the Papal throne to which he was elevated under the title of Sylvester II. He, it appears, was chiefly indebted to the Arabian Philosophers of Spain for that Learning which rendered him the prodigy of his Age. The Arabians, studious of physical and mathematical Science, had cultivated an acquaintance with portions of Aristotle's Philosophy, which had been neglected in the West,—the physical and metaphysical Treatises. By the aid of these they had elaborated an artificial Theurgic system, subsidiary to the imaginary processes of Magic and Alchemy. From them the Christian Schools in the West derived that bias towards notions of Pantheism, which is shown in the speculations of the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries. A system drawn from Commentators on Aristotle was naturally confounded, in the ignorance of those times, with the Philosophy of Aristotle himself. Hence was occasioned a still greater opposition to the reception of his writings. We find in the XIIIth Century "the books of David de Dinant, and Amalric, and Maurice the Spaniard," which taught the Pantheistic system of the Arabians, expressly reprobated by Papal decrees, and with them, in the same sentence, the physical and metaphysical writings of Aristotle.* But Albert and Aquinas, by a more enlarged study of the Works of Aristotle, removed that prejudice which the association of Arabian notions with his system of Nature had engendered. They laboured against that sequaciousness of the Arabian Science, which speculating Christians had displayed. Aquinas more particularly, as the less addicted to physical inquiry, tended to give right views of the nature of Aristotle's Philosophy, and by his exposition of it to establish it in the Church, and thus restore that original Eclectic Philosophy of which Boethius had set the example to the Latins.

Importance of the True time of the Categories.

At first then, we should observe, when Aristotle was united with Plato in the Church system, it was only the Logical treatises of Aristotle that were studied. Of these, that entitled *The Categories*, or the *Predica*, was the chief object of attention, and soon the exclusive one. Logic, indeed, being studied with a view to polemics, was necessarily very imperfectly studied. The elementary

* *Non legatur libri Aristotelis de Metaphysicis et de Naturali Philosophia, nec summa de eisdem, aut de doctrina magistri David de Dinant, aut Amalrici harricis, aut Maurici Hispani. Laurentii de Vico Aristoteli. Fortuna in Acad. Paris. Bulmi Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. iii. p. 62.*

Biography. theory of the Science, that which lays the foundation of it in the nature of Language, principally attracted notice. For that which engaged the attention of controversialists was the extent of signification of terms, the differences of the several notions included in them, and their exact definition. This was the kind of Science chiefly required in order to Theological disputation. It was important to be able to defend certain expressions in the enunciation of doctrines, or to exclude others brought forward by the heretic,—to remove alleged consequences by distinctions,—and to state in explicit terms the notions embraced in any particular dogmatic expression. Hence we find that portion of the *Organon* of Aristotle, which was most applicable to this purpose, principally, or rather exclusively, studied until the XIIIth Century. Other Logical Treatises of Aristotle besides the *Categories* existed in Latin translations. But these, as John of Salisbury, writing in the XIIIth Century, indignantly complains, were quite disused in his time; and no Logic was tolerated in the Schools, but such as was conversant about the mere technicalities of the sterile Art then professed. To state the truth, indeed, Aristotle himself, though the name of Aristotle was in the mouths of all the reasoners of the Middle Age as that of the great Master of their Art, was absolutely unknown to them. Abstracts drawn from translations and comments of the IVth, Vth, and VIth Centuries had superseded the originals, even on the narrow ground to which his Logical Science had been reduced.

Maturity of Scholasticism seen in Aquinas.

To judge then of the true internal character of Scholasticism, we must view it at that point of its progress, where those principles which presided over its formation were at length fully developed; at the period, that is of Thomas Aquinas, who is eminently the Philosopher of the Schools, the creature of the system which had then obtained its full strength. We see in him, that acuteness which the polemical spirit had fostered in the Church; that narrowness which the limited range of studies had necessarily engendered; that servility to authority which the magisterial power of the Latin Church had engraven on the mind of the pious votary; that boldness of speculation at the same time, which Philosophical talents, pent up within the barriers of a technical Logic and Metaphysics, would naturally acquire, and by which they would, however imperfectly, assert their conscious dignity and vigour. After Aquinas there is evidently a decline in the character of Scholasticism. There were not wanting men of considerable power of mind to carry on the system. It is enough to mention the names of John Duns Scotus and William Ockham; names indeed well nigh forgotten in these days, particularly in this Country, from the darkness which the reformation of Philosophy and Religion has spread over their volumes, but by no means meriting that silence into which they have fallen. Hooker indeed has honoured Scotus with the appellation of "the wittiest of the School Divines."† But Ockham especially ought never to be forgotten among those who prepared the way for the improved Science of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries; as having inculcated by his Logical theory the unjustly vilified doctrine of the Nominalists, and so far led men from that exclusive devotion to mere abstractions which Scholasticism had taught, to look also to experience for information and science. But in depicting the form of

John Duns Scotus. William Ockham.

Scholasticism, we must pronounce both these eminent men far inferior to Aquinas, as representatives of its genuine features at its maturity. They present its features rather under distortion and caricature; the less graceful characteristics being magnified to an undue proportion, though but slightly varied from the original outlines. In them and in the later Schoolmen generally, down to the period of the Reformation, there is more of the parade of Logic, a more formal enumeration of arguments, a more burdensome importunity of syllogizing, with less of the philosophical power of arrangement and distribution of the subject discussed. The dryness again inseparable from the Scholastic method is carried to excess in the later writers; and perspicuity of style is altogether neglected. The patient Schoolman of the latter Age plods his way through the desert sands of his journey, with all the alacrity of a traveller through the most picturesque country; careless, as it would seem, who may follow him, so he may himself reach the given point. The same faults exist in Aquinas: but in him they are rendered less offensive by his greater art in the management of the method of disputation. It is not, perhaps, saying too much, to give him the praise of even exciting interest in his reader;—no small merit, when we think of the intrinsic repulsiveness of the method itself. To refer more particularly to his greatest Work, his *Sum of Theology*, the admirable order which reigns throughout it, the regular succession of the several Questions adduced for discussion, and the combination of the mass of particulars into one whole,—certainly impart an attractiveness to the Work, of which, on the first superficial examination of its contents, it would seem utterly incapable.

Thomas Aquinas.

These remarks should be extended, on the other side, to the immediate predecessors of Aquinas, Peter Lombard and Albert. If we assign to Lombard the merit of having laid the literary groundwork of Scholasticism by his *Book of the Sentences*; we must at the same time deny him any other merit in the comparison with Aquinas. Nothing can be more meagre than the Work itself in point of thought. This absence, indeed, of all purely intellectual merit is the great cause of that Ecclesiastical sanction which the *Book of the Sentences* obtained. The timidity of the speculation charmed to rest the jealous feeling of spiritual authority; and with some passing slight objections, it was allowed to descend into the Schools as a manual of Orthodox Theology. It thus gave a license for Theological speculation, whilst it marked out exactly the lists within which the Religious tournament should be held. It embodied in itself, that is, those narrow, exclusive principles on which the system of education in the Latin world had been all along proceeding; reducing them to these two general ones: first, that no authority sanctioned by the Church should be questioned; secondly, that nothing should be attempted to be established, independently of those authorities, or which could not be reconciled with them. The discernment of Lombard appears in his having seized the spirit of his Age, and with a prophetic sagacity laid a foundation on which the shrewder genius of his successors in Scholasticism might build securely.* But his Work is nothing more than a rough foundation as compared with the fabric of the *Summa* of Aquinas.

Character of Peter Lombard's Book of the Sentences.

Nor again can we consider the Works of Albert, though more closely resembling those of Aquinas, as presenting an equally comprehensive and masterly display of the character of Scholasticism. Albert had in view rather to imitate the method of Aristotle, following

Contrast of Albert with Aquinas.

* *Metaphysics*, lib. iii. c. 5. p. 859.

† *Eccle. Polity*, book I. c. 11.

Biography.

throughout the Physical Treatises, supplying, as he himself says, parts either omitted or lost, and elucidating by digressions what was obscure or doubtful in the Greek Philosopher.* He affects more the character of the Philosopher than of the Theologian; though, in the Schoolman, as we shall have occasion to remark more particularly presently, the two functions were almost coincident, as in Aquinas, indeed, they are completely. Employment strictly Ecclesiastical was uncongenial to his taste. For a time he was drawn from his Philosophic seclusion to the more busy station of the Bishopric of Ratisbon: but a restless hankering after his loved studies, and an impatience of the detail of official duties, very soon induced him to renounce the incompatible charge. His devotion to Physical studies especially is evident, from the title of Magician, by which an ignorant and superstitious Age characterised his mysterious operations on Nature. Alchemy and Astrology found in him an ardent devotee; and such was the repute which he obtained for his mystic science, that, in fact, he is more known in modern times for these pursuits than for his Scholastic disputations.† Aquinas, on the other hand, followed the proper path of the Scholastic Theologian with an undivided attention. He regarded the attempt to explore the secrets of Nature with a superstitious dread; so far that, on seeing the speaking automaton which the art of Albert had constructed, in a paroxysm of pious horror he dashed it to pieces, dissolving the demon-spell to which he attributed the wonder.

The voice of fame, indeed, has not unreasonably discriminated between the master and the disciple, in awarding to the one the title of the Great, expressive of the prodigy of his Learning and Science; to the other, that of the Saint, and the Angelic, characteristic of the devout, theological Philosopher.

Literary spirit of Aquinas.

There is yet another important circumstance by which Aquinas is distinguished, not only from Albert, but from all other Schoolastics. There is more of the literary spirit about him. We can scarcely call it Criticism:—for the Critical Art could not have lived in such days, when examination of principles was forbidden ground to the Religionist and the Philosopher:—still there are attempts at Criticism to be seen in his writings. He ventures to question the correctness of the translation of passages of Aristotle, to compare different versions, and to qualify his own exposition by examination of conflicting authorities. But we see nothing of this in Albert, who is content to follow his text with an unscrupulous and servile docility.

A still greater test of the literary spirit of Aquinas is given, in the care expended by him on a new translation of Aristotle. At his desire, a Dominican, by name Henry or William of Brabant, made a new translation of the Treatises of Aristotle from the Greek original.‡ Hitherto the versions used were principally drawn, not immediately from the Greek, but indirectly from the Arabic, or Hebrew, or Syriac, or Persian; and sometimes from versions that had passed through several of these secondary channels. For it was but a small portion of the *Organon* that Boethius had translated, and in this century many Treatises of Aristotle, which, if not unknown before among the Christians of the West, had at any rate fallen into disuse, were brought into the Schools, either from the Arabians of Spain, or directly from Constantinople and the East. Many of these were brought in that form, in which the successive transfusion from Language to Language only imperfectly represented the sense of the Philosopher. It argues no little vigour of mind in Aquinas at such a time, to have provided for a more genuine acquaintance with the Philosophy, which was destined to hold a permanent dominion in the Church and to absorb into its vortex the whole of Christian Theology. By some, indeed, the whole of translation has been attributed to Aquinas himself. But besides the express testimonies on the other side, there is so ground to think that he was at all acquainted with the Greek Language. References to Greek words occur in his writings: but these are evidently drawn from second-hand authorities. Indeed, the business of translation may be regarded as properly a professional one. The Philosopher superintended the task; whilst the learned Jew, or Saracen, conversant with the Greek, the Latin, and the Arabic Languages, was engaged in the actual process of translation. The Christian Philosopher resorting to Toledo, had the Greek text interpreted to him in the vulgar idiom, the Moorish, or Spanish Language spoken there; and then himself rendered the interpretation so given into Latin.† The new translations, indeed, which Aquinas was instrumental in producing, were probably little more than collations of those already extant, with a view to ascertain their variations; and not original versions founded on a simple study of the original Greek.

In setting forth then a general view of the Philosophy of Aquinas, we may fairly assume, that we are taking a survey of Scholasticism in its most general form, the proper characteristic of its nature, independently of individual peculiarities which may have accidentally modified it in part.‡

* Albert. Mag. Physic. lib. i. tract. 1. tom. xi. p. 1.

† The following passage from Albert sufficiently testifies to his enthusiasm in Alchemy. Having spoken of his laborious travels, and the inquiries he had pursued for ascertaining the truth of the Science, but for a long time without any satisfactory result; he adds: *Ego vero non desperavi, quin facerem labores et expensas infinitas, vigilans, et de loco ad locum migrans omni tempore, ac meditando, acut dicti Alchemici; si hac res est, quomodo est? et si non est, quomodo non est? Tandem percesseram studendo, meditando, laborando in operibus ejusdem, quousque quod quorundam inveni, non es mihi sciatum, sed ex Spiritu Sancti gratia. Unde quoniam operemur et intelligerem, quod autem in superius, diligentius vigilare cepi in directionibus et sublimitatibus, sublimitatibus et distillationibus, aerationibus, et calcinationibus, atque coagulationibus alchymiarum, et in multis aliis laboribus, donec inveni, esse possibilem transmutationem in solum et lunam. Albert. Mag. libell. de Alchem. prefat.*

‡ So extensive was the fame of Albert, that William of Holland, passing by the way of Cologne, paid a visit to the great Professor of the day. On this occasion, Albert entertained his Royal visitor by producing in the depth of Winter from the garden of the cloister the flowers and fruits of Spring. The artificial skill of the hot-house was interpreted as an evidence of the magic art of the Philosopher.

Thomas Aquinas.

Improved version of Aristotle.

Improved method of translation.

* *Willelmus de Brabantii Ordinis Predicatorum translatit omnes libros Aristotelis, de Græco in Latinum, verbum e verbo, qui translatione scholarum adhuc hodieque die altius in scholis ad usum S. Thomæ de Aquino Doctoris. Aut. Anonym. Chron. Siles. apud Lindenbrog. p. 206.*

Eodem autem tempore, anno minime Christi 1271, Henricus Brabantinus, Dominicus, rogatus D. Thomæ, e Græco in linguam Latinam, de verbo ad verbum, transferri omnes libros Aristotelis. Albertus vero est veteri translatione quæ Dominicanis vacavit. Aemul. Annal. Boar. lib. vii. c. 7.

Jourdain, Rech. Crit. sur l'Age et l'Origine des Trad. de Aristote, p. 266.

† This appears to have been the mode in which Michael Scot, like Albert, also, more known for Magic than for Philosophy, performed his translations of Aristotle. He was at Toledo, engaged in this Work, in 1217. Christian students used to learn at Toledo the necessity of the Arabians. See Jourdain, Rech. Critiques, &c. p. 139. 235.

‡ Aquinas is particularly selected by Dante to represent the Philosophers of the Schools.

Biography.

In examining into any Philosophy, there are two leading points to which we naturally advert. 1. the substance itself of the Philosophy; or the principles in the different departments of human knowledge, of which it actually consists: 2. the method on which it proceeds; what data it assumes, and in what order it applies these for the construction of its system.

Scholasticism founds the method and the principles of Philosophy.

Now in the Philosophy of the Schoolmen these two points of view meet in one. We have shown how the method of Aristotle was gradually superinduced on the established Platonism of the Church. The introduction of so powerful an ally was the means of revolutionizing the system to whose aid it was brought. The Philosophy so constantly engaged in the field with the heretical disputant, obtained a practical ascendancy founded on its actual services in the emergencies of the Faith. Not that we are to suppose that Platonism was extinct in the Church, even when the Aristotelic Philosophy triumphed. This would be to mistake the true character of Scholasticism, which, as we have pointed out, never abandoned its first attachment to the Platonic mysticism. But Platonism was the strong under-current. The Aristotelic Philosophy was the tide that flowed on the surface, propelled by every wind and storm that vexed the Church.

The Aristotelic Philosophy, accordingly, being cultivated only as a Science of defence, and consequently established as a Logical Philosophy, what was in its proper nature simply a method of discussion, became in the result an organ of investigation, and a Science also of the first principles of every other Science. This was in direct opposition to the views of Aristotle himself: for the great service rendered by him to the cause of Scientific Truth, was, that he separated Logic from the Metaphysics with which it had been confounded in all former systems. But the Church Philosophers, cleaving to the original misconceptions of the Platonic Schools, brought back that confusion, and perpetuated it in their own artificial mode of philosophizing.

Source of this confusion in the nature of general terms.

The Science of Logic, leading us to consider the manner in which general principles are applied to the deduction and communication of knowledge, is apt on that account to give the delusive idea of its power to interpret the secrets of Nature. The universality of the terms of Language is mistaken for the generalization of facts. Because, as we may explain this more fully, we discover by reasoning from words as the signs of our ideas, a vast variety of particulars involved in general notions, (every argument being in fact a deduction of some particular out of a more general principle,) we seem to have occasion only to study the abstractions denoted by words, to obtain a universal Science. Plato's Philosophy carried this notion to the utmost point, stating it in the form of his well-known theory—that knowledge is nothing but reminiscence. And the same theory has been expressed by Moderns under a still more paradoxical form—that Science is nothing but a Language well arranged. The most abstract ideas become, according to such a view, the most adequate and true conceptions of things as comprehending under the most scientific form the infinite variety of subordinate particulars. Such a Philosophy resolves itself into a system of Idealism. By realizing the mere abstractions of the Mind, and at once converting Metaphysical Truth into Physical, and Physical into Metaphysical, it results in a refined Materialism, or Idealism, a system in which Metaphysical Truth is all in all.

Such then, in the general view of its nature, was the Philosophy of the Schools. It was pure Idealism, so far as Platonism predominated in it: it was Realism, so far as the Logical or peculiarly Aristotelic character pervaded the whole system. Idealism describes the system itself as to the nature of the principles on which it was founded; Realism describes the method of investigation pursued, the action of those Logical processes by which it explored the Truth. We may characterize Scholasticism truly, by one or the other of these two designations, according as we look to its internal nature, or to its Logical method of proceeding.

The Scholastic Philosophy is the only system in which Idealism and Realism have completely coincided. Plato gave the name indeed of *Dialectic* to the Supreme Science: for the train of thought, by which he arrived at his theory of Ideas, naturally suggested that name as the designation of the Science of Ideas. But still the Ideal or Metaphysical character predominates over his whole Philosophy. He argues strenuously, but as if argument, *as such*, was not his concern; as if he wanted only to clear away by discussion the obstructions of the human intellect, and to present the realities of the invisible world—the “Ideas” of his system—clearly before the eye of abstract contemplation. In Aristotle there is a great deal of Realism, especially in his Physical Philosophy, which is, for the most part, an assumed Science of Nature, deduced from the abstractions of Language. At the same time his general views are entirely adverse to Idealism, and no Philosopher of antiquity has displayed so fully throughout his writings the scientific value of experience and observation. But in the Schoolmen, Idealism and Realism go hand in hand. In them, there is no proper, direct appeal to experience and observation. The visible world is to them only a shadow and type of the Metaphysical; a writing, as it were, in cipher, to be read by the key of those concordant truths which exist in the secret chambers of the intellect. But their very business is argumentation. And thus conclusions, indicating nothing more than connections of thought in the mind, are continually realized in their mode of speculation; applied, that is, as if they were indications of real connections in Nature. This Idealism and this Realism correspond with the mystical and the argumentative character, which, as has been already observed, were combined in the system.

We find, indeed, the different Schoolmen, especially after the XIIIth Century, distinguished from each other as Nominalists or Realists. The Logical question which had attracted particular notice in the XIth Century, respecting the nature of Universals, as the phrase then was, or as to the existence of objects corresponding to the general Ideas denoted by abstract terms, having been silenced for a while by the authority of Anselm of Canterbury, was again agitated with renewed vigour in the XIVth Century, and from that time ostensibly divided the Schools into the two great parties of Nominalists and Realists. These two classes included under them a great variety of shades of opinion; of which we may state the two extremes to be; on the one hand, the opinion that regarded abstract terms as mere sounds; on the other hand, that which supposed a Physical Being corresponding to every abstract term. Still Nominalism, as it existed in the Scholastic Ages, was rather a modification of Realism, or the exception from the general system. It certainly preluded to a more liberal method of philosophizing: and this tendency appears to have

Thomas Aquinas, Coincidence of Idealism and Realism the result.

Biography been foreseen, though indistinctly, in the jealous opposition which it excited. But the Scholastic Nominalists were practically Realists, so far as they pursued the same mode of establishing truths by syllogistic processes, as those who were Realists in theory. Albert and Aquinas, to whom we have attributed the formation of the Scholastic system, were avowed Realists.

Conceptualism—The truth appears to be, that an intermediate opinion, —that denoted in modern Philosophy by Conceptualism, the Ideal theory of Locke,—was the notion most generally adopted in the subject. This was the neutral ground on which the controversialists on each side seem to have retired when pressed by argument on the other. The ambiguity of the word *res*, from its extensive application to the objects of thought as well as to those of sense, gave a facility to the arguer for sliding from the notion of Physical existence to Metaphysical, and again from Metaphysical to Physical. An abstraction so vague, indeed, it is hardly possible to hold distinctly in the mind: so that the theorist on a question in which this term is so essentially involved, is apt to be led astray even in the processes of his own mind in forming his view of the subject. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Scholastic disputant should have found such matter of altercation on this speculative question.

Importance of the theory of Universals Nor was the question by any means so trifling as we are apt to suppose it at this day. The whole system of Scholasticism depending on abstract general notions, whatever touched the character of these first principles of the Science, affected the whole nature of the Science deduced from them. It raised a question whether the speculative Theology so deduced, were sound or not; and each party therefore had to justify his view on this ground. About the same period too, or rather just before the agitation of the question concerning Universals, the discussions relative to the presence of Christ, which had arisen in the IXth Century, began to be revived. And these, turning principally on the notions attached to the words *really* and *truly*, were intimately connected with the theory of general notions. The presence of Christ, indeed, in the Sacrament, as asserted in the speculations of the Schools, was that of the abstract nature of Christ: the divinity and manhood conjoined in His person being regarded as that real Being, which, truly existing in itself, was capable of communicating itself to the forms of bread and wine, and of being thus infinitely multiplied and infinitely present without multiplication of its own essence. So that any question as to the nature of abstract existences was a question also bearing on the doctrine of the Eucharist.

Theology becomes the theory of Universal Science. The mixed character of Scholasticism develops itself to our view more fully, when we look closely into its internal nature. A universal *à priori* system of speculative Truth would be the natural produce of such a combination; or in other words, a Theological Philosophy, comprehending in it all knowledge. Consistently to follow out such a method of philosophizing, there could be no pause to the speculatist, until he had reached the fountain of all Truth, and seized the primary principles existing in the mind of the Deity himself. The Schoolmen, indeed, as disciples of Christianity, felt themselves bound by the double tie of Religion and Church-authority, to uphold that divine knowledge, which the Scriptures and the dogmas of the Church had delivered, as the ultimate highest knowledge of Man. They thought it necessary therefore to show, that in this were

contained the elements of all Truth whatever; not only in matters of Religion,—in what concerns the relations of Man to his Creator,—but generally, in every department of human speculation. This mistaken notion of revealed Truth was engendered and fostered by that Ideal and Logical theory of the nature of Science, which they had adopted. Had they simply regarded Science as the generalization of facts, they could not have incurred this error in regard to revealed Truth. They must then have seen the propriety of suffering each Science to rest on its proper principles obtained from the study of its own facts, without endeavouring to bring all together within the limits of a universal method. But an essentially Logical Philosophy is not satisfied with this simple Historical method. It must lay down its theorems as universals, and from them deduce synthetically all other truths as necessary consequences of these first principles. In that case only would the requisitions of a Logical method of Philosophy be fully satisfied. Hence we find Aquinas condemning as false, whatever may be found in any other Science contrary to the principles of Theology. And we know from the History of Philosophy, how extensively such a maxim has operated to the prejudice of scientific Truth: the authorities of the Latin Church having constantly opposed all improvements in Natural Science, from the fear of contradicting some doctrine of Theology.*

Union of the Theory of Ideas with that of Matter and Form. The later Platonists had prepared the way for this universal Theological Science in assigning to the "Ideas" of their master's theory a locality in the Divine mind. But a difficulty arose to the Schoolmen, as the disciples of Aristotle, in reconciling this tenet of the new Platonism with Aristotle's disavowal of the Ideal theory. The Eclectic method of Philosophy, established by the labours of Boethius in the Latin Church, provided a solution of the difficulty, in the introduction of Aristotle's physical theory of Matter and Form. Under these two terms Aristotle had classed all the principles which respect the Physical constitution of bodies: *Matter* denoting all that constitutes them Physical Beings simply; all those properties by which they affect the senses, or display to our observation changes in their composition: *Form* denoting whatever distinguishes them as belonging to different classes of being. Both these terms were of Logical origin; being, in truth, heads of classification under which the Mind ranges its first rough observations on Nature. The notions of Matter and Form were therefore readily incorporated into a Logical Philosophy. By an extension of the terms, which Aristotle's authority by no means warranted, they were applied by his expositors universally. As it was apparent of every subject of consideration, that it had certain points of agreement with others, and also certain peculiarities, or points of difference; it was concluded, that these Logical arrangements might be applied to every subject indiscriminately. And thus the Schools resounded throughout

* Witness the persecutions of Roger Bacon and of Galileo. The instance, which has been often cited, of the declaration of the Jesuits in their edition of Newton's *Principia*, that they assume the motion of the Earth in order to the demonstrations, but comply at the same time with the Papal decree against its motion, is in itself enough to illustrate the point. Their words are: *Newtonius in hoc tertio libro telluris motu hypotheseos assumit. Autoris propositiones aliter explicari non poterant, nisi eadem quoque facti hypothesei. Hinc alienum coacti sumus genere peramoni. Ceterum talia a summi Pontificibus contra telluris motum secretis nos obsequi profitemur.* tom. iii. ed. 1742.

Thomas Aquinas.

Biography. with the technical language of matter and form. Had these notions been restricted to their true meaning as subtle abstractions of the Mind; as practical analyses performed by the Mind for its own direction in the general survey of Nature; it might have been well: though little benefit to the purpose of sound Philosophy could have resulted from their adoption. But the mischief was, that they were taken into the Scholastic system, as expressions denoting Physical constituents in the different subjects to which they were applied. Every thing was considered as *made up* of Matter and Form; as consisting of something *out of which* it was made, and of something *by which* it was made what it actually was. Then it came further to be supposed, that these two constituents of things might exist *separately* from each other: and the ingenuity of a subtle Philosophy was exercised in giving a history of their conjunction; or in explaining how things came to exist as they actually are, by the descent of Forms into Matter. So that, these principles of a perverted Aristotelic Philosophy being adopted, the proper order of philosophical inquiry was reversed. In the Scholastic system, the object was, not to rise from individuals to general principles, but to descend from the highest abstractions to individual beings. The only certain real existences given in the system, were the natures of Matter and Form. The problem then was, to find the principle of individuation: to show how these infinite natures were circumscribed and limited in the various individual objects which the sensible universe presents.

Accommodation of Aristotle's notion of the Deity.

But Aristotle's Physical Philosophy being understood in this manner, the difficulty arising from his rejection of the Ideal theory was easily evaded. It was only to call these Ideas by the name of Forms; and the objectionable part of the theory was then removed. For Aristotle had only argued against the separate sole existence of Ideas, as a philosophical account of all actual individual Beings. He had said nothing to exclude the supposition of the pre-existence of the *Forms* of things in the Divine intellect, or rather according to his view of the Deity, in the universal energizing, or motive principle of Nature. Indeed, he might be considered as having invested these abstract Forms with some such pre-existence, in assigning them, as the ultimate *ends*, to which Nature must be conceived to tend, in all its manifold operations and productions, with instinctive, unceasing effort.

Inconsistency of this notion with Christianity.

This notion of the Divine principle, evidently, could not be embraced by a believer in Christianity. Christianity is expressly opposed to it, inasmuch as Christianity reveals the Deity to us in the strictest sense as a personal agent, acting on and controlling by His will the course of Nature, not identified and confounded with that course. It was necessary, therefore, in the reception of Aristotle's Philosophy, to modify this view of the Divine principle. And this was effected by the alliance formed with the more pious theism of Plato. The incongruity of the alliance was indeed continually appearing to view. Some following too closely the language of Aristotle would relapse into notions of Pantheism, attributing to Nature itself an instinctive divine vitality; others, again, would reduce the whole of Nature to mere phantom and shadow, asserting in pure Idealism the sole real existence of the Divine Being.

Thus, however, were the Platonic Ideas re-instated in their empire over the realms of Philosophy. A basis, accordingly, was laid for a Theological interpretation of Nature, (if interpretation may be said of a system which

was only a string of mental anticipations,) and at the same time for rationalizing the truths of Revelation.

The manner in which the profane Sciences were brought into the service of Christian Theology, and blended with it in one system, is a point particularly to be noticed. The confusion itself was drawn from Platonism: so also Platonism furnished the mysterious links between the worlds of Reason and of Revelation. As the Ideas of the purely intellectual region were assumed to be the primary elements of all Truth,—the principles from which the constitution and order of the sensible universe were derived,—they were evidently to be explored in those types and representations of them which the universe presents to our observation. Plato had remarked the great law of Association in the constitution of the human mind, and applied it to the establishment of his Ideal theory. From the observed fact, that one object serves to suggest to the Mind a variety of other objects, he concluded that the whole of Nature was to be regarded as an instrument of suggestion; as the means of reviving in the Mind the invisible, reconciled truths of the intellectual world, which had a more *real* existence, according to his theory, than the flowing things of the external world cognizable by the senses.* He thus bound together Physical and Metaphysical Truth; and led the philosophical student through the course of the various Sciences, as through a necessary initiation, to the sublime point, where the purified intellect should ultimately expand itself to the contemplation of the mysterious Ideas. We may remark, that his attempt was, in fact, to merge the certainty of all other Truth in the evidence of consciousness; and to counteract the method of the vulgar, which holds no other Truth so real as that which is apparent to outward observation. The Scholastic Theologians proceeded on the same view. They wished to exalt the spirituality of the Christian profession above the grossness of worldly pursuits; and therefore sank all profane Science in Theology. In Theology was the reality and the truth of Science: all other Science was instrumental and subsidiary. The world of sense and observation, according to their view, lay between the Divine Mind and the human. The Mind by the study of the Forms impressed in that world, under the guidance of the natural Sciences, penetrates the interposing mass; and thus at length, rising by the steps of sublime contemplation, is brought more immediately into the Divine presence, and enabled more and more to see God as He is.

In accomplishing this connection, Theology was the first and the last of the links. Theology both natural and revealed was the point of departure, as well as the consummation of all Science. The principles of Theology were assumed as those by which each Science was to be interpreted and ascertained. The dominion of Ideas was carried throughout. Each Science had its Metaphysical basis; not being founded on any conclusions of experience, but on mental abstractions, or definitions of its terms. This is particularly evidenced in Physics; where the Scholastics had the example itself of Aristotle to mislead them, and to increase their fundamental misconception of the nature of this Science in particular. Here the Theological character of the principles assumed is apparent at the first view. The doctrine of final causes is the master principle of the whole inquiry. Instead of looking at phenomena, and

Thomas Aquinas.
Profane Sciences studied as instruments of Theology.

Consequent Theological character of all Science.

* See the *Phædo*.

Biography. examining things in themselves, the Schoolman, following Aristotle, is employed in considering the tendencies or designs of Nature, and constructing a hypothetical system on assumptions of what is best and most perfect in Nature. The whole drift of his inquiry is the *Idea*, or abstract *Form*, which Nature is supposed to be endeavouring to realize. Thus, therefore, in the pursuit of his lofty Science, his own mind, as the mirror of the Divine, —the philosophical synopsis of all that exists without it in the universe,—becomes the only field of study; whilst he neglects that actual *Form* which things present to external observation, as accidental, and unreal, and unscientific.

To examine, however, more particularly into the influence of this mode of philosophizing on the different branches of Science; we will proceed first to the character of the Theology resulting from it.

Speculative
Theology
multiplied
by refuta-
tions of
Heresy.

As in the ancient Philosophy there was an exoteric and esoteric method; an internal instruction addressed to the speculative disciple, and a popular one addressed to the general hearer; so in the Philosophical Theology erected by the Schoolmen, we find a twofold teaching adapted to corresponding classes in the Christian Church. Though the habit of reasoning on the truths of Religion had been formed by the struggles against Heresy and Infidelity, the practice itself once acquired could not easily be renounced; and a morbid taste for abstract speculation outlived the occasions by which it was engendered. The continued conflicts, indeed, with disputatious Theologians, involved the Orthodox in such a mass of technical doctrines,—of decisions accumulated upon decisions,—that the business of ratiocination became indispensable to the Churchman of the Middle Age. What may be called an excess of legislation in matters of doctrine had taken place, through the mistaken notion on which Divines had acted, that every variation of opinion required to be ruled by the coercive judgment of the Ecclesiastical power. This state of things naturally led to the creation of a class of expositors and commentators, who should maintain the consistency of this vast accumulation of decisions,—bring to light what was obscure,—defend what was ambiguous from the perverse constructions of the Heretic. For this state of things, instead of resting at any given point, constantly worked its own aggravation. Repeated declarations on controverted statements of the Religious Truth, only opened a larger frontier to hostile invasion. With the conquests of Orthodoxy increased also its points of attack from Heresy: and thus a more complex system of speculative defence was necessarily organized; and all the outposts of doctrine were fortified and guarded with the subtle arms of orthodox Metaphysics. It is the collection, then, and systematic arrangement of these several points of debate,—these multiplied decisions of the Church authorities,—that properly constitutes the Scholastic Theology. The Logical Philosophy of the Schools was the cementing principle,—that which gave unity and symmetry to the chaotic assemblage. But by this elaborate process, this ceaseless deposition of matter of speculation by the active current of controversy, a pile of Religious doctrine rose to view by the side of the Scriptural Truth—a new land, like the Delta of the Nile, the creation itself of the busy stream, which had been constantly flowing, and accumulating soil in its course. And, like that artificial land, it was the ground on which Priestcraft and Superstition fixed their peculiar abode; where a speculative Fancy erected the shrines and altars

of its Idols; and whence, as from their proper home, the mystical symbols of Theological doctrine proceeded to diffuse themselves over the Western world.

Thom.
Aquinas.

To judge adequately of the nature of this Theology, we have only to take a survey of the celebrated *Summa* of Aquinas. We have there a complete Science of Theology, sketched in all its parts by a master-hand; the genius, as it were, of Scholasticism embodied by the mighty Magician, whose call it was forced to obey. He did not live, indeed, to work out all the parts of his system; but he had cast the whole at once with a vastness and a minuteness of design, which more reminds one of the great Philosopher himself, whose principles he undertook to expound, than of any other writer. There is, at least, the same endeavour shown, to grasp the subject in all its bearings, and to leave no region of it undistributed or unoccupied, that we find in the most elaborate Treatises of Aristotle.

Sketch of
the *Summa*
of Aquinas.

The Work is divided into three great Parts: 1. the Natural; 2. the Moral; 3. the Sacramental. The first, being a speculation concerning the nature of things, lays down and discusses the principles of the Divine Being, from which hangs the golden chain of Physical and Moral Truth in perpetual series. "We have considered," he says, in his Prologue, "that novices in this doctrine are greatly impeded, in consequence of what has been written by different persons; partly, indeed, on account of the multiplication of useless questions, articles, and arguments, partly, also, because the things necessary for such to know, are not delivered according to the order of discipline, but according to what the exposition of books required, or as the occasion for disputing presented itself; partly, indeed, because their frequent repetition generated both disgust and confusion in the minds of the hearers. Studying, therefore, to avoid these faults and others of the like kind, we will endeavour, in confidence of Divine aid, briefly and luminously to pursue, to the extent that the matter will permit, what belongs to sacred doctrine." He proceeds, accordingly, to point out the scientific nature of Christian Theology, that it is strictly a Science capable of being argumentatively established, and resting on certain assumptions, themselves founded in the Divine knowledge, and communicated to Man by Revelation. The questions discussed in this part respect the existence and attributes of God, the nature of His intelligence and will, His providence and predestination, the Trinity in Unity. From these he proceeds to the Divine effects manifested in the works of Creation, in the existence of Angels, in the material world, and in the human Being; dilating more especially on the subject of Man's nature, and interweaving a mass of Metaphysical discussion concerning the soul and its faculties, its connection with the body, and the primitive condition of Man in Paradise.

Thom.
Aquinas.
division of
the *Summa*

Prima Pars.

The Second Part is divided into two; which are commonly distinguished under the titles of the *Prima Secundæ* and the *Secunda Secundæ*. The first of these enters more immediately and strictly on the examination of the nature of Man. The nature of Man has been considered, indeed, in the first part, but under a different point of view; as it is involved in the history of the Divine operations. Here Man is viewed as he is a complex system in himself, having in himself a principle of operation. The former Part considered Man as he is a Physical Being, the creation of the Divine hand; the *Prima Secundæ* regards him under the aspect of a

Prima Sec.
Secunda.

Biography. Moral and Intellectual agent. Aquinas here takes a survey of the principles of human nature as they are exemplified in human sentiments and actions. Having in the outset examined how Man is naturally impelled to action, in the sequel he views the natural principles as they are modified by the operation of Divine grace. In discussing these subjects, the comparison of the state of Man under the systems of Nature and of Grace, and the doctrines consequently of Free Will, Original Sin, and Justification, come to be considered. The various laws also given for the guidance of Man are minutely examined in this department of the inquiry.*

Secunda Secunda. The *Secunda Secunda* takes up the great Moral argument, where the former part had left it, and discusses the several Virtues in detail. The former part had examined the principles of human action under their most general form: this Part considers them as they take the forms of particular Virtues, whether under the influence of Divine Grace, or by the operation of Nature. The Virtues are classed according to the threefold arrangement, which he found already received in the Church; as they are Theological or Ethical, Infused or Acquired, or as they are the sevenfold Gifts of the Holy Spirit: the Theological Virtues being Faith, Hope, and Charity; the Ethical, the four cardinal Virtues, Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance. This portion of the Work has attracted peculiar notice and commendation as a systematic exposition of Christian Ethics. And, certainly for the copiousness, of its matter, the connection of the points of discussion, and the ingenuity with which the Ethical theories of Aristotle are grafted into the Christian Moral system, it fully merits that high admiration which successive Ages have bestowed on it. As for originality of observation, this, of course, we could not expect to find in the most gifted Schoolman. But a close examination will disclose to the inquirer, that Aquinas has occasionally struck out thoughts, which imply a power of observation superior to the system within which he had restricted himself.

tertia Pars. The Third Part is devoted to the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Sacraments. According to the Scholastic Philosophy, these two subjects were intimately connected. The theories belonging to them were brought into perfect harmony. For since the Sacraments were regarded as vital influences of Grace descending immediately from the sacred person of Christ, it was necessary for the nity of the system, that an adequate notion should be settled of the great truth of the Incarnation. The traces of this connection are sufficiently evident, in the peculiar importance attached by the practice of the Church of Rome, to the particular Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This importance is derived from the idea, that this Sacrament is the mystical conveyance of the Passion of Christ, that the act of consecration brings down to the consecrated elements the whole virtue of the priesthood of Christ. The same idea is extended to all the seven Sacraments of the Church of Rome, according to the Scholastic view; the only difference being, that these are inferior instruments of Grace; they are *participations* of Christ; whereas the Eucharist is the *substance* itself of Christ. It was necessary, therefore, that the doctrine of the union of the divinity and humanity in the person of Christ

should be premised and fully established, in order that the Sacramental virtue should be represented as flowing in continuous stream from Christ to His mystical body, the Church.

This whole Part, indeed, develops with the utmost precision the complex Philosophy of Expiation, under the representations of it contained in the doctrines and ritual of the Church of Rome. The latter portion of it is occupied with a comparison of the two leading modes of life suggested by Heathen Philosophy and from that adopted into Christianity, the life of Contemplation, and the life of Action; and in showing, according to the principles of Aristotle, the superiority of the former, or according to its Christian representation, the life of Monastic devotion.

This is a general outline of what is discussed in this extraordinary Work. What however is most important to observe in it, is the connection of the several Parts and questions throughout it. To observe this, is to seize its proper Scholastic character. The Deity himself, it will be perceived, agreeably to what we have already stated as to the general nature of Scholasticism, is "the point of departure: and Theology consequently furnishes the principles, on which the whole fabric of the various Science included in the Work is rested. All the other Sciences are strictly treated as handmaids and auxiliaries to Theology. They are employed instrumentally, as the means of disengaging, if we may so express it, the principles of the Divine Science, from the external forms in which they are involved,—whether these forms be the mysteries of Revelation or of Nature,—and presenting them as pure matter of intellectual perception to the philosophic mind. All other Sciences, that is, served only as a method of analysis,—as a symbolical Language, analogous to that of Algebra, by which the connections of Sacred Truth might be ascertained and systematically deduced. Accordingly a great part of the discussion is occupied in perfecting this symbolical Language, as we have called it; in showing, by examination of doubts and difficulties on various points, the coherency of the analytical system in itself. This, of course, was required in such a mode of philosophizing; just as a method of Algebra must cohere in all its parts, that the interpretations of its symbols may throughout be consistent.

There is still, however, amidst all the speculative matter with which this Work of Aquinas abounds, a very valuable Theological knowledge to be extracted from it. It brings into one view the subtle distinctions and arguments, which Theologians at various times have employed to maintain their peculiar doctrines. It enables us to ascertain the precise controversial sense of terms in Theology. We see here the reasons for their introduction, and their mutual connections. It was, in fact, in the course of the Scholastic discussions, and by their instrumentality, that the exact force of these terms was positively fixed. Previously, their sense had remained in a fluctuating state: the early polemical writers having varied in their use of them. There had been, at the same time, a constant endeavour to reduce the use of them to greater exactness. Now at length in the proper age of Scholastic Theology, the scheme of uniformity was wrought to its perfection. A large induction of instances was brought from the volumes of ancient Polemics; and an acute Reason was exercised upon them, in rejecting differences of meaning, and selecting the points of general agreement. In this office, the Scholastic

Thomas Aquinas.

Close connection of Questions throughout the *Summa*.

Real Theological importance of Scholastic Discussions.

* The same kind of abstract speculation into the nature of Law is pursued, which we find adopted by Hooker in the first Book of his *Ecclesiastical Policy*.

Biography. Divines have shown a real philosophical power : and to estimate their merits properly, we must contemplate them under this point of view. A study of Aquinas will convince us, that he was not a mere compiler of authorities, or a mere Logician, but that he possessed a true perception of the nature of Philosophy, whilst he was cramped by the fetters of an artificial method, and was compelled to exercise that power within the narrow range of a technical Theology.

Futile character of the Scholastic Physics. From what has been already observed on the subject, it is to be expected that the Physical Philosophy of the Schools should present nothing but a barren waste to the view. There is nothing indeed in it of that animation and business which the Mind expects to contemplate in opening a volume of the History of Nature. But all is silent as the page itself, which arrogantly and vainly attempts to tell of laws unexplored by the Philosopher. Ideas of power, and motion, and energy are presented before us : but it is only in the little laboratory of the Mind itself that all this activity of Nature is exhibited. We seem to be standing by as spectators of the construction of the fabric of the universe ; the laws by which all the changes of the natural world take place, appear to be subjected to our survey ; but we find the whole system only a vast illusion, produced by the dizzy height to which we have been carried. The speculation taking its outset from the great original Causes of things in the Mind of the Creator, mocks us by the unreal universality of the principles, which it presents to us as solutions of the course and constitution of Nature. As theories of the creative and disposing power of the Divine Author of Nature, these principles may possess a speculative truth : they may, that is, be just, comprehensive views of the objects of the natural world, as they admit of being mentally analyzed into different views of the Divine agency. But, as Bacon observes, of the whole Scholastic method of anticipation, "the subtlety of Nature far exceeds the subtlety of Sense and Intellect :"^{*} and these general principles accordingly, specious as they are in promise, are much too superficial in reality, to give any sound information concerning the actual processes of Nature.

Doctrine of four universal Causes.

Thus the Schoolmen, following Aristotle, state four universal Causes of existing things : 1. the Material ; 2. the Formal ; 3. the Efficient ; 4. the Final : the Material Cause being supposed to be that common substance or nature, out of which things are made ; the Formal Cause, that by which one object is made to differ from others produced out of the same common matter ; the Efficient or Motive Cause, that which originates the motion or change from which the particular thing results ; the Final Cause, the tendency, or end, to which the whole process of formation has reference, and in which it is completed and perfected. These several Causes (as we have said before respecting the notions of Matter and Form in particular) are evidently nothing more than certain classifications, the mere creations of the Mind, under which it arranges its different views of any object considered as a thing produced. They are so many different reasons which the Mind may assign for the existence of a thing ; and the aggregate of which seems to give a full account of its being. For the Material Cause is the first most general view that we take of it ; that general resemblance according to which we class it with certain other objects. The Formal Cause is a more dis-

ting view of it, exempting it from that vagueness in which our first rough classification had left it. The Efficient Cause is a still further limitation of it, as the effect of a given power. The Final Cause again brings it still more within the grasp of the Mind by assigning the boundaries to which it is tending, and beyond which it cannot pass. Now all these Causes or reasons may be very useful to us *logically*,^{*}—as principles to guide our investigation into the nature of any object,—but without experience and observation they are utterly fruitless. They are the rules by which our observations are to be conducted, and they of course imply that these observations should be made. The Schoolmen, however, used their Logical rules *instead* of observation, and set themselves to explain how each object in Nature was constructed according to these rules.

Thomas Aquinas.

The doctrine of Contraries, again, which the Schoolmen adopted from the ancient Physics, as an explanation of the changes which took place in the natural world, what was this but the realizing of a principle of Logic, and vainly endeavouring to make the operations of Nature submit to a law of the human understanding ? It is evident that there are certain notions which mutually exclude one another ; that the same thing, for instance, cannot be hot and cold at the same moment ; and that to remove the one idea therefore is to admit the idea of the other. But the Schoolmen applied this Logical truth to Physical existences. They gave an activity, that is, to these abstract notions, and regarded any two Contraries, as principles coming and departing in perpetual real succession, and which, by their presence or their absence, constituted Physical bodies what they are.

Doctrine of Contraries.

With this doctrine of Contraries the ancient Physics connected the principles of Transmutation of bodies, of Privation, and the distinction between Potential and Actual being. These several principles, as flowing out of the same Logical doctrine of Contraries, were readily taken into their Physical system by the Logical Philosophers of the Schools. The facility with which the Mind substitutes one notion for another, and varies at will the forms which it creates, was converted into a real capacity of transition in Nature itself from one form of Being into another. Hence every thing in Nature was conceived capable of being changed into another ; the same common matter remaining as the subject of the alteration. And thus in the language of the Schools was every thing said to be generated or corrupted,—the transition from one nature into another being the generation of that which resulted, the corruption of that which disappeared. Thus, too, the motion of bodies was said to be of three kinds : since besides locomotion, the changes which occurred, either by the alteration of the thing, or by its growth and diminution, were included under the term : Logical distinctions being here again converted into Physical forces. The principle of Privation, clearly part of the same Logical analysis by which the notions foreign to any subject are excluded from it, underwent the like Physical adaptation ; the qualities *mentally* excluded by any particular notion, being conceived to be

Principle of Transmutation and Privation.

Generation and Corruption.

Doctrine of Motion.

^{*} Take, for example, the familiar instance of Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood from an application of the doctrine of Final Causes. By appealing to the principle according to which the Mind views an object in its ultimate tendency or end, he was led to consider whether the structure of the valves in the blood-vessels might be thus limited and summed up, as it were, in a final result : and by observation on them according to this principle, discovered the fact of the circulation.

^{*} Nov. Organum, lib. i. Aph. 10.

Biography. *physically* removed from it, when the thing passed from one nature into another. In like manner, attributing to every thing a potential and an actual being, realized distinctions which exist only in the Mind: the former being the object, as it may be supposed to exist in that capable of producing it; as the plant, for instance, in the seed; the latter being the production into being, of that which before only existed in such a capacity or power. Upon this distinction, indeed, it should be observed, the Schoolmen, closely following Aristotle, founded their philosophical description of the Deity as "pure act." All created things existed at one time in *power*, at another time in *act*. But in God, in whom nothing is antecedent, nothing consequent, all is Action and Energy at once.

Potential and Actual Being.

This notion of the Deity as "Energy," or "Act," was the connecting principle of the Theology and Physics of the Schools. That the Deity pervaded all things as the ultimate Sovereign Good, which all things, whether animate or inanimate, desired to attain, and in attaining which the perfection of each consisted,—was the Theological point of view in their system. But it was further required to exhibit the Deity, as the universal Principle of Motion, as the *origin* of those changes which were observed in the world. And this was accomplished by the representation of him under the notion of "pure operation," or "act." The Divine goodness became thus, by the realism of the system, a real vital power impelling the whole course of Nature. Regarded as an unoriginated, ceaseless energy, it presented an adequate cause of the perpetuity of life, and motion, and production throughout the universe.

Notion of the Deity as Pure Act.

In noticing the general character of the Scholastic Theology and Physics, we have brought forward the heaviest charges which lie against the system. In the Sciences which immediately belong to the Philosophy of Human Nature, whether in those purely conversant about the intellect or the heart, we cannot apply the same censure to the Scholastic method; though at the same time we cannot give, even here, unqualified praise. A great part of their Metaphysics was mere Ontology; a Science, that is, of the abstract nature of Being, meagre in its pursuit and unfruitful in its result. For they did not extend the term Metaphysics, according to modern usage, to the Science of the laws of the human Mind. The knowledge of the nature of Mind was included by Aristotle, and other ancient Philosophers, under Physics; and the Schoolmen here, as in other respects, followed the arrangement already prescribed. Nor is there indeed any fault in such an arrangement; if we understand by the nature of the Mind, simply the laws of its operations, as unfolded in the facts of consciousness and observation. And, perhaps, it would be better if the Science of Metaphysics were restricted to an investigation of the laws of Thought; to an analysis, that is, of the various notions of the Mind. In this view of the Science, Language becomes the great medium of observation: since Language has been formed by that very analysis which we are formally pursuing in this method of Metaphysical Science. This is the view given in the Treatise of Aristotle, to which modern commentators have assigned the name of *The Metaphysics*; and which is consequently adopted by the Schoolmen. So far as this restricted view of the Science is concerned, much valuable matter is to be collected from their writings. No Philosophers have traced with such patience, and minute exactness, the shades by which the Ideas in-

volved in terms of Language are discriminated from each other, or more illustrated that secret process by which Ideas are combined and infinitely diversified. Their whole Philosophy indeed bears on this point. But their great error is, as we have throughout endeavoured to show, that they have carried principles of this Science into other Sciences, and by a fallacious Realism have made these principles interpreters of external nature.

Further, as studying Metaphysical Science by the medium of Language, they were led to overlook the limits which separated it from Logic. Accordingly, though they have displayed a wonderful practical acuteness as Logicians, they have by no means excelled, as scientific expositors of Logical Truth. They cultivated it chiefly in subservience to Metaphysical Truth, and therefore comparatively neglected the treatment of that part of it which more strictly relates to the theory of argument. Paradoxical as it may seem, they had properly no Logic strictly so called. Logic, not being studied by them as a Science of Language, but as a method of universal discovery, was in consequence of this misapplication, stunted of its due proportion as a Science of reasoning; whilst it was, preposterously enlarged in its immediate connexion with Metaphysics.

In Moral Science they had an admirable guide in the Ethical system of Aristotle. The extensive and accurate knowledge of human nature which Aristotle displays throughout his Moral Treatises, served to his disciples of the Schools instead of their own experience. Otherwise, shut out as they were from the general intercourse of mankind, and living entirely in the secret converse of their own thoughts, how could they have learned the nature of human actions and sentiments, principles which chiefly depend on society for their perfect development? As it is, they have merged Moral Philosophy in Theology, by connecting the rules of duty with the abstract notion of the Deity regarded as the Chief Good of Man. We feel, indeed, even in this day, the effect of this confusion, in the vague opinions commonly held respecting the relation of Morality to Theology. But the case was here as in their Logic. Their practice was superior to their theory. Whilst they constructed a system of Moral Theology, as their Ethical science was termed, they spoke as practical Moralists with a wisdom far exceeding the stretch of their technical Philosophy. Much of this practical excellence must undoubtedly be attributed to the clear outlines which Revelation has sketched for those who would "do justly and love mercy," whilst they also "walk humbly with their God." Still as the Scriptures refrain altogether from Moral theory, simply employing the popular language on Moral subjects to express their precepts; there is ample room for the Scriptural Theologian to construct his own system of Ethics. And thus have Philosophers, in some instances, at the same time that they acknowledged the authority of the Scriptures, deviated widely in their conclusions from the practical spirit of Christianity. This, in fact, is what has happened in the case of the Schoolmen. The pursuit of the principle of the Chief Good,—the Platonic part of their Ethical doctrine,—led them to place the excellence of the Christian life in an estrangement from active duties, and in an entire abstraction of the thoughts and affections from all human concerns. Here it was then, that the Philosophy of Aristotle applied a salutary check, and prevented the whole system of Scholastic Ethics from rushing into a theoretic enthusiasm. How far it acted in this manner

Thomas Aquinas.

Logic confounded with Metaphysics.

Importance of Aristotle's Ethics.

Moral Theology.

Biography. may be judged from those of the Schoolmen, who, indulging a mystic imagination, felt less of this control. If we compare Bonaventura with Aquinas, we shall see the decided superiority of the Aristotelic Moralist over the tender enthusiast of the Platonic School.

No proper distinction of Sciences in Scholastic method.

In treating, however, these different Sciences as distinct, we have done so only by way of illustration of the influence of the Scholastic method on the great leading divisions of human knowledge. Strictly to speak, Scholasticism was in itself one absorbing Science, in which all Sciences were confounded. An evidence of this is, that no other kinds of knowledge were pursued by the Scholastic Philosopher, except those which admitted of being transfused into this promiscuous, technical system. There subsisted, indeed, a formal division of the Arts into Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, Music, the first three named the *Trivium*, the four last the *Quadrivium*: still the Arts were by no means cultivated in themselves, when Scholasticism had once taken deep root. Its dry and leafless branches, spreading out with unhappy luxuriance, withered every thing around them with their funereal shade. As for Rhetoric, considered as an Art of eloquence or composition, it was entirely unknown. An inopportune, technical Logic occupied every place, and effectually excluded by its presence, any expression that could strike the imagination or interest the feelings. For it is not only the naked framework of argument which is presented in the Scholastic page. There is an eloquence in the mere force of argument barely stated, without the least adjunct of recommendation from language. But this is not the mode in which the Scholastic argumentation is exhibited. The parade of the syllogistic process—the anatomy itself of argument—is forced on our notice. The same fundamental error, through which the Schoolmen applied rules of investigation to the solution of Physical facts, is shown in their application of the technical principles of Logic. The syllogism, which, properly considered, is nothing more than a development of the latent process in every argument, becomes in their hands the method of communicating knowledge, and the instrument by which conviction is to be produced; not the mere analysis of an operation of the Mind. The office of Rhetoric, of course, was entirely superseded by such a method of teaching. There was no room left for arguments of

unfortunate use of the Syllogism.

inducement,—for enforcing persuasion by appeals to the intellectual and moral principles of human nature. Nothing could add to the cogency and perspicuity of an instrument, conceived to be so efficacious and infallible.

Thomas Aquinas.

The marks, indeed, of the origin of the Scholastic Philosophy, accompany it throughout in its development. As it arose in the struggles of Reason against an imperious authority, so Reason is throughout the principle with which it is concerned, and which alone it endeavours to satisfy. It had not for its object, to win men to the Truth: it sought only to justify and secure an obedience to which the unwilling intellect was constrained.

The Reason the only principle addressed.

Its whole tendency, accordingly, was to magnify Reason against the principle of mere authority. And on this account (though the assertion may seem strange) the Schoolmen must undoubtedly be reckoned among the precursors of the reformation both of Religion and Philosophy. By the temerity of their speculations, they inured the minds of men to think boldly: and they raised doubts and difficulties which sustained the inquisitive spirit, until at least a better day should dawn upon its efforts. Unconscious they were themselves of the benefit, which was slowly and painfully resulting from their own abortive endeavours. But what they were in themselves was merely accidental, and passed away with them. The spirit which they had nurtured, survived beyond them, to fight against the system within which it had grown up; as the system itself had fought against the arbitrary authority of the Church, within whose bosom it had been cherished. Thus we find some of the early Schoolmen strenuous opponents of the usurpations of Rome: as Robert Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln, in the XIIIth Century, and Ockam in the XIVth. A reaction, indeed, took place, by which the conclusions of the Scholastic Theologians were expressly affirmed in the decrees of the Church of Rome; and invested with that perpetuity, which the dogmatist of that communion claims for its authoritative declarations. This curious effect, consequently, has followed; that the same writers live as authorities in Theological speculation to the Roman Church, who, as the advocates of Reason against the Church-system, have raised up its most formidable antagonists, both in Religion and in Philosophy.

Influence of the Schoolmen on the reformation of Religion and Philosophy.

END OF VOL. XI.

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